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THE Council wish to give their most grateful thanks to Mr. A. C. Yate for the extremely valuable gift of books, almost a small library in itself, which he has presented to the Society in memory of his father, Colonel Yate.

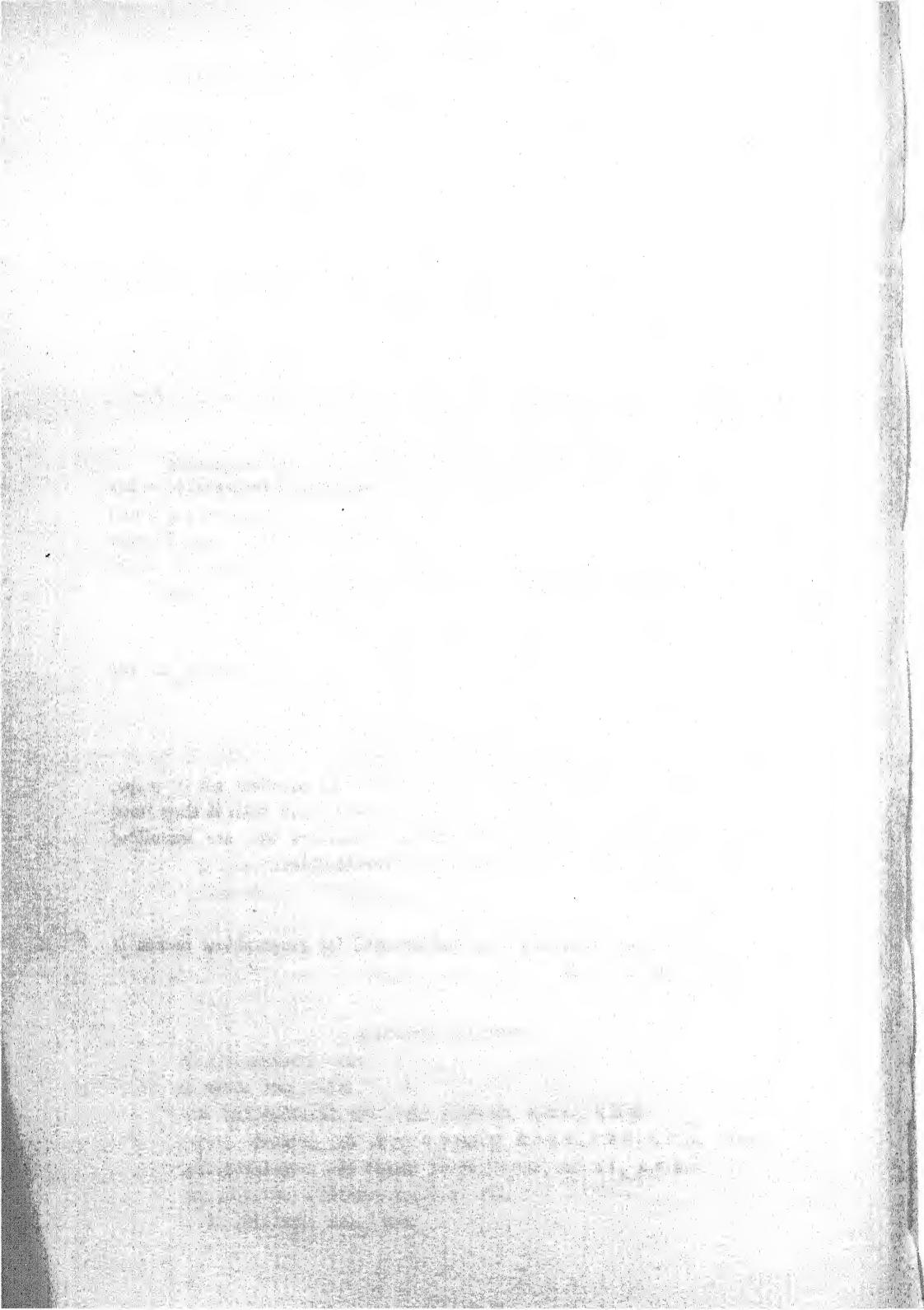
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GEOGRAPHICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN THE TAKLA-MAKAN DESERT OF CHINESE TURKESTAN*

BY DR. EMIL TRINKLER

IF there is any country in the Asiatic continent which may be called "The Heart of Asia" it is without doubt Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang. This westernmost province of the Chinese Republic is nearly cut off from the outer world by high mountain walls. In the north there are the Tien-shan mountains, in the west the "Roof of the World" or Pamirs, in the south the K'un-lun, while in the east deserts and absolute barren hills border the Tarim Basin.

In 1927 and 1928 I spent some five months in geographical and archaeological explorations in the big Takla-Makan Desert, which covers a large area of the Tarim Basin. You know that there are several kinds of deserts—e.g., rock deserts or mountain deserts, gravel deserts, clay and salt deserts like the Kavirs of Persia and sand deserts. The Takla-Makan belongs mainly to the last-mentioned type.

Before reporting about my travels in the sea of sand, I should like to give you an idea of the main problems I wanted to study.

A look at the map will show you that at several places in the western part of the Tarim Basin small hills crop out from the sands. These small desert ranges are called by the natives Mazar-taghs. As yet we did not know very much about their geological structure, so I hoped to

* Lecture given on September 27, 1929, Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said : Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very great pleasure in introducing to you Dr. Trinkler, who has recently made a remarkable journey into the heart of Asia—the real heart of Asia, Chinese Turkestan. He was following there the footsteps of the first European to penetrate to those regions from India across the Himalaya. His compatriot, Dr. Schlaggenweit, penetrated in the sixties across the Karakorum Pass to Kashgar, where he was murdered. The next European to penetrate to those regions was an uncle of mine, Mr. Robert Shaw, who was the first European to get there and back again—in the year 1868. Since those times there has been developed an extraordinary interest in that region because of the archaeological discoveries which are to be made there. It is an exceedingly dry region, so dry that, as Dr. Trinkler will be telling us, there are dry dead trees which must have stood there for a thousand years. But on that very account there are great possibilities of discovery to be made in those regions now buried in sand. As to the causes of the desiccation of that region Dr. Trinkler will give us his ideas this afternoon, and the Society will be more than usually interested both by his geological observations and conclusions and his archaeological remarks. (Applause.)

be able to make some important contributions to our knowledge of these strange desert mountains. In ancient maps, based mainly upon the early explorations of the Russian expeditions of Prshewalski and Pjewzow, we find marked a single Mazar-tagh range crossing the desert from north-west to south-east, that means from the Maralbashi Mazar-tagh right through the desert to the Khotan Mazar-tagh. In spite of Sir Aurel Stein's explorations in 1913-14,* which proved that the hills south of the Yarkand-darya do not extend far into the desert, we were in need of more geological material in order to get an idea about the origin and the arrangement of these desert ranges.

That part of the Takla-Makan Desert I was most interested in was the south-western region of the big desert between the Yarkand and Khotan Darya. No traveller had ever entered this part. Many travellers and explorers had followed the main road leading from Yarkand via Karghalik-Guma-Pialma to Khotan. Sir Aurel Stein had paid a visit to some of the last oases of the Guma district† and Deasy had in 1898 penetrated the region of dead poplar trees lying beyond the cultivated area to the north of Guma.‡ By crossing the south-western part of the Takla-Makan I hoped to be able to solve some problems directly connected with the origin and with the history of this great desert. At first I shall mention here some of the geographical problems we have to consider. Here in the south-western part of the desert there stretch between the absolute barren sea of sand-dunes and the cultivated area big dead poplar forests. Why did the vegetation die here? Had the sand which generally is driven from the north-east to the south-west and which slowly encroaches upon the trees killed the vegetation, or can we find another explanation for the presence of the belt of dead poplars? Had the climate changed so that there was formerly much more rainfall than nowadays, or what was the reason?

I should like to call your attention also to some archaeological problems connected with this part of the Takla-Makan Desert. You know from Sir Aurel Stein's expeditions that till the end of the tenth century A.D. Chinese Turkestan was a Buddhist country. While Sir Aurel Stein succeeded in finding many interesting ruined sites on the eastern and southern border of the Tarim Basin, the German expeditions under Grünwedel and Le Coq were successful in their excavation work in the districts of Turfan and Kucha, while the French under Pelliot did some marvellous work on the Kansu border. Although I am in the first place a geographer, I have always had the deepest interest in the archaeology of Central Asia, and fortunately I had the chance regularly to hear at the universities of my country lectures about Indian and

* "Innermost Asia," i, chap. iii.

† A. Stein: "Ancient Khotan," p. 99.

‡ H. H. P. Deasy: "In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan." Chapter X.
London, 1901.

Central Asian archæology. So I was well acquainted with the archæological problems which this part of Central Asia offered. Sir Aurel Stein had made some of his most interesting explorations in the region between the Khotan and the Niya river in the old ruined sites of Dandan-oilik, Rawak, Khadalik, Domoko, and Niya. He could show by his explorations that in former times the rivers coming down from the K'un-lun mountains in the south must have contained much more water than nowadays, so that they were able to bring the water to such distant places as Dandan-oilik and the ruined Niya site, lying now far to the north in the absolute barren desert.

But it was rather strange that in the south-western part of the Takla-Makan between the Yarkand Darya and the Khotan Darya no Buddhistic ruins had been discovered, with the exception of some very much decayed mounds of ancient stupas. From the geographical point of view—so I argued—we could assume that also in this part of the Tarim Basin the small rivers running down from the K'un-lun mountains must once have brought their water farther to the north than they do today. Just like in the regions east of the Khotan Darya the belt of living vegetation must once have covered a much larger area also here, and so it was very likely that in this part also there were hidden some ruins amidst the dunes and in the zone of dead poplars.

By carefully studying also the condition of the desert east of the Khotan Darya, as well as some of the ruined sites there, I hoped to be able to add some more data to the solution of the above-mentioned problems I was so much interested in.

I started for my first desert journey from Kashgar on December 15, 1927. I had only three men and five camels with me. Before reaching the main Takla-Makan Desert, east of the Yarkand Darya, I became acquainted with some outlying districts of the Takla-Makan—that means with the small triangle-shaped desert which is situated between the Kashgar and Yarkand Darya and the small zone of cultivated oases stretching from Kashgar via Khan-arik-Jupoga to Chahār Shamba Bazar. This small desert had not been crossed before, and so I was much interested to see what this part of the country was like. After a five days' journey leading across some belts of sand-dunes, but mostly across a steppe-like country with tamarisks and wild poplars, I reached the oases which are situated on the banks of the Yarkand Darya. Woodcutters whom I met in the dead jungle zone in this desert told me that dead forest covers many square miles of country up to the Kashgar Darya. The small desert to the south, lying east of the famous Ordam Padshah Mazar, is not such a barren desert as we might suppose according to the maps. I crossed this part in the midst of January, 1928, when I was returning from the Mazar-tagh mountains to Yarkand. I could show that this so-called desert is also a tamarisk steppe, and

that even a rather much frequented road leads from Yarkand directly across this desert to Khan-ariik and Kashgar. Only in the south, where the sand-dunes encroach upon the zone of vegetation, there is a rather formidable high belt of absolute sterile sand-dunes rising to nearly a hundred and fifty feet.

When reaching the Yarkand Darya I was much surprised to see there still a ferryboat working, so that my caravan had no difficulty in crossing the river.

A march of seven days through the thick jungle districts bordering the Yarkand Darya, and then crossing the barren desert, brought my caravan to the desert ridge called by the natives "Kum-tagh." During those cold days we had much to suffer from thick fogs. Nearly every morning the small scrub and the tamarisks were covered with thick white hoar-frost. Just at the foot of the red and black Kum-tagh ridge we camped beside a small frozen freshwater lake.

I spent nearly a week amidst these Mazar-tagh mountains. The geological survey of all these desert ridges as well as that of the Khotan Mazar-tagh which I visited four months later proved that all these rocky promontories cropping out here and there from the sand never can have belonged to one single range, for their geological structure is too different. The Kum-tagh and the Maralbashi Mazar-tagh consist of volcanic rocks. Granites prevail in the Mazar-tagh, while the Kum-tagh consists of black trappoid rocks which formerly penetrated in the shape of big dykes into a reddish coarse sandstone. The Chok-tagh, however, running parallel to the Kum-tagh, consists of nothing else than dolomitic limestone cliffs, outliers of the southern-most Tien-shan ranges. The Khotan Mazar-tagh, on the other hand, is remarkable for its bright red sandstone cliffs, which we also see everywhere cropping out in the foothill region of the K'un-lun mountains. I also could prove that the Khotan Mazar-tagh gradually turns to an east-western direction in the desert. As also the geological strike of the sandstones becomes east-west, it is very unlikely that the Maralbashi Mazar-tagh and the Khotan Mazar-tagh ever did belong to one single range.

In February, 1928, I started with my Swiss companion Mr. Bosshard for a most interesting desert journey. Already in October, 1927, when following the high-road from Guma to Karghalik, I saw to the north of our track the forbidding high sand-dunes known by the Turkis as "adam ölturgen kum," or "Jellat kum," the first name meaning "the men killing sand," the other one "the desert of the executioner." My plan was now directly to cross this part of the desert, trying thus to reach the end cases of the Guma district by going in due eastern direction from the old decayed stupa mound of Koshlenger near Karghalik. We did so in a five days' journey across very high sand-dunes clustering

together and bare of any vegetation. The height of the dunes is here certainly between 200 feet and 300 feet. During this journey we had the most unusual weather, for we had a snowstorm lasting more than twenty-four hours. When finally the storm ceased, the desert was covered with a sheet of glistening white snow. After having loaded on the outskirts of the Guma oasis new provisions, as well as some bags filled with ice, we set out towards the desert again. Keeping now a strictly northern direction, we passed again one of the big end oases of the Guma district—i.e., the Ara-kum village—and soon we entered the belt of dead poplars. How astonished I was to strike suddenly a broad track running towards the north-west! For some hours we followed this road, and passed a deep sunken well.

Seeing that this road would take us too far towards the west, we left it, and went on in a due northern direction. One of the Turkis the Chinese Amban of Guma had ordered to accompany us told me that this road leads to the Yarkand district. The existence of such a road is already mentioned in older reports. The arrangement of this ancient now scarcely used road, as well as the topography, proves that the high sand-dunes of the Jellat-kum form a rather isolated region of extraordinary high sand. As to the origin of this small desert, I will only point out here that the high sand accumulation is probably due to the here prevailing western wind accumulating the sand on the edge of the cultivated districts of the Guma oasis, as well as by northerly winds which also add sand to the dunes. I generally could make the observation that the steep side of the dunes on the southern border of the Takla-Makan generally look towards the east; that means that westerly winds prevail, while in the interior of the desert the direction of the winds is more from the north-east.

After having reached that part of the desert where the dead poplar trees come to an end, we had the absolutely barren sea of sand before us. The landscape even in the desert was often marvellous. From the top of a high sand-dune you could get an idea what the sea of sand was like. For miles and miles in every direction you see nothing but the whale-backed waves of sand. I like the desert for its loneliness and absolute silence. It was a strange feeling when we were wandering for days and days through the dead zone of vegetation which we had to cross again in order to reach the small oasis of Pialma between Guma and Khotan. We passed huge trunks of dead poplars, whose white wood was splintered and cracked. Many trunks were drilled like a corkscrew, and you could get the idea that these trees only withered away after a terrible agony.

For six days we travelled through these poplar cemeteries, now and then crossing old dried up river-beds bordered by rows of dead trees. What a different view this country must have shown when the

vegetation was still alive! Nearly thirty miles north-west of the oasis of Pialma, amidst thick dead tamarisk jungle and dead poplars, we struck upon the remains of an ancient very primitive settlement, consisting of seven huts built of big roughly hewn wooden beams. But we did not find anything here, although we excavated three huts. The structures were so roughly built that they cannot have belonged to anything else but to an old shepherd station. Near by I discovered the banks of an ancient canal, and I could make out the old pond surrounded by high dead poplar trees standing in a circle around it.

The nearer we approached the southern edge of the desert the more the dead poplars disappeared, and tamarisk cones as well as patches covered with camel-thorn were seen.

The boundary between this zone and the table-like clay and gravel desert to the south is an absolutely sharp one. Just when my caravan had left the last high tamarisk cones behind we entered a broad zone covered everywhere thickly with red and brown pottery débris. Such places are known by the natives as "tatis." During my expedition I had the chance to see many of these tatis. Generally, you do not meet on such ground with any other remains of structure. You can only pick up here and there some Chinese coins of the Wuchu type, probably belonging to the Later Han Period. You also may find beads of glass, small jade, or even gold ornaments, often also charred bones. A careful study of these tatis, as well as the details given by other explorers, induced me to argue that at least some of these tatis are the remains of ancient burial-places. I think that many of the pottery débris belonged to cinerary urns. We know that the people were Buddhists, and that they probably burnt their dead. In ancient Chinese reports this fact is expressly mentioned. So I think that in the bigger accumulations of pottery débris we have not only the last remnants of mere settlements before us; judging from the often thickly strewn pottery débris, we should have to suppose that in such places one house must have stood beside the other, and that each house contained quite a lot of pottery jars. But the arrangement of the ancient Buddhist settlements excavated by Sir Aurel Stein shows generally the houses distributed across a rather large surface of country. The presence of charred bones, as well as of the many smaller glass ornaments, point strongly to the supposition that we really have here the remains of ancient burial-places. Cinerary urns containing ashes and bones have been found by Stein at different places, and also Skrine reports about a cinerary urn which was found by a native.*

Just on the southern edge of the big tati north of Pialma I had the chance to find also the remains of some old Buddhistic shrines. When wandering amidst the clay terraces cut out in this region by wind

* C. P. Skrine: "Chinese Central Asia," p. 170.

erosion, I struck upon some white stucco pieces. I could easily see that once they belonged to a lotus pedestal which probably was crowned by a Buddhistic statue. Searching further in the sand and clay I picked up some more pieces of elaborate working, but unfortunately all the pieces had probably suffered from a conflagration. The stucco was remarkably hard and burnt, giving the reliefs a terra-cotta-like view. The systematic excavations carried on in this region soon revealed more remains of ancient shrines. But, alas! the work of destruction done by human hands as well as by fire was a rather heavy one. Of the once nearly life-size statues only the feet and lotus pedestals were preserved, while the pieces of the absolutely smashed statues were lying amidst the sand.

At one spot we had the chance to dig out a once beautifully decorated lotus throne. Round the lower part of this lotus pedestal ran a nicely worked frieze with representations of birds. Small reliefs of sitting Buddhas with flying Ghandarvis turned up. The presence of some Chinese Wuchu pieces tends to show that this ruin probably dates from as far back as the Late Han Period, or, to be more careful, to the third to fifth century A.D. Other interesting finds in these ruins consisted of moulds in which the figures were formed. In the neighbourhood I also succeeded in unveiling the remains of an ancient house yielding smaller implements and ornaments. The presence of a big granitic millstone tells us that once a considerable amount of running water must have reached this spot, which is now absolutely dry.

If we try now to identify this old ruined site, we have some help in Huan-tsang's notices as well as in Chinese reports translated by Elisée Reclus. Both tell us that a traveller, after having left Khotan and after having gone for 300 *li* to the west, comes to the town of Phou-kia-i. The reports tell us that this place was well known for a miraculous statue of the Buddha. The legend connected with this is, according to the Chinese pilgrim, the following:

Once the pupil of an Arhat or Buddhistic saint living in Kashmir, when dangerously ill, asked for a cake of rice of a peculiar sort. His saintly teacher obtained this for him from Kustana or Khotan, whereupon the pupil, who much relished the dish, uttered the wish to be reborn in that country. Having obtained his wish and become King of Khotan in his new birth, he crossed the snowy mountains and attacked Kashmir. A battle between him and the ruler of Kashmir was averted by the Arhat, who, showing to the Khotan chief the clothes he had worn of yore as a Buddhist disciple, revealed to him his previous existence, and induced him to desist from his attack. Before retiring to Khotan the King presented himself before the Buddha statue to which he had paid worship in his former birth, and took it homewards with his army. When the statue arrived at Pochi-eh, or Phou-kia-i, it

refused to be moved further. Thereupon the King constructed a convent around the statue, and placed upon its head his own diadem adorned with precious stones. This diadem, ever spreading a brilliant light, was still seen by Huan-tsang on the head of the statue. The latter is described as being 7 feet high and marked with all the distinguishing signs of beauty, and its appearance as imposing and dignified.

Sir Aurel Stein already pointed out that the place called Pochi'eh has to be looked for around the present oasis of Pialma,* and so I think that it is very likely that the ancient Buddhistic site which I discovered is identical with Pochi-eh.

Unfortunately I had only three days' time to spare for this ancient site. I think that a thorough investigation of the whole adjoining region might very likely reveal more remains of this ancient civilization.

Before going on in my report about the work I did in the Khotan region I should like to summon here the main geographical results of the just-mentioned journey leading across the south-westernmost part of the Takla-Makan between the Yarkand and Khotan Darya. My explorations have shown that in this part of the Tarim Basin also the rivers running down from the K'unlun mountains penetrated far deeper into the desert than they do today. A broad belt of poplar forest and tamarisk jungle once covered a big area nearly as far north as the 38th degree of latitude. The diminishing of the amount of water brought down by the rivers, and the sinking of the ground level, has certainly contributed to the withering of the vegetation. The soil, as soon as the water dwindles, becomes permeated with salts, and I believe that especially it is owing to this amount of salt in the ground that the vegetation died. When in March last year I crossed the desert east of the Khotan Darya, I could make the observation that in the neighbourhood of the nearly dry Khotan Darya bed the water of the wells was absolutely brackish while deeper in the desert the water was fresh. The same observation has been made by Sir Aurel Stein and by Sven Hedin. Near the river there extends a zone of dead poplars, while deeper in the desert we find living trees. So I think we may be allowed to suppose that the salts which are deposited as soon as the rivers dwindle, and which permeate the ground everywhere, gradually kill the vegetation. Afterwards the sands, driven by the north-east winds, gradually encroach upon the zone of dead trees.

But the history of the desert is not quite so simple as this. I could prove that at several periods in many places extensive floods have inundated the southern part of the Takla-Makan. We meet very often even amidst the barren sand-dunes with terraces of stratified clay deposits often containing shells of freshwater snails. These clay deposits cover an extensive ground. At several places I found the bleached trunks

* Stein : "Ancient Khotan," p. 118.

of dead poplars embedded in these clay layers. This proves that the trees were already dead when the clays were deposited. At one place I saw a dead still upright standing poplar tree piercing the clay layer. Below the clay deposit, which was some 20-30 inches thick, I discovered some dry leaves. The floods depositing the clays were certainly caused by big inundations from the rivers. At several places, especially in the desert east of the Khotan Darya, I could detect several clay layers cropping out from the slopes of high sand-dunes. Generally I could recognize three different horizons, which showed me that periods of big inundations alternated with drier periods. At the ancient Rawak Stupa north of Khotan I received a rather exact date about the last inundation. Around this once imposing building there were scattered at several places thick layers of pottery débris. I carefully investigated the position of these débris and I saw that they were buried below a thick layer of sand and of riverine stratified clay deposits. As I had the good luck to pick up from the pottery débris *in situ* Chinese coins of the Wuchu type I can say rather exactly that this last inundation period took place at least after the fifth century A.D. I believe that these inundations, whatever their cause may have been, were something like catastrophes.

At first I was inclined to believe that the alternation of sandy and clayey layers might also be contributed to climatic changes or pulsations which Huntington had assumed to have taken place in Central Asia. But a careful study of the whole material, as well as of the reports of other travellers and explorers, leads me to believe that we need not accept climatic changes. Such inundations may happen every year in a single summer, and as the rivers always carry much mud, even a layer of 15-20 inches thickness may be deposited during such a single inundation. But we always must underline the fact that the desiccation of Central Asia nevertheless went on during the whole time only to be interrupted now and then by these inundations. The cause of the inundations may be looked for in extraordinary precipitations of snow in the K'un-lun mountains during the winter, or perhaps in the breaking of glacier dams. I only remind here of the catastrophe of which we have heard only some weeks ago, when the glacier dam in the upper Shyok valley burst.

Much has been said and written about the desiccation of Central Asia. Sir Aurel Stein has summarized in his "Innermost Asia" his view about this question like that: The volume of water brought down by the rivers into this great drainageless basin of Innermost Asia, has gradually diminished probably through the gradual reduction of the ice reserves stored up since the last glacial period in the glaciers of the high mountain ranges feeding those rivers, while the climatic conditions which account for the extreme aridity prevailing in the basin itself have

undergone no appreciable change during the two thousand years or so over which our historical and antiquarian data extend." I myself think that this last statement is absolutely true, and I absolutely agree with Sir Aurel Stein that the rainfall in the Tarim Basin itself cannot have been greater than nowadays. But I do not know whether we are already entitled to state definitely that only 1,000-1,500 years ago which, geologically spoken, is only a small period, there was much more ice left from the Glacial Period. It has been pointed out that the glaciers in the mountains of Innermost Asia are at present larger than may be expected considering the amount of névé and snow-reservoirs. But I think we do not know yet enough about the formation as well as about the movements of the present glaciers of Innermost Asia. We cannot compare them directly with the glaciers of our Alps or of the Himalayas because the climatic conditions of these regions are quite different. The relation between the region from which the glaciers are fed and the size of the glaciers is certainly very different from that in the Alps and in the Himalayas. So I believe we must be very careful in this regard. At present we can only point out definitely the main fact that the amount of water carried down by the rivers into the Tarim Basin was formerly greater than now. This large amount of water can certainly only be explained by assuming that more ice and snow in the K'un-lun mountains melted. This induces us to suppose that at that time there was more snow and more ice, but whether this bigger amount of snow and ice was stored up since the last Glacial Period or whether bigger winter precipitations in the K'un-lun mountains were responsible for it we do not know yet. An increase of snow in the K'un-lun mountains would not mean an increase of precipitation in the Tarim Basin itself. I think the best we can do at present is to leave this question open till we have got more data about the K'un-lun glaciers.

The immense gravel deposits lying in the lower part of the K'un-lun valleys and the piedmont gravel zone stretching along the foothill regions of the K'un-lun prove that when the glaciers and snows of the Ice Age melted big rivers and floods poured down into the Tarim Basin. We see in small gullies and fissures cut into the gravel deposits the interlacing of clays and fine gravel detritus. It is very likely that the lowermost clay layers which underlie the Takla-Makan were deposited by the melting snows of the glaciers of the Ice Age.

These lowermost and oldest layers are only to be seen in the deeply scooped out Lobnor Basin, while in the westernmost part of the Tarim Basin, and especially in the Takla-Makan, the sections cut by the present and older rivers are not deep enough to touch these lowermost clay layers. I myself believe that the earliest population settled in the Tarim Basin after the Glacial Period. At several places in the westernmost Takla-Makan as well as in the Lob region Sir Aurel Stein discovered

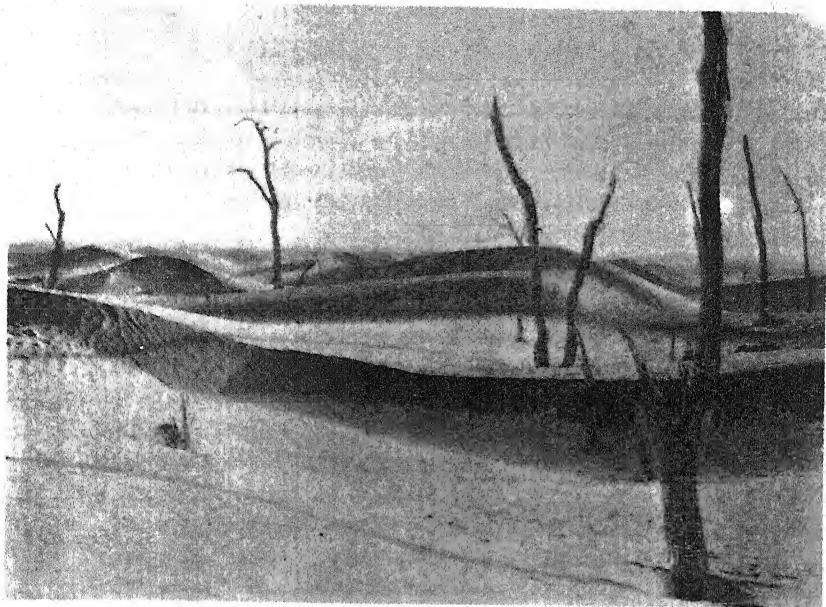


Photo by

DEAD POPLAR FOREST IN THE TAKLA-MAKAN.

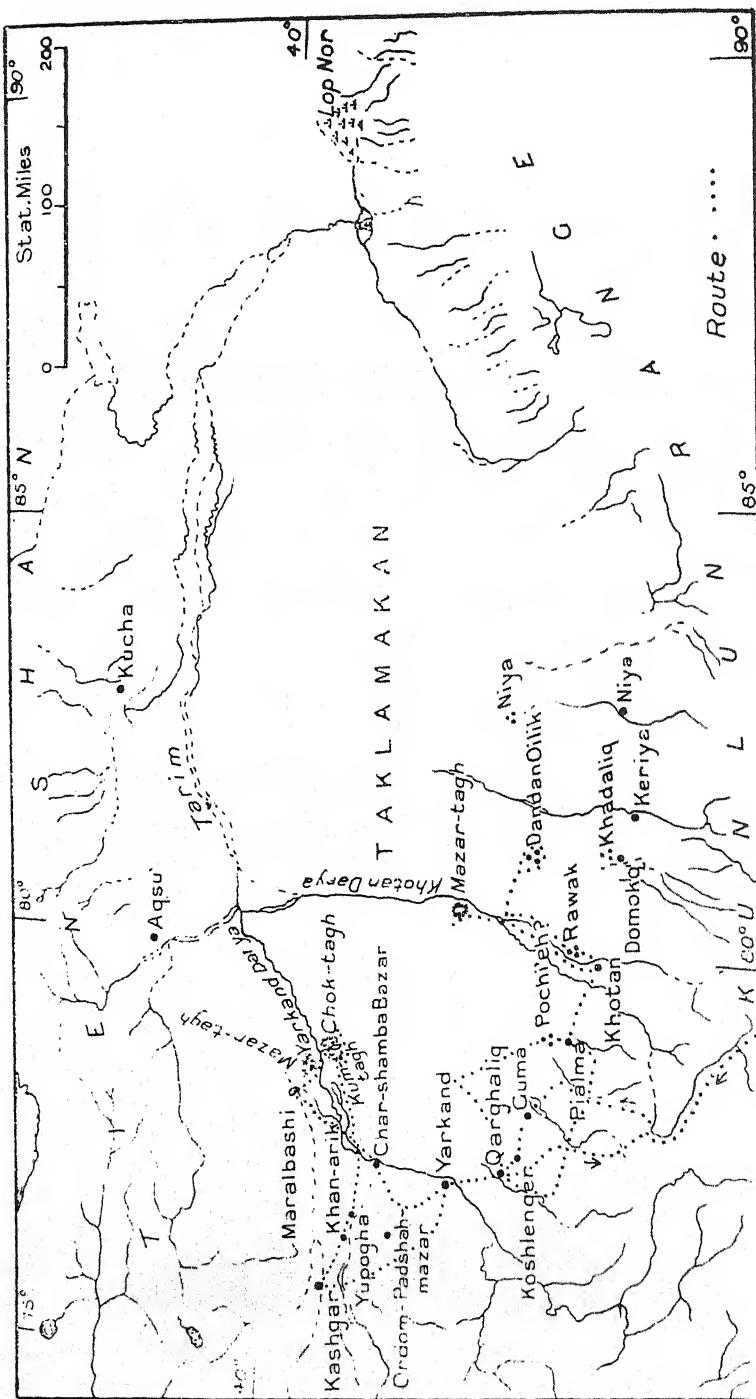
[W. Bosshard.]



Photo by

HEAD WITH BEAUTIFUL HALO FROM RAWAK-STUPA.

[W. Bosshard.]



neolithic implements. In the Lob Desert these implements are mixed with pottery débris of a much later period. It would be interesting to know which layers these neolithic implements came from, because a careful study of the different layers lying below and above the old culture stratas might yield interesting results also for the geological and geographical history of these regions. Last, at least, my idea is that the high sea of sand of the Takla-Makan is of a rather recent age, and I think that, say, some four thousand years ago the sand desert covered only perhaps half of the ground it covers now.

I should like to say here, also, a few words about the Rawak Stupa, where I succeeded in excavating some beautifully modelled life-size statues. Sir Aurel Stein, who had so carefully studied this old structure, succeeded in excavating in 1901 the south-eastern wall and the southernmost part of the south-west wall.* Many of you certainly know the beautiful photos Sir Aurel Stein has published in his "Ancient Khotan." A rapid examination of the ruined site showed me that the sand-dunes had shifted in the last twenty years, and that I could do some work at the south-west wall. You see in the following lantern slides some of the statues we laid bare. Several of them were covered with a deep red colour. Leaflets of gold on the head proved that these formerly had been gilded over. I should not like to close this report without mentioning the important discovery of some old wall paintings at the Rawak Stupa. When, unfortunately, in spite of all precautions one of the larger statues broke down, we saw that the wall against which the figure had been attached was covered with paintings which must be older than the statues themselves. These paintings are of a rather strange style, and I have not succeeded yet in tracing similar representations in any of the wall paintings discovered in Chinese Turkistan. I call special attention to the strange-looking cap or head-dress as well as to the pointed beard.

I need not say here anything about the ruined site of Dandanoilik, where we did not find very much worth taking along. Sir Aurel Stein had done here his work so thoroughly well that for future explorers nothing is left if no other ruins are still buried under the sand. But such an arduous traveller may find here one day a funny-looking tin box containing a bundle of illustrated newspapers with our visiting cards saying: To the poor fellow who believes to find something here for his lonely hours with the kindest regards! (Laughter.)

My lecture is at an end. I should not like to close it without expressing my deepest gratitude to the Government of India and to all the British officials who have given me so much help during my expedition, and I shall be glad if I have succeeded in giving you an idea of the constant struggle which went on here on the southernmost edge

* "Ancient Khotan," chap. xiv.

of the Takla-Makan between the rivers and the encroaching sands—a struggle which will go on for ever. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—You will have gathered from this lecture that there is a most intriguing problem to be solved in Central Asia—the question of the alternate dry periods and the periods of flood in that region. When we see those photographs of the desiccated forests, which must have stood there for hundreds and hundreds of years, we want to know what is the cause—what is the fundamental cause—of those trees drying away like that and yet being able to stand there for so many years? Dr. Trinkler's solution is that, as the rivers dried, a deposit of salt gradually accumulated there which had its effect upon the roots of the trees, and that slowly in the course of years they withered away and died in contortions. That, I gather, is a new idea, and it would be very valuable if anyone here present were able to discuss it this evening; and at any rate it is one that we should bear in mind, and try if we can either to corroborate or to refute. Then we want to know what are the determining factors in the amount of water which comes down into this region, and why at an earlier period it flowed to a further distance into the desert than it does now. We seem to find the solution in the glaciers of the great K'un-lun range on the southern border of this region, and here it is that I hope that Dr. Trinkler himself will be able to make a further journey and help us get more data for a solution of this problem. As he said, what we know about the glaciers in the Alps or the Himalaya is not sufficiently trustworthy to apply to the glaciers of the K'un-lun. Those questions will have to be studied on the spot by some competent authority, who will be able to inform us as to how far the glaciers have been diminishing or advancing during the last thousand or couple of thousand years. That is a problem that has still to be solved, and if Dr. Trinkler himself is not able to go out there and examine it and find a solution himself, at any rate we hope that perhaps some other traveller will do it for us. We should be very grateful if anyone here present would discuss these geological and geographical problems for us, or else that others would speak who would be more competent to deal with the archaeology of that most interesting region.

Sir E. DENISON ROSS: Mr. Chairman,—The more important part is the geographical, and I know nothing about geography at all. But I do wish this had been a course of three lectures, rather than one lecture, because I feel there were one or two slides there that Dr. Trinkler would have liked to talk about but had not time for. One that he went over very quickly showed three layers of clay deposit, and I would like to know whether that implies three inundations, three civilizations knocked out suddenly? From the archaeological point of

view the importance of the discoveries in the Takla-Makan is that at any rate one civilization came to an end in a catastrophic way; it was submerged. In other parts of Asia that did not apparently happen; there was no question of being suddenly overwhelmed; elsewhere treasures were stowed away by reason of invasion and the desert came on afterwards. This is a case of the sudden arrest of civilization, and from that little chart shown to us and then withdrawn I wondered whether more than one civilization of highly cultivated people had been suddenly submerged. It is an example of a highly developed art coming to an end suddenly, which for archaeologists is of the utmost importance. But I think the interest in this lecture for most people lies in the wonderful geographical discoveries, and I leave someone else to discuss the fate of the poor dead trees. (Applause.)

Mr. H. A. R. GIBB: May I congratulate the Society on having received an early report of Dr. Trinkler's journey. Although Dr. Trinkler began where Sir Aurel Stein left off archaeologically, geographically he left off where Sir Aurel Stein began. His discovery of the alternating clay and sand strata gives an important clue to some of the many problems associated with the civilization of Central Asia. I hope Dr. Trinkler may be able to go back for a longer period and continue the work on which he has given us such an interesting report this afternoon.

Commander WILLIAMS: I would very much like to ask a couple of questions. First about the poplars themselves, is there any other part of the world in which the same phenomenon has taken place? And what is the date of the poplars so far as we can judge?

Secondly, the same question applies to the clay layers. I gather that in certain cases these clay layers must have been very recent, and that there are even extensive clay layers which date at a period later than A.D. 500. Is there any other part of the world where there is a similar phenomenon? I do not recollect such another case.

The LECTURER: As for the dead poplars I do not know whether we have such dead forests in another part of our globe. I cannot remember them.

But as to the layers I pointed out that I found generally everywhere in the desert three different layers. And in the section near the Rawak Stupa I found the clay layer which I date later than the third or fifth century. We have also more clay layers in the desert in the Lop Nor region farther to the east.

Commander WILLIAMS: What sort of an area would that be covered by these clay layers? How large?

The LECTURER: It is difficult to say how many square miles. Of course, you find the clay layer in other parts of the desert where I have not been. Sir Aurel Stein described clay layers further east, and Sven

18 EXPLORATIONS IN THE TAKLA-MAKAN DESERT

Hedin in 1901 when crossing the eastern part of the Takla-Makan met the extensive clay deposits of the "Bajir" depressions.

As to the age of the poplar trees we know that in these old ruined districts we have still the old orchards of apricots and mulberry trees. We know these were left in the third and eighth centuries A.D. We may suppose that at that time the trees were still alive. I think the gradual dwindling of the trees started from the ninth century A.D. I should like to point out especially here that a careful study—I always tell this to anyone travelling in regions where we have ancient civilizations—a careful study of sections where we have culture strata and sand or clay layers is important. You are acquainted with the reports that have been published by Woolley about the excavations in Ur (Mesopotamia). He succeeded in tracing the big clay layer deposited during the Flood. We have different culture strata and clay layers, but much older than I have found in Takla-Makan. If an explorer will go to Lob Nor he will find we have in that region neolithic implements and culture strata of the third century all mixed together lying on the ground. A study could be made to see where neolithic implements come from, pottery and third century implements. By carefully studying these sections we could probably find out something about the geological periods of this desert. I remember that in Persia there have been found old culture strata covered by clay layers which may be of a similar kind.*

The CHAIRMAN: I know that you will wish me to thank Dr. Trinkler on your behalf for his great kindness in coming here this afternoon; we in the Central Asian Society consider ourselves extremely fortunate to have had this report from him of the important results of his journey. We shall look forward to the full reports which will undoubtedly come later on, and we will all hope that he will again visit that region, and that we may again have the pleasure of meeting him here and his giving us the results of his explorations. I wish to thank you very much indeed, Dr. Trinkler. (Applause.)

* De Filippi, "Note di un viaggio in Persia," 1865, points out that remains of pottery are found in beds considerably below the level of the plain near Sainkála, north-west of Qazvin, where the alluvial deposits are cut through by a stream called the Abhar. De Filippi reaches the conclusion that the present surface of that plain, as well as probably other plains of the Persian plateau, are of later date than human occupation.—E. T.

PALESTINE

ON October 23, Captain E. N. Bennett, M.P., lectured on Palestine to the Central Asian Society, Lord Allenby in the Chair.

In the course of his Address Captain Bennett said that he wished very much that some of the protagonists of modern Zionism would rid themselves of a mental obsession that those who might differ from them were necessarily anti-Jewish. He was himself quite free from anti-Semitic prejudice, and as a matter of fact one of his reasons for doubting the wisdom of the Zionist régime in its more recent developments was a desire to avert from thousands of innocent Jews—men, women, and children—an ever-present menace of violence and bloodshed. The Jewish claims to predominance in Palestine were based on grounds admittedly sentimental rather than historical: the Moslems pointed to their long record of possession and to the sacred sites of Islam. But what of the Christians? At every step the traveller in Palestine came upon landmarks of our Lord's life and death. The country was indeed a Holy Land for Christians in a special and peculiar sense. Nevertheless, the wishes and opinions of the 70,000 Arab Christians, whose sympathies lay with their Moslem compatriots, were generally ignored in dealing with the vexed problems of modern Palestine.

The meaning of the Balfour Declaration, as given by Mr. Winston Churchill in 1922, was quite clear: "The expectation of a wholly Jewish Palestine is impracticable. . . ." "The Declaration does not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine. . . ." "The development of a National Home" means "the further development of the existing Jewish community."

This definition was accepted by the next Zionist Congress, but in reality had been consistently disregarded in later Zionist propaganda. It was not a mere Home in Palestine which was now frequently demanded, but the establishment of Palestine as the National Home of the Jews, Palestine to become a Jewish State, with its own flag and its own representative on the League of Nations.

The question was not essentially one of race or religion: it was, as the Prime Minister had recently said, a political question. Moslems had throughout history been singularly tolerant of Judaism and its followers—far more tolerant indeed than many Christian nations—and as regards race it was an admitted fact that before the war and the

advent of the Balfour Declaration the Moslems, Christians, and Jews of Palestine lived together in amity and goodwill. But at that time the people of Palestine, whatever their faith or race, enjoyed an equal franchise, and sent four elected deputies to the Ottoman Parliament. Of this privilege they had now been definitely deprived by Great Britain, the "Mother of Parliaments." The loss of this political liberty was the *fons et origo* of all the trouble today, and until this wrong was righted the trouble would continue. Were Egypt and Iraq to be accorded political freedom, and Palestine denied it?

In many other directions, too, the Moslem and Christian Arabs felt that the dice were loaded against them. The Attorney-General in Palestine, with all his powerful influence, was an ardent Zionist. The public debt of Tel-Aviv—no less than £70,000—was written off, and a fresh loan of £40,000 of taxpayers' money was now being negotiated, while no relief whatever was accorded with respect to the debts of Arab towns. Sentences of death and long terms of imprisonment were being imposed upon Arabs for criminal participation in the recent riots; but the Arabs remembered the case of Jabotinsky, condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment on a similar charge, and, through Zionist influence, released in six weeks. The Dead Sea Concession—a dubious and shady business—had been granted by Mr. Amery without the promised discussion in Parliament, and simply handed over to a body of aliens immense possibilities of wealth which ought primarily to have been secured in large measure for the inhabitants of Palestine. The Arabs declared that at Geneva their grievances were ignored.

As to the future, he was convinced that a mere policy of drift and the maintenance of the present confused and oppressive régime spelt disaster. Arab nationalism had been enormously strengthened during the last few months, and no mere display of aeroplanes and bayonets could permanently compel the vast majority of the inhabitants to submit to the hated predominance of a minority of immigrant aliens. The proposals of the Seventh Dominion enthusiasts were grotesquely absurd. Palestine was not British territory, and if there was one indubitable characteristic of a British Dominion, it was a broad Parliamentary franchise, against which Zionists set their faces like flint.

Despite all the difficulties besetting the problem, he believed that a solution might sooner or later be arrived at through the recent decisions of the Zionist Congress at Zurich. The new Jewish Agency was now financially controlled by a body of experienced business men in America, Germany, and elsewhere, who had never identified themselves with the fantastic idealism of the wilder Zionism. Under the influence of these non-Zionist newcomers it might perhaps come to pass that the schemes of political dominance, of Palestine as a Jewish State with its own flag and sovereignty, might be replaced by something very different, but,

nevertheless, very valuable—the creation in Palestine of a National Home for the Jews in the reasonable sense of these words, a centre for the maintenance of their ancient faith and culture. Side by side with this, Palestine could continue under the guidance of Great Britain, with self-government based on an equal franchise for all its citizens, irrespective of race or creed. He ventured to believe that in this way, and this way alone, could peace, justice, and goodwill be restored to the small but famous land of Palestine.

During the discussion Brigadier-General BLAKENEY pointed out that there seemed to be a conspiracy of silence in the Press to prevent the gravity of the proposed Dead Sea Salts Concession being brought to light. The importance of this measure and its effect on the Arabs when they realized how they were being treated could not be minimized.

The shores of the Dead Sea did not entirely belong to Palestine, and the Arabs had every right to expect their share of handsome royalties were the Concession given to those who would work it properly.

Instead of this, the exploitation of the vast wealth of the Dead Sea was in danger of being put under the ultimate control of an exclusive German monopoly, to whose interest it would be to limit output, thus maintaining their grip over potash for agriculture and over certain chemicals essential for war purposes.

Eventually the truth must come out, and then when the Arabs can contemplate on the one hand the official loan of £70,000 being written off as Tel Aviv's bad debt, and on the other hand their share of the riches of the Dead Sea being denied to them for the benefit of a Jewish syndicate, the realization of the injustice would act as a chronic and festering sore, and serve still further to embitter their feelings.

The proposed Draft Concession ought not to be ratified.

SUFI ABDUL QADIR, Assistant Imam of the London Mosque, said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—After the masterly treatment of the subject by the speaker of this afternoon, I do not think I can say much to state the case of the Arabs in a better form; but there is one thing that I would like to say. As far as I know it has always been said that the policy of the British Government in Palestine is the policy of establishing a national home for the Jews in that country, without in any way jeopardizing the interests of the native Arab population. What I have never been able to understand is how such a thing can be done. The Arabs at present are the sole owners of the country with no one to share it with them. Great Britain undertakes to settle the Jews in that country, which means that the Jews, as their number increases, in time will appropriate what otherwise must necessarily have belonged to the Arabs if the Jews had not come on the scene. The fact that

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immigration into a country in large numbers is harmful to the interests of the people already settled in that country is an obvious truth, and is admitted as such by British politicians at home and in the Dominions abroad. Otherwise the difficulties that lie in the way of those Eastern people who want to go to, say, Australia or New Zealand to settle there would never have been created. In the case of the United States of America, Canada, the islands of the Pacific, it is the same story everywhere. Immigration in large numbers into a country is universally recognized to be harmful to the interests of the people already settled there, and such being the case, I fail to see how anyone can honestly talk of founding a national home for the Jews in Palestine without jeopardizing the interests of the native Arabs. What Great Britain has pledged herself to do seems nothing less than the performing of an impossible miracle. It is true that British diplomacy can accomplish much that is difficult, but British diplomacy also, like everything else that is human, has its limits. The only wise course in these circumstances is to recognize the impossible and impolitic nature of the undertaking before it becomes too late, and to renounce the present policy.

Miss FARQUHARSON gave a summary of the Arab official statement, which is printed in full later on in the JOURNAL.

Lord ALLENBY said he did not take sides. England had a hard task in administering the Government under the Mandate, but since she had undertaken the task she must go forward and reconcile the two parties without favouritism and with justice. He thanked Captain Bennett for the admirable lecture. (Applause.)

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT UNDER THE PALESTINE MANDATE

BY DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN

A MEETING of the Society was held in the Royal Society's Rooms, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1., on Tuesday, November 12th, 1929. In the absence of Lord Allenby, Sir Edgar Bonham-Carter presided.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have received a message from Lord Allenby, who is very sorry that he cannot be present at this lecture. He was speaking yesterday in Ireland and was not able to get back in time. We are very fortunate in having Dr. Weizmann here this afternoon to address us on the subject of the lecture. Although I believe he has not addressed us before, he needs no introduction to an audience of the Central Asian Society. The Balfour Declaration might perhaps have been called the Dr. Weizmann Declaration. But I may remind you that during the war Dr. Weizmann occupied a position as Director of Laboratories to the Admiralty, and in that position performed signal service to our country. (Applause.) No one, whatever may be his views on the Zionist policy, can fail to recognize Dr. Weizmann's devotion to his ideals, his statesmanship in carrying them out, and his fairness to his opponents. I have pleasure in asking him for his address (Applause.)

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am extremely grateful to you for your kind words of introduction, and I would like to state at the outset that it is, of course, not easy for me to talk on the Zionist Movement and the Mandate, on the operation of the Mandate at present. It is extremely difficult to talk about it impartially, and much as I shall try to be impartial, I am perfectly certain, and it is perfectly in the nature of things, that my statement will be taken and should be taken as an *ex parte* statement. I would like also to state at the outset that I do not intend to touch upon the events which have stirred the attention and imagination of the world in the last two or three months. It would not be fair. Those events are at present *sub judice*, and we shall have to await patiently the findings of the Commission before we can make a pronouncement one way or another. It would be interesting, and I think useful, to survey very quickly the history of the Jewish people, and to point out to the audience that the Zionist Movement is rooted in the consciousness and in the life of the Jewish Race. I am saying that because one is inclined perhaps—the superficial observer and student of Zionist affairs is inclined—to say: "Well, all these things are an artificial growth due to the recent act of some politician. They have no real foundation in life." I think it

suffices to go over several chapters of Jewish history to see, at any rate, that the Jews have never abandoned the hope of a return to Palestine. It has formed a central point in Jewish religious and social life. It has been a shining hope in the distance towards which the Jews have been striving throughout the ages, and throughout their somewhat chequered career; and from time to time, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, actual physical returns of Jews to Palestine took place. These were returns actuated by mystical and religious motives, although in modern times such motives would be reinterpreted as political motives. Masses of Jews moved in the seventeenth century from Holland, Germany, England, Salonika, the Balkans, and Italy—literally moved to Palestine; and some settled there. There was this movement and many others. I do not want to enlarge upon that, it does not fall within the scope of this lecture; I only want to show that it lived right in the depth of the Jewish soul, this hope of a return to Palestine. The Jew, in conformity with his religion, prays or should pray three times a day for his return to Palestine. Another point I would like to touch lightly upon—perhaps it may not be known sufficiently to this audience—is that the English people throughout the ages took a deep interest in this particular sentiment of the Jews, and whenever Palestine was on the verge of bloodshed the British Consuls were instructed by their Government to consider the Jews as under the protection of the British Consular Service. British statesmen, British artists, British finance, writers, explorers, took from time to time a deep interest in the activities of the Jews in Palestine, and believed with the Jews that the day would come when the return of the Jews to Palestine would take place. Whether it is pure sentimentalism, whether it is an accident, or whether it is due to the fact that apart from the Jews the British know the Bible better than any other nation, and sometimes much better than the Jews themselves, I know not. But it is true to say that the British for the last two centuries have taken a deep interest in the status and position of the Jews, and particularly in this phase of their life; and perhaps two or three salient facts proving this contention of mine may not be amiss. We began our work in Palestine long before the war: we began our work in Palestine about sixty years ago. It was under the Turk. It was difficult. It was sporadic. It did not assume any organised character. We had to battle against a great many difficulties. But about sixty years ago we established the first agricultural school. We established various societies in various parts of the world which were interested in Palestine and financed in a mild way the various undertakings in Palestine, and about fifty years ago the first agricultural settlement was founded there. This work went on very, very slowly. It could not go on quickly under the difficulties which of course hampered every normal development of Palestine. But this work

was an important one and was referred to in the various Consular Reports both in Britain and America.

It was in the years 1895, 1896, and 1897 that the mystical strivings of the Jews and this sporadic work in Palestine assumed a definite organized form. It was my predecessor, Dr. Herzl, who formulated the Zionist programme. He said that the aim of Zionism was to establish a home for the Jews in Palestine, and to establish it openly before the world as a legally recognized home: and he first founded the Zionist Organization, which subsequently developed into its present form. Dr. Herzl maintained a very intimate contact with some British statesmen and with British public opinion and with public life generally. He negotiated with the Turks for a charter, for the right to colonize the Jews on a definite territory in Palestine. These negotiations were very protracted, and like most things in Turkey were lost in sand. They were followed up later by negotiations with the British Government, and in the year 1900 the leader of the Zionist Movement discussed with them the possibility of colonizing Jews in the Sinai Peninsula. The British were sympathetic in principle to the idea and an expedition was sent out to El Arish. This expedition got into touch with Lord Cromer, who then ruled in Egypt. Naturally, any colonizing activity in El Arish would depend and must depend on the water of the Nile. You could not irrigate El Arish except through the Nile. Complications arose and the project fell through. It could not hold water either in the literal or in the figurative sense. This proves that as long as thirty years ago statesmen like Lord Cromer and Lord Lansdowne, then Foreign Minister, thought it worth their while to send out an expedition to explore the possibility of Jews settling in El Arish. After this project had fallen through, the British Government in 1903 offered the Zionist Organization—at the suggestion of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain—the possibility of colonizing a territory near Uganda, now Kenya. This project was a definite offer to colonize a vast tract of land under autonomous conditions. It was brought to the Zionist Congress and the debate was a very violent one. The Zionists divided and split into two halves. I may say, those Zionists who were Zionists for others, mostly came from the West, from France and England. These perhaps had no intention of going to Palestine themselves, but might have liked others to go. These were in favour of accepting the proposal. But the others, mostly foreign Zionists, to whom Palestine was part of their life and religion, refused to hear anything about it. They said, rightly I think, "Uganda will never be Palestine. It is not Palestine and never will be. We cannot possibly sell our birthright. It is like giving up one's religion, giving up one's self. We thank the British Government for its generous and magnanimous offer, but we cannot accept it, and we think the British Government is perhaps the only Government which will

understand the motives which lead us to refuse this offer." The offer was refused, the thing fell through, and we went on with our work for Palestine. In fact, after we had received this particular incentive, we redoubled our efforts in Palestine under very adverse conditions.

These two facts prove that our intimate relationship with Great Britain dates from long before the war. It has nothing to do with the war or war propaganda. Incidentally the following was the first occasion when I had the opportunity of meeting Lord Balfour. It was in the year 1906, and Lord (then Mr.) Balfour was greatly interested in the motives of the Jews for refusing such a wonderful and attractive offer as the colonization and establishment of a home near Uganda. I tried to explain as much as I could. After half an hour I thought I could not make much headway, and it was not Lord Balfour who lost patience but I. Finally I said, "Mr. Balfour, suppose I give you Paris instead of London, would you take it?" He said, "We have London." I said, "Mr. Balfour, we had Jerusalem when London was a swamp." There is something which makes it impossible for us to turn our eyes, our hearts, our activities, our intelligence to any other country. Our history is linked up with Palestine, which made us what we are. We have to go on with it. I never saw Lord Balfour again until 1916. As the chairman has pointed out, I was in the service of the Admiralty, and Lord Balfour was First Lord of the Admiralty. I had to walk into his room on some business, and I was terrified lest he should remember the conversation and its somewhat abrupt ending. When I passed the threshold of his office he said, "You know, Dr. Weizmann, if the Allies win the war you might possibly get your Jerusalem." These are historic facts. I quote Lord Balfour's own words, and they should prove to this audience that it was not merely a whim, or purely war propaganda, or just an expedient for the moment.

There were deeper roots and deeper motives which moved both the Jews and the British to consider the problem. One word more about the motives, as far at any rate as I could conceive them, that led up towards the publication of the Balfour Declaration. I think that it is still too early for us to speak of this event. Future historians will judge it differently. But I think one may say there were two series of motives. One was purely ideal, which I have tried to depict in the few statements I have just made. There was a deep-rooted belief that the Jews would return to Palestine, also a deep-rooted belief among the British that they might have a hand in bringing about this return. There was an idea of justice which was prevalent during the war. The exile of the Jews from Palestine was considered in this country as one of the things which had to be righted. Those were the nobler motives. I would not deny that there must have been a great many utilitarian motives which played a part—utilitarian motives which were not all

low and not all ignoble—motives which said: "Well, to this country the public opinion of the Jews, and particularly of the Jews in America, is an important thing. We can win this public opinion by making this offer. Incidentally this offer presents certain material advantages for us. The shores of Palestine face the Suez Canal. It might be valuable to have a friend in need, to have a people, a European people, in this part of the world." I am not saying that it was formulated in so many words, but this was more or less the order of utilitarian ideas which were discussed seriously in a great many quarters in Great Britain during the war. Whether the motives were purely idealist, purely utilitarian, or a combination of the two, I do not know; but this question was considered very carefully in successive meetings of the Cabinet. It was discussed with the Allied and Associated Powers. The actual formula of the Balfour Declaration—which you know is a somewhat vague document—was submitted to the various Cabinets of Italy and France and telegraphed across to Wilson. There were some two years of discussion, and finally out of all this discussion emerged the document known under the name of the Balfour Declaration. It says that His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use its best endeavours to bring about the realization of this object. It also says that nothing shall be done which might prejudice the legitimate interests of the people already in Palestine, or the position of Jews outside Palestine. This is a document which was formulated by Britain and accepted by America, France, and all the other Powers. Various declarations were given to us, and this formed the first political basis on which we could start to work in Palestine. As I mentioned just now, this document is somewhat vague. It naturally needed further amplification and explanation, and this amplification and explanation were set out in another document known as the Mandate for Palestine. I assume that a great many have read and studied this Mandate. It is not altogether a simple document, but I think that for the purposes of tonight's discussion I would like to indicate two or three provisions of the Mandate which are relevant to the question of Zionism. The Mandate first of all recognizes the historic connection of the Jews with Palestine—in other words, it says that we are in Palestine not on sufferance, but by right. The Mandate recognizes the Jewish Agency as a body which is to co-operate with and advise His Majesty's Government here, and the Palestine Administration in Jerusalem, on all matters concerning the Jewish national home. This Agency is a somewhat curious structure from an international legal point of view. It has advisory powers or advisory capacities as far as the administration of Palestine is concerned, and as far as the British Government takes part in that administration. The Agency has no

governing functions to perform, but is purely advisory to the Government on all problems concerning the Jewish national home and executive so far as we ourselves are concerned. The Agency is charged with the duty of actually building up the Jewish national home. It is, therefore, subject to another government so far as the country is concerned; it is executive as far as its own work is concerned. There are other conditions in the Mandate. In respect of the Holy Places, they, of course, are entirely outside the purview of the Zionist Movement or the Jewish Agency.

This was the Magna Charta on which we started our work. This was the basis on which we began. I had the pleasure of working under Lord Allenby in 1918 before Palestine was conquered, and with the permission and knowledge of the Commander-in-Chief I went out to Trans-Jordan to discuss with the man who was at that time the only representative of the Arabs, the Commander-in-Chief of the Arab Army supporting Lord Allenby on the right flank. He was then the Emir Feisal; now he is King Feisal of Iraq. I had a very frank discussion with him on our views and intentions and the work we intended to do, and I met with nothing but friendship and approval, and I am glad to say that the friendship continues to this day. In the year 1919, when we all had to present our formulæ, our demands, our desiderata to the Peace Conference, our desiderata were presented accordingly, and with the knowledge and approval of the then representative of the Arabs; and a letter was written to us by Feisal, dated, I think, March 1, 1919, in which he states: "I have seen the Zionist proposals; I approve of them, and I hope we shall work together." Well, the war passed, and Palestine was freed from the Turk. We first lived for a year or two under a military administration. Then a civil administration was established, the Mandate for Palestine was ratified, and Britain was appointed the Mandatory Power or Trustee of the League of Nations. We were asked to begin our work, and we set to work, and now as briefly as I can I would like to give a sketch of the work done, and of what it is likely to lead to.

Our work in Palestine can be considered under three or four heads—immigration, colonization, education, and sanitation. Those four branches of our activities are, of course, linked up together. We could not colonize Palestine before acquiring land; we could not bring in people before creating room for them where they could live. In the nine years since 1920 we have brought people into Palestine directly and indirectly. We have brought them directly on our own responsibility, and indirectly people have come on their own account; but they have come in owing to the fact that possibilities were made available for them to make a living in Palestine. We have brought in about a hundred thousand people; altogether we have now created over a

hundred new settlements; we have acquired considerable stretches of land; we have built up from the very foundations a system of hygiene and medical service to combat trachoma and malaria. I think we can refer you to the Report of the International Commission sent out by the League of Nations to investigate malaria conditions in Palestine. At any rate, in those places where we have colonized and worked, malaria has decreased, according to their own figures, from something like 87 to 2, 1½ and 1 per. cent. (Applause.) We have built roads, drained marshes and planted trees. We have set up a new system of education, which ranges from the kindergarten to the University. Better still is the budget of our own expenditure—not the expenditure of the Administration of Palestine, but the expenditure of the Jewish Agency. It amounts roughly to three-quarters of a million for a population of about 160,000 Jews. The Budget of the Palestinian State amounts to £2,500,000 for the service of roughly 900,000 people. It would take me very long to recite in detail all this work. I think I am right in saying that if you study the Zionist Organization's Memoranda, presented to the League of Nations, or the reports of the Palestine Administration, you can come to only one conclusion. One may agree or disagree with the policy as a whole, but it is incontestable that the achievement or performance of the Jews in Palestine is, to say the least, a fairly creditable one. It has been accomplished in difficult circumstances in a difficult country. I do not want to speak about it much, but it is a country where we have not been received with open arms. We went in immediately after the war, and it should be borne in mind that about two-thirds of the Jewish people, and particularly those large Jewish communities to whom Zionism is a perfectly natural thing, have been paralyzed. Russian and Polish Jews can now do little for our cause. All our support had to come from the West and America. It came, and we were able to carry forward the work on the scale I have described. To illustrate our work with one more example: I will compare our post-war colonizing activity with the colonizing activity of, say, Great Britain in Australia or in Canada. A great many of you, no doubt, have read the various reports. Well, what is the difference and what are the similarities? The difference is first of all obvious: Here is Great Britain, with all her vast experience of colonization all over the world, sending ex-soldiers or other young people from an English-speaking country to another English-speaking country, from England to Canada or Australia. Land is plentiful, and there is room in Australia and Canada for millions. The whole apparatus of British colonizing force and activity stands behind the people who are sent out. They are received in an English-speaking community as welcome settlers, and I think it is true that the settling on the land of a family in Australia or Canada costs Great Britain something like £1,200 to £1,500, and

sometimes a little more. It is true again to say that in the whole of the experiments which have been made, of the number of people sent out, about 20 per cent. have proved unfit to be colonists. They could not adapt themselves to the difficult conditions and be converted from town dwellers into settlers on the land. Well, I think our figures are roughly the same, but slightly lower. It costs us to settle a family on the land in Palestine about £1,100. We also have about 15 to 20 per cent. of people who are useless for the purpose of settling on the land. However, I think it would be admitted, and I shall not labour the point, that we work under quite different conditions from those under which Great Britain works, and we have a material which is, of course, much more refractory than the British town dweller. The Jews for the last two thousand years have been severed from the soil, and it requires a great ideal to convert a Jew from what he is into one who will settle and take root in the somewhat ungrateful soil of Palestine. Today, however, there is in that country a Jewish peasantry with all the signs and all the qualities and attributes of peasants.

This is a very brief and very sketchy account, but it is an indication that the achievement has been serious and that it has been a labour of love and suffering.

We work on a voluntary basis. We cannot tax the Jews. The budget, which is a respectable one, is collected from the halfpennies, the pennies, the shillings and dollars of a race which is scattered all over the world; and incidentally it may be said that of this money spent in Palestine since the Armistice—roughly about twelve to fourteen million pounds—perhaps 5 or 6 per cent. is rich people's money. Zionism is a democratic movement based on the sympathies of the vast masses of Jews all over the world. I would like to say that throughout these activities I think nothing has happened which could be construed as conflicting with the interests of the Arab population. Every one of our actions—whether acquisition of land, colonization, or our educational, hygienic, and sanitary efforts—so far from injuring the interests of the Arabs, has, I venture to say, contributed rather to improve their condition. (Applause.) We have not dispossessed a single Arab of his original possession. The land which we have acquired, and this should be noted with great care—the land which we have acquired has been acquired chiefly from absentee landlords. Now what were those absentee landlords, and what are they? They are gentlemen who spend their time in Cairo, or Paris, or a little further afield. They have tenants on their land and bleed these tenants white. The land is completely neglected. As I said, about ten years ago the very lands on which we have established now flourishing colonies were malarial holes, and the mortality of the Arabs was extraordinarily high. You can see today, for instance, in the Valley of Esdraelon, which we have chiefly

colonized—you can see hills on which there were Arab villages. The inhabitants died from malaria. It was not in the interest of the Arab landlord to develop those lands. It was a neglected country, an eyesore, a sandy, marshy waste. Here we have converted marshes into tillable land: we have converted sands by irrigation into settlements where a considerable number of people can live. So far, as I hope it will also be in the future, never has there been any attempt direct or indirect to dispossess an Arab of his land. (Applause.) I think it is in the very core of the Zionist Movement, which is very often said to be carried on by unpractical idealists—I think it is in the very core of the Zionist Movement that we of the Jewish race, which has suffered so much injustice from the hands of others, should not begin our activity by inflicting injustice on other people. (Applause.) This is the guiding spirit, the guiding principle of our work. Let me be perfectly frank. I do not want to generalize. There have been and there are Jews and Zionists who may be thinking differently. There are a great many British people who think the Balfour Declaration implies very much more than the Declaration does. But I speak for those who have been responsible for the activities of the Zionist Movement for the last ten years, who are responsible to the Mandatory Power, to the League of Nations, and our own people. These have never considered that Palestine will belong to the Jews. The Jews will have a home in Palestine. We think, and I think I could prove, there is room for Jews and Arabs to live together in Palestine. (Hear, hear.) Whether it will be half a million Jews, or three-quarters of a million, or a million, I know not. That depends on modern trade and development. Today immigration into Palestine is conducted on a principle which I think sound, which is laid down by the Mandatory Power, and which we have accepted sincerely, honestly, and fully. We do not bring more into the country than it can digest, and if it happens that more come in, then immigration stops until the process of digestion has taken place and there is a possibility for new people to come in.

One more word. I am truly conscious that I have not covered the ground fully on a controversial subject which can be tackled from a hundred points of view. I do not pretend to have exhausted it or anything like it. One more objection I would like to meet, and that is the usual statement which is broadcast, and the more broadcast it is the more it testifies to the deep ignorance of those who make it. That statement is that the Palestine adventure, the Jewish National Home, is costing the British taxpayer vast sums. I am not inclined to be frivolous, but if you read a certain section of the Press or ask the man in the street, "What is Palestine?" a common answer is, "A Jewish Kingdom, chiefly Bolshevik, where the Jews ride rough-shod over everybody there, and it costs us two shillings in the pound." This kind of

talk hardly deserves attention, but I would like to refer to the figures at hand—I am not speaking of the time of the Military Occupation, which has nothing to do with the Jewish National Home, but of the time when a civil government was established in Palestine and we were allowed to go on with our work. Speaking of these last seven years I think it is right to say that Palestine has cost the British tax-payer not one single penny. I think it is right to say that indirectly—I am not saying that Great Britain has benefited greatly, far from that; but indirectly I think Palestine financially has behaved a great deal better than many countries that were taken over by Great Britain after the war. Of all the countries which formed part of the Turkish Empire, like Iraq, Hejaz, and Trans-Jordan, Palestine is the only country which pays its way. Of all the countries which have been taken over by Great Britain from the Turks, Palestine alone has paid its share of the Ottoman public debt, which is of course indirectly benefiting those shareholders who had a stake in that Ottoman debt. Palestine is clear of the Ottoman debt. That is not the case of Iraq, Syria, or any of the other countries. Little Palestine has paid about £600,000 or £700,000. Palestine has paid for all the military railways which have been constructed through the country, which is not the case in Iraq. The cost of the railways which have been constructed in Mesopotamia, I think, has been wiped off by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is not wiped off in the case of Palestine, and Palestine has paid £1,000,000 for that. So that far from Palestine being a burden it has paid its way, and I dare say it is right to say it has been possible to do so—I am quoting the words of the present High Commissioner of Palestine, Sir John Chancellor, in Geneva—that it has been possible because of invisible imports of money into Palestine. Otherwise Palestine would be financially a white elephant, financially an impossible proposition. But today Palestine is perfectly capable, not only of balancing its budget, but of covering the service of a loan of £4,475,000. You have a somewhat curious fact. Here we are collecting money from all over the world, importing it into Palestine, and after it has run the circle it lands, to a considerable extent, in the coffers of the Palestine exchequer. It is perfectly normal that it should be so. But what should not be, is that it is constantly thrown in our faces that we cost the British tax-payer something. We cost nothing. Indirectly we are contributors. I think it necessary to meet this argument because one hears so much about it. In connection with the recent events—I do not propose to touch upon them—we heard of the cost which may be involved in order to quell the rebellion and protect the Jews against the onslaught of the Arabs and so on. This whole business has cost £35,000, and will be covered by the Palestine budget. So really there is not much to talk about. Well, that is a digression. I am drawing to the end of what I wanted to say. I shall not enter into a

discussion of whether this policy has been right or wrong. This policy has been considered very carefully, considered in conjunction with all the Powers which then had a say in this matter. This policy has been tested as far as we are concerned. I think we have performed our part of the bargain. We have done what was expected of us, and we hope and trust that it will be given to us to go on with our work.

Let me say one thing more in conclusion. It is somewhat startling that this country, this little strip of land in the Eastern Mediterranean, arouses so much interest in the world. So much has been written lately about Palestine that you could literally almost cover Palestine with newspaper articles. It happens to be a country which is dear to three great religions of the world. It is the country which has been the cradle of our civilization and religion. It is the country from which, taking our religion as the starting-point, two other religions took root, Christianity and Mohammedanism. These were further developments of the Mosaic religion. It is that which focusses the attention of the world on Palestine. It is therefore essential that everything that is done in Palestine should be a work of peace and civilization. That is why I stated before that the guiding principle of our work was peaceful co-operation, if possible, with all others. It is from this strip of the world that a message of peace and goodwill went out to the world, and whatever ideals the world holds came out from that country. We, a nation sorely tried for thousands of years, looked upon Palestine as our last hope. We looked to the British promise as a promise of redemption both for the people and the country. We have gone to Palestine on the strength of those promises. We have worked in the way I have described, and it is not too bold to hope that if we continue our work—and I daresay we shall continue—then once more a message of peace and goodwill will come out of Palestine. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—I said at the beginning of the meeting that we were fortunate in having Dr. Weizmann to address us this evening, and I am sure you will all agree, having heard him, that the statement was an under-statement. We often have people address us who have taken a prominent part in the events they describe or have witnessed those events. Sometimes people addressing us have eloquence. But we rarely, as tonight, have one who combines both those qualities. (Applause.) The meeting is now open for discussion. I hope that anyone who wishes to take part in the discussion will remember that others also wish to do so and will be brief. I am sure Dr. Weizmann will be very glad to answer any questions.

The following questions were asked : Would Dr. Weizmann explain what he said about the Jewish Agency ? Is it a definitely constituted body, or does he use the expression in a merely general sense ?

Would Dr. Weizmann tell us a little bit more about the steps taken

.to protect the Arab peasant when the Jews find themselves among the Arabs? I think it would be interesting to hear a little more about that.

Dr. Weizmann said that the cost of quelling the recent trouble in Palestine was only £35,000. Might I ask him whether the cost of the present British military occupation is not more than that, or probably will be more than that, and whether that also is being paid by the Palestine Government?

Another question I would like to ask is whether Dr. Weizmann can make any suggestions for improving relations in future? He has told us that there were Jews in Palestine for a long period before the war. We also know that Jews and Arabs get on very well together in Baghdad. I believe that even now the proportion of Jews to Arabs in Palestine is smaller than the proportion of Jews to Arabs in Baghdad. If it is a fact that Jews and Arabs in Baghdad get on well together, and that the Jews and Arabs in Palestine used to get on well together, can he suggest what is the cause of the bitter feeling that exists now, and can he suggest any way of improving that feeling? (Applause.)

Captain WOODYATT: May I say a few words about the discussion this evening. Dr. Weizmann hardly referred to the Arabs at all until the very last part of his speech, and that is the part which all this country at any rate are forming their own opinions on in the light of what has been happening in the last three months. This has all come about through the Balfour Declaration, and the three points have already been explained. First of all, the establishment of a national home in Palestine; secondly, that the non-Jewish communities would not be affected by it; and thirdly, that the status of Jews in other countries would not be affected. It is, in my opinion, absolutely impossible for those three conditions all to be carried out at once. There must be a little bit of favouritism somewhere, and as the time has gone on the favouritism has been entirely given to the Zionists at the expense of the Arabs. Immigration has increased to enormous proportions. I think there were about 40,000 immigrants in a couple of years. They were people from Poland and Central Russia, people we should describe in this country as being of a very undesirable nature. Many of them were imbued with Russian Bolshevism, and naturally they affected the local Arabs. I think there is a great deal to say on the side of the Arabs in the recent troubles. I am sure Dr. Weizmann knows Jerusalem, and he knows that outside on the top of the Mount of Olives there is a British cemetery, one of the most beautiful sites I have seen in my life. Possibly there are a very large number of men in this room who fought out in Palestine in the war for the freedom of that country from the hands of the Turks. Now, as things have turned out, the country has been handed over entirely to the Jews.

I should like to say a word or two regarding the Dead Sea. The

economic future of Palestine lies in the Dead Sea. Our late Government has handed the Dead Sea over to the Zionists, very much against the desire and opinion of the Arabs. With that comes up the question of what is going to happen supposing the Zionists work that concession and are attacked by the Arabs. Does that mean that again British soldiers are to be called in to protect them? If they are, I think British soldiers and British opinion will alter in Palestine very much from what they are now. Dr. Weizmann also talked about Zionists. There is a very great difference between what Zionists were in 1894, when Dr. Herzl came over to this country, and what they are now. In 1894 they were imbued with the idea that they wanted a national home in Palestine for the Jews. With that idea nobody was in disagreement. But things have changed very much in the last twenty years.

Mr. ISRAEL COHEN: The last speaker has said, Mr. Chairman, that during the British occupation, or under the British administration, we have found that favouritism has been shown towards the Jews to the detriment of the Arabs. I am sorry that that gentleman has not found it necessary to substantiate that allegation. If he had taken the trouble to enquire into the recent history of Palestine he would have found to his astonishment that the truth was just the reverse—that no favouritism has been shown towards the Jews, that the Palestine Administration had acted as it has thought in accordance with the terms of the Palestine Mandate; but that, on the other hand, favouritism has undoubtedly been shown towards the Arabs. I need only give one instance. According to the Palestine Mandate the Government is obliged to encourage the close settlement of Jews on state and waste lands, not required for public purposes. Ten years have elapsed, and not a single square inch of land has been given by the Palestine Administration to the Jews; but as for the Arabs, a very large tract of land at Beisan was given some years ago to the Arabs, who since then have neither cultivated the land nor paid the Government dues, but are constantly hawking the surplus lands in the markets of Palestine. He has spoken of the immigrant, and said that very large numbers have come from Poland and Russia. That is quite true, because Palestine is to be the National Home of the Jewish people, not of a certain number of Jews from Western Europe. It is to be thrown open to Jews who may come in from any country. The Lecturer has explained that the Zionist ideal has appealed most strongly to the Jews of Eastern Europe living under oppression and hardship. But the sting of the last speaker in his reference to the Jews of Eastern Europe was that these Jews, coming from those parts of the world into Palestine, bring with them the taint of Bolshevism. It is true that some Bolsheviks come into Palestine, but they even come into this country, whose portals are more carefully guarded than those of Palestine. But if he reads the newspapers he will find that only a few days ago a

certain Hebrew newspaper was confiscated because it published a black list of the Palestine Government, containing the names of eighteen persons who were suspect by the Palestine Government. These eighteen names were headed by that of the Grand Mufti and the Secretary of the Moslem Council. There are seven Arabs, and the rest are Communists, and the Government knows there have been close relations for the last twelve months between the Communists in Palestine and the Arab. If the gentleman who has spoken before me has followed the proceedings at Geneva from time to time, he will know that on a certain occasion the Arab representatives who went to Geneva approached the Soviet representative. There is a certain amount of Communism in Palestine, but it is proscribed by the Jewish Community, because Soviet Russia is the only country which proscribes Zionism. There the Zionists are regarded as the agents of British Imperialism, as counter-revolutionists, and to be a Zionist in Soviet Russia entails punishment, imprisonment, and the severest privations. During the last few years a number of Zionists have perished in the prisons owing to the terrible punishments inflicted on them by Soviet Russia. The immigrants from Eastern Europe are the finest idealists in the world. There are many of them who have been at Universities, and have given up their academic career to take a severe and hard part in the toil of the establishment of the Jewish National Home. People from Western Europe and America who have visited Palestine from time to time and have arrived in the country with a prejudice against the Zionist idea, after having seen what those immigrants have done in that country, have returned with expressions of the highest praise of the achievement and work of those men in town and country. So much for undesirable immigrants. Now I should not like to dwell upon all the points that have been dealt with in reply to the previous speaker, but he has spoken about the Dead Sea . . .

The CHAIRMAN : I would ask you to be rather short.

Mr. ISRAEL COHEN : As to the Dead Sea, I think it should be known to the speaker, as it probably is known to the great majority of this audience, that before the Government decided on the grant of the Concession of the Dead Sea, they advertised for a period of close upon two years. Applications were invited from any sort of company or individual prepared to undertake the exploitation of the Dead Sea. If the Arabs have a grievance, they had plenty of time before the Balfour Declaration and in the time of the Turks to exploit the Dead Sea. They did nothing then or subsequently, and only now they start their complaints when they find it has been given to two concessionaires, one of whom is a Jew. The Company established has an English Chairman, a member of the House of Lords, the Earl of Lytton, and the Prospectus shows that the best part of the profits will not just go into the pockets

of the Jews, but in reality will go into the pockets of the Palestine Government and the Trans-Jordan Government. Only one other point : the remark that there has been a tremendous change in the character of the Zionists over the last twenty years. I have been a Zionist from the days of Herzl, and I am not aware of any change in my character, or in that of my fellow-Zionists, except that in consequence of the antagonism that we have to encounter even in intelligent audiences—and I hope the last speaker is the exception—owing to the hostility and antagonism we encounter in certain unenlightened circles our energies and enthusiasm have been redoubled. Before the war we had not the opportunity of carrying into practice our ideals, but since the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate we have had the opportunity of putting into practice those ideals, and if there is any change it is due to the fact that we are now putting into practice that which before the war was merely an ideal. (Applause.)

The LECTURER : There is very little left for me to reply to, but I shall try my best to reply to the questions, always remembering that the same person must not formulate the question and answer it. With regard to the first question, whether the Jewish Agency is merely just a figure of speech or whether it is an organized body, I should like to say it is an organized body. It is recognized in the Mandate; and until the enlarged Jewish Agency is officially recognized, the Zionist Organization is the Jewish Agency. The Zionist Organization—I shall not keep you very long—is an international movement which has a supreme governing body, the Zionist Congress. This is a sort of ambulant Parliament, and the Congress meets every two years and elects an Executive, and it is this Executive which is the Jewish Agency responsible to the Mandatory Power for its activities. The Mandatory Power scans and scrutinizes the constitution of the Agency, and if the constitution is considered suitable we are recognized as the Jewish Agency. So far we have had no trouble ; we have been accepted, and have acted under the Mandate, and have co-operated with the Government as much as was in our power.

With regard to the question asked by Mr. Woods, What is happening ? How is the Arab peasant protected when Jews acquire land ? In other words, is the Arab peasant dispossessed of his land without just compensation ? I answer as follows : Most of our land, 95 or 96 per cent. of it, has been land on which there have practically never been any settlers. It was waste land, sand, and marshes, and we had to sink a considerable amount of money to render it all habitable. But in the very rare case where an Arab village sells its surplus land, then the Government, and we, take very great care that nobody is dispossessed. Not only are the settlers compensated at fair prices fixed by the Government, but usually a piece of land is set aside for the tenants to settle on ; and very often where you have tenants who

were bled white by the Effendi, the absentee landlord, if we acquire the piece of land, we set aside a piece for the tenants, and they get enough money to build houses, and from merely tenants they become small-holders—(hear, hear); in all these cases the Government watches very rightly and very carefully that no harm should come to either the tenant or the owner.

I quoted the figure of the cost of the troops sent to restore order as £35,000 from the reply by the Secretary of State given in the House a few days ago.

As to the future, it is difficult to prophesy what is going to happen in the future, and especially you should not try to prophesy as to Palestine. I think the opinion is shared by everybody who knows something about Palestine, that with a good British police the country could be policed to such an extent that no military garrison would be necessary, and in case of emergency the Government could always raise special constables. Then I think the country would be quiet. It is also said that whether a certain regiment stands in Ismailia or Palestine it makes no difference to the Exchequer. But I hope and believe that the day will come when it will not be necessary. It was not necessary in the time of Plumer. When Lord Plumer was High Commissioner of Palestine, although Egypt in the south and Syria in the north were practically in a state of war, yet not so much as a frontier incident happened in Palestine. I hope this quiet and peace will be established again. At any rate, should Palestine need some extra protection, this cost would be covered by the Palestine Government and not by the Exchequer.

A very large question is, of course, what are the causes which have produced this present state of affairs, and what are the suggestions which I have to make to avoid further repetition of those causes? It is a very interesting subject, and if I did not touch on it, it was not because I would not like to deal with it, but because I thought all these political questions would be discussed to much greater advantage after the Commission of Enquiry had made its report. This Commission of Inquiry is to investigate the immediate causes of the outbreak, and the ways and means for preventing the recurrence of such a thing, and it would, I think, be improper for me to say anything about it now. But if I could, without in any way prejudicing what the Commission may say in their report, I should like to say that in my humble opinion there are two ways: first, it must be made perfectly clear to the Jews and to the Arabs that the Mandate, which is an international obligation which Great Britain has taken upon ourselves—a solemn public declaration—the Mandate must be carried out. So long as anyone—whether Arab or Jew, human nature is the same—as long as anybody believes that through acts of violence or, to use an ugly word, through pogroms,

it would be possible to deter the British Government or the League of Nations from a policy which has once been established or defined, violence or threats of violence will always be tried. It would, therefore, be a grave error in my opinion—I am really trying to be as impartial as possible—but it would be a grave error in my opinion if we were forced into retreat by Arab violence. Other people would follow, and it would be the end of European rule in Asia. Therefore, one has to make up one's mind. Here is a Mandate accepted, solemnly accepted, tested, and tried. I shall not discuss whether the British Administration in Palestine has done or not done all that it should do. But one way is to say, "Here is the Mandate; we think it just, and it should be carried out." Or something else is possible. You might say, "We think it is wrong and should be withdrawn." (Applause.) It must be one thing or another. Successive Governments have solemnly proclaimed that they do not intend to change the policy. Well, then, if you do not intend to change the policy, carry it through. Carry it through as justly and fairly as possible. It is possible to carry it through justly and fairly; and at least I have made the attempt to prove to you that it has been done fairly and squarely.

That is one point. The second suggestion is that, this being established, it is absolutely essential, and it is one of our primary considerations, to make it perfectly clear to the Arabs that we do not want to dominate them, and we do not want to drive them out of their country. We recognize that it is their country as much as it is or will be ours, and that we can live in Palestine with them. I may give an example, though it is not exactly our case, of two or three languages, cultures, and civilizations living quite well together, and forming one body politic, which is what I have been advancing. In Canada you have French and English living together. But it must be clearly established that having come to Palestine we are there as of right and not on sufferance, and we are there to live peaceably, and have come together to build up a common fatherland. (Applause.) Once that is recognized, and once the Arab knows that he is not going to make you drop the Balfour Declaration, I think peace and harmony will be established, and I think that the British have the means and experience to see that no hardship or injustice is done. I have full confidence in the British Administration in the Palestine State. (Applause.) In my humble opinion the two ways can be applied directly, and if I understand the speaker I hope that he will to a certain extent bear me out that those are two great lines of policy that if wisely followed out will establish peace and harmony.

Now the last speaker has brought out a series of questions which really, with all due respect, I am incapable of answering. They are neither logical nor to the point. Above all, they are not true. Mr.

Cohen has already dwelt on the favouritism. Well, it is a very much debatable point what favours we have received. I said in my speech—I really quoted the speaker before he spoke—I said that if you asked the man in the street what was Palestine he would answer that it was a country that had been handed over to the Jews, where they had created a Bolshevik State, which costs the British tax-payer 2s. in the pound. I did not know that the speaker would say that. (Laughter.) Palestine has not been handed over to the Jews. There is a British Administration which has no idea or intention of handing over Palestine to anybody. I cannot testify or give you a police testimony that we are not Bolsheviks. But we are not, and the Bolsheviks are the greatest enemies of our movement. Zionism is prohibited in Russia. If you advocate it in a newspaper in Russia you will go to prison. It is quite true there are Jewish Bolsheviks. There are English Bolsheviks and French; but just as we do not generalize that the English are Bolsheviks because there is a Bolshevik party in England, so I think it is only fair to ask you not to generalize that all Jews are Bolsheviks because there happen to be Jewish Bolsheviks. There are Jewish Bolsheviks in Palestine. I think it is quite true to say that, if you analyze all the forces that have lately troubled not only Palestine but China, Egypt, and India, you will find a considerable amount of Bolshevism in it. They use a certain method. In China they instigated the boycott of British goods. They are in Egypt and Palestine, but they are enemies of Zionism, and I can make a present of all the Bolsheviks to my opponent. They have been a trouble to us. I think they intend to try to embarrass the British Empire in the Middle East or Far East—particularly in the Middle East. They are used against Zionism as a stick to beat a dog. It is very convenient. We are the Jews with untold money which we have accumulated apparently during the war. I am not aware of it. But here we are. On the one side we are accused of Bolshevism, which is anti-capitalist, and on the other side we are accused of capitalism. You beat us with two sticks, either the one or the other. Either we are capitalists or Bolsheviks. But those are the usual arguments, I think, Mr. Chairman. The thing should not be brought up at all. It has nothing to do with Palestine or what I said about Palestine. What I said can be tested, tried, and confirmed. There are Bolsheviks among the Jews just as there are among the English and Germans.

Last of all the Dead Sea Concession. This happens to be a subject on which I know something, because I have dabbled in chemistry myself. I know quite well there is potash absorbed in the waters of the Dead Sea. Quite a great deal, but there is no justification whatever for the astronomical figures which are usually quoted of the gold that can be extracted from the Dead Sea. The Dead Sea at the best can be compared with any potash mine such as exist in hundreds in Alsace or

Germany. You can just as well say that in the atmosphere of the air there is an enormous quantity of nitrogen, millions of tons, and that if all this nitrogen could be converted into nitric acid or some other commodity it would be worth millions of money. That is true, and exactly the same thing is true of the Dead Sea. There is a good deal of potash, but it is absorbed in the waters of the Dead Sea, and after it is extracted you spend a great deal of money, and then you have it on the shores of the Dead Sea, and it has to be transported to the place where it is to be used. It may or may not be a good thing, but it is no better or worse than any other potash mine. Why people speak about it in astronomical figures surpasses my knowledge. I happen to be a chemist, I know what potash is, and know that it would be extremely difficult for these concessionaires to compete with the potash mines existing in Europe today. If it is of value it is not for the intrinsic value of a large quantity of potash, because that is plentiful in Europe. But it is valuable because of its possibilities. It is important that it is within the British Empire, and if, in case of war, we are cut off from the potash supplies of Europe, it may be of great value for agriculture in the Empire. From that point of view it is important, but from the purely commercial chemical point of view it does not differ from hundreds of mines which are worked under more favourable conditions in the centre of civilized Europe. But it is characteristic of our worthy opponents that they draw a fantastic picture of the Jew, known for his rapacity, going to extract millions of gold from the Dead Sea to the detriment of the poor Arab. Nothing of the kind. Of the concessionaires, one is a Jew and the other an Englishman, and the company is half English. It will have to spend a great deal of money before it sees any profits. They will have to spend a great deal of money before the thing works, and when worked it will yield neither more nor less than any other mine. All these fantastic astronomical figures have nothing to do with reality. All this sort of mystical talk, this sort of "hidden hand" conspiracy, is good, with all due respect, for fantastic novels, but it is not suitable for serious discussion.

Here is the problem. I do not deny it is a difficult problem. I do not deny that we are a difficult people. We are; we are stiff-necked. If we were not, we should not have survived for thousands of years the treatment meted out to us, which was not always very good. We have survived it and come back to Palestine. We come back with clean hands. We are under the ægis of the Power which stands for justice and fair play in the world, and we really only want justice and fair play. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have had an extremely interesting address, and I think a valuable discussion. If I may in a few words describe the conclusions I draw from the address and discussion they are as follows: That in

Palestine the principle of self-determination, which was heard of a great deal during the war, but which is a new principle in Turkish provinces, and to which perhaps we attach rather too much importance since the war—more than it deserves—at any rate, that principle is brought up against two others. One is the right of the Jewish nation to have their historic home, and the other is the importance of Palestine as the centre of religion for Christians, for Jews, and also, though to a lesser extent, for Mohammedans. Now you have three principles in conflict, and you will not get a solution of the Palestine problem if you ride any one of these principles to its complete conclusion. You must have a compromise between those three. Dr. Weizmann assured us—and I think from what he said we have reason to know that it is true—that the Zionist Movement, as now conducted, does recognize that compromise is necessary, and, if that is so, then I do not myself see why the Zionist policy should not be carried out, no doubt with difficulties at times, but eventually with success, and without injustice to the Arab population. Palestine is not the only country where you have these or similar difficulties. In Kenya there is a similar conflict going on. Even in Fascist Italy, where Nationalism is so strong, Mussolini has seen fit to recognize that the Pope as head of the Roman Catholic religion shall have over a part of Italian soil complete sovereignty. There you have two principles, a religious principle and a political principle, which are incompatible one with the other; but the solution has been found. The territory ceded was small, but the principle involved—namely, the sovereignty over a part of the Capital—was very important. I will not keep you longer. I am sure you all wish to express your very hearty thanks to Dr. Weizmann for a most interesting and eloquent address. (Applause.)

CONTRASTS OF THE INDIAN AND MALAYAN COUNTRYSIDE*

BY C. P. STRICKLAND, I.C.S.

THE first thing that I should like to make clear is that in undertaking this comparison, inevitably superficial, of the countryside of India and Malaya, I am not attempting to censure or unfavourably criticize either of the two countries. I have spent many years in India, chiefly on work connected with rural economics, and since I was invited by the Malayan Government to make an enquiry of the same nature last winter in Malaya there struck me a series of prominent contrasts between the two countries which, although my knowledge of Malaya is of short duration, it seemed permissible to describe in public. I shall be speaking only of the western and more advanced side of the Malayan Peninsula and comparing it with the north, centre, and south of India, to the exclusion of the area of heavier rainfall in Burma, Assam, and Bengal. My line of argument is that, since the crops of each country depend on the climate and the nature of men depends largely on the crops which they grow, one can trace a line of connection in either country between the climate, the system of agriculture, and the people of the countryside.

Malaya, in the first place, is a country with an average rainfall varying from 70 to 120 inches a year, and 100 to 120 wet days. India, on the other hand, averages some 60 wet days, of which the great majority are in three months of the year, the remainder being dry, and the average rainfall varies from 15 to 20 inches in the year. The temperature of Malaya lies between 75° F. at night and 95° to 100° F. in the day. There was no day during my visit when I was not able to draw up a blanket in the night and none on which I did not require a punkah in the day. In India, on the other hand, especially in the north which I know best, there may often be 10° to 15° of frost at night, and again, though not in the same month, 120° in the shade during the daytime.

The pictures which I am showing you will make it clear that the one country is green and always moist and beautiful; the other dry, hard and unattractive for the most part, though potentially fertile. When I first went to India I imagined that I was to enter a land of dense

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Lord Allenby in the Chair.

forest, with tangled liane creepers, and a tiger behind every bush. That, but for the tigers, would be a fairly accurate description of Malaya; but the normal landscape of India may be seen on either hand as you pass through the Suez Canal—dry, bare, and inhospitable. Naturally, therefore, the first preoccupation of the Indian peasant is to obtain water, and the picture of sinking a well will illustrate this necessity. You are perhaps not aware that a well is not made by first excavating the hole and then building in it the well tube, but by erecting first the well tube of bricks to a height of 20 feet above the ground, and then digging the earth out of the middle so that it sinks in. You will see, too, how the mirage lies over the Indian plains in the hot weather. I have myself seen, though not as markedly as on this slide, trees, water and herds of feeding animals. Even on cultivated land the eye travels over a wide expanse of apparently barren waste, which in reality is, given irrigation or rain, quite productive and valuable. A picture of labourers resting during the harvest will make this clear. Their heap of wheat straw proves that even in this barren scene they have been gathering a sufficient crop. On the other hand, the slide of the Malayan road-scene is entirely typical, not selected for the purpose of making a case, and is such a patch of country as you may discover at any moment at a short distance from the main towns. I was warned that a man may lose himself dangerously by going only a few yards from the road into the forest, and tested this myself in a thoroughly convincing manner.

To pass on now to the crops, which are, naturally, in accordance with the nature of the climate, Indian agriculture presents three main features: it is precarious, since it depends on the monsoons; it is directed towards the sustenance of man and beast, no less than 84 per cent. of the area being under food or fodder crops; and it is carried on by peasant small-holders, the average small-holding being not more than six acres. Malaya, on the other hand, enjoys a secure rainfall. Her most important crops are grown for the purpose of export, and though small-holders are very numerous, no less than one-quarter of her 5 million cultivated acres is in the form of plantations exceeding 100 acres each in extent. Out of 300 million acres in India, 80 million are devoted to rice, 30 million to wheat, 23 million to cotton; while in Malaya nearly half the total area is under rubber, another 10 per cent. under cocoanuts, varied by a succession of such crops as tapioca, sago, etc., which, like rubber and cocoanuts, do not involve that incessant manual labour which is required by the Indian system. The scenes of a rubber plantation show you a gentle and well-wooded landscape with men employed for a few hours each day in "tapping" the rubber-trees, collecting the latex and bringing it to the smoke-house. Similarly, the cocoanut planter is busy, no doubt throughout the year, but gently and

without those occasions of sowing and harvest, when an Indian must work both early and late.

There is abundant land in Malaya, and consequently, little need for excessive subdivision of small-holdings by the sons of deceased fathers. The pictures of "consolidation" in an Indian village will astonish you by the distressing fragmentation of each man's little farm and by the scattered position of the tiny plots which he owns. One of our recent activities in North India has been to persuade the small-holder to consolidate his plots, as in the second slide, into one or two large fields, saving thereby innumerable causes of strife and much labour of man and beast.

The only Malayan crop which requires manual work of a persistent kind is that of rice. The 700,000 acres which grow rice in Malaya produce only two-thirds of the food required for the country, the remainder being imported at considerable cost. In several Malay States the growing of rice is compulsory under the law, and in certain of them there are prescribed dates for the sowing, the weeding, and various other operations. It is in no way unnatural or surprising that a man who finds himself through the bounty of Nature able to put down such a crop as rubber and then rest at leisure for five or six years until it is mature for tapping should prefer this manner of life to the strenuous alternative of sowing rice, weeding it, harvesting it, and the maintenance of the cattle and implements which this kind of work involves.

Although the climate of Malaya renders it impossible that a crop of rice should fail entirely—I was astonished to find that whereas India means by a failure a total failure, with no crop at all and the seed lost, Malaya means a crop which yields only 60 per cent. of the normal—yet the average outturn of rice in Malaya is only 800 lbs. per acre, whereas in India, taking both irrigated and unirrigated land, it is 950 lbs., and on irrigated land, which alone is truly comparable with Malayan conditions, the average is more nearly 1,100 lbs. The standard of cultivation in Malaya seemed to me distinctly lower so far as I could judge during my short visit. The only place where I seemed to find a markedly higher level of cleanliness in the crop and attention to the crop was in the area where matriarchy prevails, and where the men told me, whether truly or not, that since the land stood in the names of the women, they took good care that the women did the work in the fields.

One of the things which struck me forcibly when I visited the large agricultural station (a thousand acres) at Serdang was that since rubber is not grown there at all, the whole place, very wisely and prudently maintained by Government, represents a vast insurance against the possible failure of the rubber crop—a failure which might at any moment be due to the attacks of some unsuspected pest or disease or to the invention of a serviceable substitute for the finished article.

A singular difference between the two countries is that of the peasant's attitude towards a new crop or a new animal recommended to him by agricultural experts. A farmer is always reluctant to try experiments, but whereas the Indian peasant in such a case tends to be suspicious of the value of what is offered to him, the Malay, on the other hand, is more likely to be indifferent. At the Serdang station I found that improved varieties of fruit trees were available, and that though Malay peasants would accept them as a gift they appeared to feel little interest in trying really to raise the quality of the fruit gardens around their houses. It may illustrate the difference in their mental attitudes if I give you an instance of their treatment of animals. I had occasion to arrange the distribution of some half-Merino rams to Indian villages, and when after a certain period I enquired from one village how their ram had worked they reported that they had found it of little use for the purpose of breeding but that it had proved very good to eat! This appears to me to indicate the Indian attitude. If they were disinclined to accept and use what was offered to them as technically better, they were reluctant to retain at all in their possession and took steps to be rid of it. On the other hand, one of the questions which I had to discuss in Malaya was the introduction of better poultry into the villages. Ordinarily, the Indian peasant will welcome good poultry or better cattle if once his suspicions can be overcome and he is satisfied that they are really good. But the Malays were not anxious to take the necessary steps to improve their breed of poultry, and the only suggestion which appealed to them was that if they were to collect all their existing cocks, slaughter them, and hold an immense feast, they could then be persuaded to accept animals of better breed, since cocks must in any case be introduced from somewhere. The idea of the feast appealed to them, but without it they were not prepared to make the change at all.

What I have been saying leads me on to the question of cattle. India is a land of oxen, of milch kine, and of much better milch buffaloes. In Malaya, on the other hand, oxen are few and carts are rare. Where they exist they are used chiefly by Tamils. The buffaloes, which as the pictures show, are of a different type from those of India, with horns lying at a different angle, are maintained chiefly for the purpose of meat and neither primarily for ploughing, though they are also used for this purpose, nor for milk. In fact, one of the most amazing things to me, who had not before been east of Ceylon, was to find that imported condensed milk is definitely preferred by all races except Indians in the Malay Peninsula. Last month in Switzerland I had occasion to make enquiries as to the export of condensed milk from that country, and found that no less than 13,000 tons per annum is imported from Switzerland by Malaya at a cost of £2,000,000 a year. I found it very

difficult to arrive at any real reason for this curious preference. One intelligent Malay, not entirely without economic understanding, explained that the idea of drinking fresh milk was to him and many other people rather disgusting. It was too near to the cow. What he told me reminded me of the little boy who on seeing a cow milked objected to drinking the milk because the cow had had it first. Whatever the reason, there is a definite and very extensive preference for imported milk; the buffaloes which exist in the country are not put to their full economic use, and the economic loss to the country is, consequently, enormous.

The men who inhabit lands of such different climate, different crops, and different animal husbandry are about as remote from one another in temperament as can be conceived. The Indian, as you will see from these pictures, is a man of bodily vigour and often martial temper, accustomed to open plains, to diligent cultivation. Ordinarily speaking, he is not a man of merry and bright disposition, and in spite of all that is said about his extravagance, which at the worst is only occasional, I consider him a man of thrift. His thrift is not always well-advised; he will often grasp at a short-sighted gain, whereas the Malay will let the gain go because it is too much trouble to grasp it. In India the conversation among the poorer classes is habitually about small sums of money, and the question of paying his way is constantly present to the mind of the Indian cultivator. He is a man of the plains and a settled farmer, and the nature of the cultivation which he carries on compels him to be all this. The Malay, on the other hand, is a man of the woods and a man of the waters; he is capable of work, but works violently in short spurts, being thoroughly bored with any occupation which requires continuous and unchanging application from day to day. He is a planter rather than a cultivator, and in the towns he is unhappy and speedily falls sick. The swift development of his country—remember that only forty years ago he was frequently running about with a knife in his hand watching for his enemy—has brought upon him an immense nervous strain. There is even a danger of his being over-taxed by the swift change in his circumstances, and one or two suicides of educated Malays in recent times have appeared to point to a danger of asking the race to go faster than it can. At the same time he is a cheerful and, as everybody knows, a charming fellow; certainly lazy so far as continuous work is concerned; but since he lives in a country where he is able to grow crops which do not require steady toil, and even part of that work which must be done can be carried out by employing a Tamil, it is hardly possible to blame him for accepting the favours which Nature confers upon him. He is beyond doubt extravagant, and I have had it seriously said to me when discussing with a group of villagers the conditions of thrift and of co-operative

credit that there is no use whatever in saving \$100 in the hand today on the ground that a bill of \$150 is coming in tomorrow, since no one can say whether the man will be alive tomorrow to pay the bill or not. The only sensible thing, therefore, is to spend \$100 today as fast as possible, and this view appears to win general approval among many of the less intelligent villagers.

A natural remedy for extravagant habits might be the introduction of co-operative credit societies. These do, indeed, exist, but have not been as successful as might have been hoped, partly because the Malay as a good Muslim is forbidden by his religion, or believes himself to be forbidden, to give or receive interest. He is able, since he is not pressed by daily need, to give scope to his religious objections, but the same feeling, which was formerly strong, amongst the Muslims of India, is being rapidly broken down by the pressure of economic necessity, and there are very few cases now where the objection to interest hampers in any serious degree the progress of co-operative credit in India.

In spite of the defects named, Malays undoubtedly possess character. I heard a story of a group of Malay officials in one of the more backward States of the Peninsula who came to the British Resident for confirmation of a sentence of death by stoning which had been passed under the Islamic law upon one of their number guilty of a serious offence. It was impossible for the Resident to oppose a penalty legally imposed, but when they explained to him that since there was no convenient supply of stones in the neighbourhood of the town they wished for permission to import stones from the Public Works quarry at a distance of some miles, the Resident gravely assented to their proposal but explained that Government stone could not be supplied without charge. They informed him that they would require some twenty-five cart-loads and he assessed the price of each cart at \$20. They looked glum at the prospect of paying \$500 for the privilege of stoning a criminal, until they saw a twinkle in the Resident's eye, when the joke struck them also and they burst into a roar of laughter and decided to punish the criminal in some other way. Five hundred dollars was too high a price. The Malay can see a joke against himself.

In another case a young Malay officer, aged I believe about 19, was cut off by floods in the headquarters of his district when his superior officer was absent through illness, and the police reported to him that the Chinese merchants, foreseeing a shortage of food, were enhancing unduly the price of rice. With the assistance of the police he rounded up the merchants and interviewed them in his court-house, seized all their rice stocks and fined them \$100 each. The rice was kept by him in his court-house and distributed impartially to those who needed it. When the flood died down the Chinese merchants sped away to consult a lawyer and came back with the story that the proceeding was entirely

illegal. Hearing this the young Malay called them again before him, explained that the rice would all be paid for by Government at the standard rate, that their reputations would be extremely black if they were accused of making a corner in a time of distress, and that they should carefully consider whether they had not voluntarily come to him, handed in their stocks to his charge and made a free contribution of \$100 apiece towards the famine fund. After long discussion they appeared before him again on the second day and announced that since Government was paying for the rice they had acted as he described and had made him a free gift of \$100 a head. For a young man of 19 years and little experience this performance appears to be creditable.

The pictures which I am showing you of Indian peasant women will account for the somewhat depressed and certainly uneducated type of which the Indian villages are full. You will see her baking her bread, grinding her corn, carrying water from the well and, most laborious and most lamentable of all, converting into dung cakes for fuel the precious manure which should be returned to the fields. You will readily understand that under these conditions it is difficult for her to be healthy and improbable that she will find time to be educated. Her life is hard. I do not suppose that the Indian husband is intentionally unkind, but the struggle which he is carrying on against poverty and climate compels him to labour himself and to make his wife do the same. Child marriage, as you know, is only too common and is likewise adverse both to education and to good health. Malay women, on the other hand, are cheerful and free. Though married young, they are seldom, if ever, married before puberty. Education is by no means uncommon, and their general attitude towards life is bright since neither Nature nor man compels them to work unduly hard. On the other hand, I think it would not be unfair to describe them as, for the most part, sadly extravagant. During the time of high rubber prices every Malay who owned five acres of rubber was in a position to buy a motor-car, and his wife was, I am assured, the first person to urge him to do so. Many of these cars may now be seen rusting and decaying in little sheds by the road-side, since rubber prices have fallen and life is not so easy as it was. The Indian woman, on the other hand, is definitely a thrifty person. She demands jewellery, but after some years of village work I am inclined to think that she demands it because her neighbours have it. In one Sikh village which I knew well the men resolved in conclave that they would limit the expenditure on jewellery for their wives and drew up a schedule accordingly. The wives heard of it and accepted the proposal, only imposing the somewhat difficult condition (for Sikhs) that the men should become total abstainers. So long as no woman was placed at a disadvantage before her social class they were all prepared to practise thrift at their own expense. I cannot imagine such a feeling being

acceptable to Malay women, who are the natural prey of every pedlar with gaudy jewellery or bright sarongs. Edicts against extravagance have been issued by several of the Malay Sultans, and in principle I have no doubt that the rulers really intend that expenditure shall be restricted, but so deeply is the custom of extravagance ingrained in both high and low social classes that they are seldom able by order or by example to check their own people.

Let us turn now to the social life of the people in their villages. The Indian, as you know, is ordinarily in debt to the moneylender. I do not propose to abuse the moneylender, who, under present circumstances, performs a necessary function. He is found also in Malaya in the form of the Chetty, the Sikh, or the Chinese merchant. The latter is an adventurous and useful person who penetrates to the remotest parts and sets down his little shop at every cross-road. He is tactful and knows when to cut his losses. Whereas violent friction frequently arises in India between creditor and debtor, it was extremely rare, so far as I could discover, between the Chinese and the Malays. The Chinese shopkeeper is careful to keep his debtor content, giving him a little cash from time to time, behaving courteously to him, buying from him his produce and selling to him everything that he needs, so that after a short time the Malay peasantry are only too likely to be financially in his hands. Much of their land also has passed, openly or privately, into his possession. In several provinces of India this tendency of the peasants to alienate their lands to the moneylender has been checked, with a large measure of success, by Alienation of Land Acts which prohibit transference from agriculturists to non-agriculturists. Many of the Malay States have similarly demarcated large areas of agricultural land which a Malay may not sell to a non-Malay, but by putting up men of straw or by a system of successive leases or by permanent powers of attorney the object of the Act has, in many cases, been defeated, and though it is bold for me on my short knowledge to offer a confident opinion, I still do feel confident that the Malay peasant will not be effectively protected by any such legislation until the States have the courage to lay down that any land which after a local enquiry is found by a competent executive officer to have passed otherwise than quite temporarily into the hands of a non-Malay shall be confiscated to the State. I realise how grave a proposal this would be, but I venture to suggest that the danger of the expropriation of the Malay cultivators is still more grave.

Some idea of the Indian moneylender's point of view may be gathered from a little incident which I once witnessed. A moneylender in India was trying to persuade an English woman to buy from him certain jewellery, and she appealed to her husband to put up the money. The husband, who had no intention of being persuaded, chaffed the

moneylender and offered him in payment a fine, pedigree-bred bull terrier. Though realizing that he was being chaffed the answer which naturally occurred to the moneylender as suitable to give was, "Sir, it would cost eight annas a day to feed him." His thoughts are in small sums at short range when he is dealing with personal moneylending on a small scale.

As an instance of the good relations between the Chinaman and the Malay I may mention the case of a number of fishermen who had, I found, sold their boats to a Chinaman at a nominal price on condition that he bought their catch from them, again at a nominal price, supplied them with their fishing tackle, and gave them a dollar or two of cash when they needed it. He relieved them, for the present at least, of all economic thought, and they preferred that to being independent boat-owners. The relations, in fact, between all races in Malaya are wonderfully harmonious — Chinese, Malays, Indians, Eurasians, and Europeans are intermingled and living side by side—friction is extremely rare and seldom more than local. To one who knows the stress of races, communities, and castes in India, the peace of Malaya, though possibly not indicative of great political progress, is in every way attractive.

One point to be borne in mind is that the Malays, like the subjects of the Indian States, are still under their own rulers; they have never been conquered, but invited the British to enter their country and assist them as allies in the work of administration. They have, therefore, no sense of injustice, and this, no doubt, contributes greatly to the country's peace. It is quite common for an Indian village, where no caste or communal trouble is afoot, to be split by faction between members of the same tribe or caste. Though I will not say that this is unknown in Malaya it does not appear to be by any means so common. The conditions of the Indian's life in a fierce climate with often unkindly seasons compel him to struggle against Nature and against man. Life for the Malay is easy; all that he needs drops almost into his mouth from the trees, and if it were not that he is in competition with three strenuous races on his own soil there might be no reason to disturb this ideal state of affairs. Unfortunately, there is a probability of his falling behind in the race.

The picture of a stone-built village in North India, with brick houses surrounded by comparatively barren though not infertile land, will bring before you the circumstances against which the Indian peasant has to fight. Compare them with the picture of the Malay village, with a wooden hut surrounded by forest on the edge of an attractive pool of water, and with the well-built wooden house of a more substantial peasant, and you will realize that life presents no problems the sight of which the Malay cannot, if he wishes, avoid.

Government in Malaya is notably less intensive than in many countries. This is due in the first place to the existence of the indigenous Malay State Governments, which are slow to adopt new institutions and create modern departments ; and, secondly, the suzerain British Government interferes much less than in India (whether that be good or evil), and only exercises pressure towards progress when it feels that progress can no longer wisely be delayed. The land system is the most conspicuous sign of this difference. There is an accurate Land Register in both countries, but the detailed and six-monthly crop records and the perennial records of other small matters in the village which fill the life of the Indian cultivator, and which inevitably bring upon him the attention of a multitude of petty officials, are absent from the picture of Malaya, where crop returns are largely estimates, and petty officials are relatively few. I am not prepared to say which is the better political system, nor to distinguish which, if either, is the superior race. I have only tried to call up before your eyes those striking features of contrast which I was able to observe during a long stay in one country and a short stay in the other.

Sir MICHAEL O'Dwyer : Lord Allenby, Ladies and Gentlemen,— Mr. Strickland once served under me in the Punjab for about six years, and was one of the ablest and most efficient officers I had. It is a great pleasure to come here this afternoon and listen to the very interesting and very dramatic way in which he contrasted the conditions of India with those of Malaya. We used once to say that a Punjab officer of the old type was capable of going anywhere and doing anything. Mr. Strickland has shown what he is capable of doing in Malaya as well as in the Punjab, and he has also shown a wonderful capacity of explaining to us in very lucid and convincing language the contrast between the two countries. I do not know anything about Malaya myself, I have never been further than Burma ; but a great deal of what he says about Malaya applies, perhaps not fully but to a very large extent, to Burma. In Burma, owing to the greater rainfall, the bountiful soil, the Buddhist religion, and the Mongolian character of the people, the conditions are very different from those of India, and though the people differ in religion, in other respects they are very like those of Malaya. The men are happy-go-lucky, extravagant, disinclined to work, and full of the *joie de vivre*. Curiously enough in Burma as in Malaya you find the hard-working pushful Chinaman, also the southern Indian moneylender and villager. You find the Chinese starting in the coast towns, then gradually working their way up country, getting the improvident Burman into their debt and often dispossessing him. In Burma there is another factor which hastens the expropriation of the peasantry. The Burman woman, differing from her Malayan sister, is an extraordinarily capable house-

wife : she is the one person who keeps the household together. The Chinaman, with his eye for a good thing, has been quick to spot the fact that the Burman woman makes an excellent wife, while the Burman woman finds that the Chinaman is a model husband. He does not bring his own women to Burma, and a great many Chinese are marrying Burmese. In Malaya intermarriage is impossible owing to the difference of religion : the Chinaman is probably a Buddhist like the Burman, while the Malayan is a Muhammadan. But the process of expropriation of the Burman by the Chinaman is hastened by the fact that the Chinaman takes to himself a Burmese wife and thereby is able to insinuate himself even more rapidly into the domestic and rural economy of the country. One other point : I noticed Mr. Strickland talked of the extraordinary suspicion that the people have in India of any improvement. If you try to introduce some new process of agriculture, a new agricultural implement or new kind of seed, they look upon you with suspicion. That is described by the old Pindari in one of Alfred Lyall's ballads. Speaking of the then new régime, which he looked upon with great disfavour, he says :

Then came the settlement hákim,
To teach us to plough and to weed ;
I sowed the cotton he gave me,
But first I boiled the seed.

Owing to the efforts of officers like Mr. Strickland that prejudice has been got over in the Punjab, and there is today a great and growing demand for the improved types of seed, machinery and agricultural methods. One other point struck me in Burma as it struck Mr. Strickland in Malaya : the extraordinary preference for tinned milk. In Burma it was almost impossible to get fresh milk anywhere unless you ran into a colony of Indians, chiefly Sikhs, who kept cattle and sold milk. But they were few and far between. The Burmese, who are Buddhists in theory, hold it contrary to nature to rob the calf of the mother's milk. The result is that they have developed a taste for tinned milk. In Burma, as far as I could make out, tinned milk was looked on by the Burmese in the same way as Devonshire cream is by some of us. I remember going down to Mandalay in an Irrawaddy steamer. We pulled up at every large village. The Burmese flocked on board to make purchases, chiefly luxuries—tins of biscuits, tins of jam and tinned milk. Directly they got off the boat they opened a tin of jam and a tin of milk, mixed the two together and had a magnificent spread. (Laughter.)

The last point which Mr. Strickland touched on is extremely important—that is, how to prevent these rather happy-go-lucky Malayans from being exploited by outsiders. He explained how we handled the problem in the north of India by passing an Act to prevent alienation of land to outsiders. He also suggests that it is very desirable similar

action should be taken in Malaya at an early date. Nothing could be more fatal to any country than to have an expropriated peasantry, especially if the expropriation is by aliens. It was bad enough in the Punjab, where a Muhammadan peasantry was being expropriated by Hindu moneylenders. In Malaya the expropriation would be by alien Chinese. Mr. Strickland dwelt on the amiable features of the Malayans, but the Malayan has other characteristics not so amiable. One knows that he frequently runs amok, and one can imagine that if this expropriation is carried very far, however tactful and kind the Chinese may be towards the unfortunate debtor whom he has sucked dry, a day may come when the Malayan may arise in his wrath and many Chinese throats may be cut. I have no doubt Mr. Strickland in discussion with the authorities, whether the local Sultans or the British officials, put the problem before them. We have all had great pleasure in hearing this very instructive lecture.

The CHAIRMAN : As no lady or gentleman wishes to ask any more questions, I think the time is getting late, and you will join me in a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer. (Applause.)

IDEAS AND IDEALS OF MODERN ISLAM *

BY PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

THE area covered by Islam is so vast that it is difficult for any one person to make himself acquainted with the progress of ideas in every part of it. Of contemporary writers, probably this ideal has been most nearly approached by Dr. S. M. Zwemer, whose recent work, "Across the World of Islam,"[†] leaves no country unnoticed wherein the Mohammedan system prevails. His attitude is, indeed, not that of the impartial spectator, his life having been devoted to missionary enterprise, to the conversion of Moslems to evangelical Christianity. Still, he has visited most of the Mohammedan communities, and the statistical information which his work provides is scarcely to be found elsewhere. The time seems to have long gone by when whole countries or provinces adopted a new religion in lieu of an old: still, the labours of the Christian missionaries are not wholly sterile, just as those of Muslim missionaries produce some results. According to Dr. Zwemer, the country which promises most to the evangelist is Sumatra, where out of a population of six millions some forty thousand native Christians are registered. It must be admitted that this, which gives a proportion of 1 to 150, is a better display than Catholicism makes in Scandinavia, where the proportion of Catholics to the population is 1 to 1,000, or Protestantism makes in Spain, where the proportion is 1 to 2,176.

It is of some interest to hear what travellers have to say of the relations between the two communities. Mr. Eldon Rutter, the latest European pilgrim to Meccah, suggests that the attitude of the Muslim to the Christian is at present one of unmitigated hatred. To call a man Yahudi, a Jew, is a good-humoured taunt. To call him Násrani, a Christian, is the most terrible insult which can be launched. "The Christian is more hated throughout the Islamic world at the present time than is Iblis himself. The reason for this is doubtless that the world is in the present age almost entirely ruled by Christian powers to the exclusion of the Muslimin."[‡] M. Michaud Bellaire, whose lectures on Morocco form the latest volume of the "Archives Marocaines," and who is profoundly acquainted with the Islam of North Africa, regards this

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on December 4, 1929, Lord Allenby in the Chair.

† Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.

‡ "The Holy Cities of Arabia" (London : Putnam, 1928), i. 41.

feeling as that of an earlier period than our own. The Confréries or religious associations, which have in North Africa an importance which exceeds what they possess in most Islamic countries, used, their author tells us, to be enemies, not of strangers, but of Christianity. Then he adds, speaking of the policy of the Makhzin or Government of Morocco at the time of the French occupation of Algeria, as follows:^{*}

"Hatred of the infidel Christian is the fundamental argument whereon the whole policy of the Makhzin is based: all the acts of the Sultan 'Abd al-Rahmān are explained by his zeal for religion, his hatred of the infidel: that is the keynote which recurs incessantly throughout his correspondence. There is no question there of the French, nor of the King of France, nor of the French Government, but only of the infidel. We know that all the policy of the Makhzin consisted in maintaining the tribes in profound hatred of this infidel, and preventing by all means a contact which would be of a nature to cause this hatred to disappear. The Christian must remain in the mind of the people a being of an inferior and despised race, carrying with him all sorts of pollution, whose mere presence can compromise the eternal salvation of the Muslim."

That this attitude had not changed up to the beginning of this century we should gather from the work of the Abbé Roquette, of which the name on the title-page is "Secret Societies among the Mussulmans," whereas on the headings of the pages it is "*Le Diable* among the Mussulmans."[†] He, however, supposes the hatred to be directed against Catholicism rather than against what is ordinarily called Christianity or Panchristianism, to use a term for which we are perhaps indebted to His Holiness the present Pope. The Abbé makes the curious suggestion that the blood and treasure expended by the French in Africa may have for their ultimate result the addition of a vast province to the British Empire: the English are likely to get on well with the Muslims, he observes, both being children of the *diable*. From M. Michaud Bellaire's work, which bears date 1927, we should infer, though he admits that his account is obscure, that religious enthusiasm in this region is being superseded by nationalist and economic considerations. "If, as before, the independence of the land remains the ideal, it is less owing to a religious sentiment than to a sort of impulse of patriotism, and particularly the desire to profit by the riches of the soil. Formerly the land ought to be free, it was thought, because it is Muslim: now because it furnishes hidden treasures, which may well be exploited by strangers on condition that the people have a large share in the profits and remain masters."[‡]

* "Archives Marocaines" (Paris, 1927), xxvii., p. 219.

† "Les Sociétés Secrètes chez les Musulmans," Paris, 1899.

‡ P. 172.

If we turn to Palestine, where the Muslims and Christians have a common interest in resistance to the Jews, we find a very different spirit from that to which Mr. Rutter bears witness, at least on the surface. The Sayyid Abdallah Mukhlis, a member of the Arabic Academy of Damascus, in a lecture delivered in 1927, printed in a local magazine and republished in 1928, with the title "Muslims and Christians," collects a series of texts of the Qur'an, sayings of the Prophet, and anecdotes from the history of the successive Islamic dynasties, showing how friendly the relations between the two communities have always been, how profound has been the respect with which the Muslim authorities have treated their Christian subjects, and how unfortunate it is that this ideal state of affairs should have been spoiled by European intervention.

Doubtless the anecdotes which Abdallah Mukhlis adduces in support of his thesis are well attested: but they are not exhaustive, and the treatment of the subject religions has varied very much in different Muslim lands: varied with different sovereigns and different moods of the same sovereign and the same vizier.

Historically, therefore, Mr. Mukhlis's lecture has the weakness that it selects arbitrarily certain narratives which illustrate one aspect of the relations between the two communities, while neglecting others which exhibit a very different attitude. It serves, however, as a corrective to Mr. Rutter's statement, which may indeed be valid for a certain portion of the Islamic community. Conditions in each country will always decide what those relations will be, apart from Qur'anic texts and traditions. In the Prophet's time the hostility of his system to the Jews was far more vehement than to the Christians: but the course of events speedily altered this, and in Spain and Africa there was something like an alliance between Jews and Muslims against the Christian enemy. M. Michaud Bellaire repeatedly in his lectures recurs to the thesis that an attempt on the part of the Spanish Jews to make themselves masters of the country led to a persecution which caused them to take refuge and found a state in Africa, where presently they found allies in the Muslim invaders, with whom they made common cause in the invasion of Spain. The early history of the Islamic conquest of North Africa and Spain is perhaps too obscure to justify us in accepting this thesis. The existence of a Jewish state in North Africa appears to be hypothetical, and not a very likely hypothesis. Throughout the history of Islam the Jewish communities ordinarily were less suspect to the Sultans than the Christian because there were no Jewish states of importance: if the Khazar maintained Judaism as the state religion for a couple of centuries, it seems to have had little influence on the Jewish communities who were in Islamic lands. The work which has been quoted indicates that the Muslim attitude in such cases is largely dictated by the politics

of the time. The Christian and Muslim populations of Palestine both resented the Balfour Declaration, because it appeared to bestow on the Jews rights which the rest of the population were not to share, and was interpreted to mean that the land belonged to the Jews, who out of their kindness might tolerate the others as aliens. This is not the place to discuss the wisdom of that Declaration: but it naturally led to a sort of alliance between the Muslim and Christian communities, of which the lecture cited furnishes an illustration.

Texts of the Qur'an may certainly be quoted against such an alliance, and in favour of the theory that the ideal of Islam is the unity of Muslims against all who do not belong to their community. That unity was to be no less firm than that which Plato wanted in his ideal state, and indeed the similes employed to illustrate it are identical. It was to be like one human body, wherein the whole was affected by what happened to any part. Much that is edifying has been written on this subject, and even Mr. Richard Coke, whose recent treatise, "The Arab's Place in the Sun,"* is remarkable for its ability, exhaustiveness, and impartiality, has some passages in this strain. His admissions, however, are sufficient to correct the impression which these passages might leave. To the outsider everyone who calls himself a Muslim is a Muslim; the outsider may not even know that Islam is divided into sects. But one who is a member of the community normally belongs to a sect, and is apt to refuse the name Muslim to all but adherents of his own sect or subsect. And the mutual hostility of the sects has not unfrequently been greater than their hostility towards non-Muslim communities. Even in the first century of Islam we read of a sect which, while sparing Jews and Christians, massacred all Muslims who did not belong to it; it was divided into two subsects, one of which only massacred men, whereas the other massacred women and children also. Quite similarly, to the Muslim everyone who calls himself a Christian is one; and he may not know the distinction between Protestants and Catholics. But it does not follow that members of these respective communities will admit that the others have a right to the name.

The Prophet, indeed, devised an institution for perpetuating the unity of Islam—viz., the religious capital to be visited by every Muslim, which was different from the political capital. The most remarkable event in Islam which has happened in recent years is the possession of this capital by a sect which is by no means associated with tolerance. Our society was fortunate in having an account of it from an accredited member, who drew an interesting parallel between one Ibn Taimiyyah, *ob.* 728, and the German inaugurator of the Christian reformation. From the work of Palgrave, the most entertaining of Arabian explorers,

* London : Butterworth, 1929.

as Doughty is the most impressive, we should have learned that the main doctrine of the Wahhabis is the criminality of smoking. An Egyptian controversialist* asserts that any Wahhabi has the right and the duty to interfere with and chastise anyone whom he finds indulging in this habit, and he therefore taunts the Wahhabi Government with inconsistency in obtaining revenue from a duty on imported tobacco. Baron Nolde, however, tells us that he smoked with impunity in the streets of Wahhabi Ḥayil; the latest and perhaps greatest explorer of Arabia, Mr. Philby, records that he sought secrecy for this indulgence. The main question whereon the Wahhabis are at variance with other Muslim communities is, however, not connected with tobacco, but with the intercession of saints. This matter involves one Islamic ideal—the recognition of the unity of the Deity. The Wahhabis regard the employment of such intercession as polytheistic, and since the devout visit the graves of deceased saints in order to secure their intercession, the Wahhabis go to the length of desecrating or destroying the tombs. Their opponents not only maintain that the employment of such intercession is authorized by the Qur'an, the tradition, and the consensus of authorities, but assert that the saints are alive in their graves. This belief doubtless underlies the practice of visiting those places, though the devotees may not always be conscious of it: some, however, are fully conscious of it, as the mystic Sha'rani, who in his treatise on his own gifts and virtues mentions that he had repeatedly held conversations with the jurist Shafi'i in his grave near Cairo, though Shafi'i had been dead some eight hundred years. Ibn Taimiyyah himself did not deny that those who invoked deceased saints were at times rewarded by visions of them, but supposed that in such cases evil spirits, jinn, assumed the forms of these saints in order to delude simple minds, who indeed, by appealing to someone other than Allah, had merited such victimization.

The question whether the worship of saints is in accordance with the primitive ideas of Islam does not concern outsiders: the followers of 'Abd al-Wahhab have not been content with abstaining from such practices themselves, but think it their duty to prevent other Muslims from performing them, and their possession of the two great sanctuaries of Islam, Meccah and Medinah, both rich in resting-places of eminent saints, has therefore affected the whole Muslim world. "They destroyed in Meccah the birth-place of the Prophet, which has now become a resting-place for camels, also the birth-places of Abu Bakr and Ali, the house of Khadijah, mother of Believers, the house of Arqam, the Mosque of the Jinn, the Mosque of Kauthar, and all the domes in the Mu'allā; and in Medinah they destroyed all the graves to

* Muhammad Hasanain Makhlūf in "Al-Sawa'iq al-Ilāhiyah," Cairo, 1929 (?).

be found in al-Baqi' (the cemetery where many of the Prophet's Companions lay), likewise the Mosque of Hamzah, the Prophet's uncle, with his tomb at Uhud." This is the report of an Egyptian visitor.

Mr. Rutter's account is no less impressive.* "When I entered the Bakia the sight which I saw was as it were a town which had been razed to the ground. All over the cemetery nothing was to be seen but little indefinite mounds of earth and stones, pieces of timber, iron bars, blocks of stone, and a broken rubble of cement and bricks strewn about. It was like the broken remains of a town which had been demolished by an earthquake. . . . Demolished and gone were the great white domes which formerly marked the graves of the members of Muhammad's family, of the third Khalifah, Othman, of the Imam Malik, and of others. Lesser monuments had suffered a like fate, and even the little cages of jerid sticks, with which the poor cover the graves of their dead, had all been crushed and thrown aside or burnt."

How far any of these monuments were authentic—*i.e.*, connected by a continuous and trustworthy tradition with the person or the events to which they were ascribed—is a difficult question: we know that civil war raged in both places during the Umayyad period, and that the sanctity of sites was no more spared by the fighters in these cases than by Christians.

They burned the chapel for very rage
And cursed Lord Cranstoun's goblin page.

Even the Black Stone is of doubtful genuineness, since the Black Stone was removed by the Wahhabis' predecessors, the Qarmatians, in the fourth century, and restored by them after many years: it may be doubted whether the stone which they returned was the same as the stone which they removed. Hugo Winckler similarly wondered whether the Ark which the Philistines restored was the same as the Ark which they had captured. Still, it is natural that the feelings of other Muslim communities should be wounded by the destruction of monuments which they revered, just as the Prophet's removal of the idols which surrounded the Ka'bah in his time must have left a painful impression on many minds.

The Egyptian writer whom I have quoted records an interesting fact which excites his astonishment. It would, he says, have been logical for the Wahhabis to forbid the visitation of these sites, since such visitation implies to their minds polytheism. They do not do that, but have placed the rites in charge of custodians, who demand a fee from visitors.

A story which he tells is worth translating. An Egyptian pilgrim uttered the invocation, "O Apostle of Allah," and was told by a Wahhabi

* *Op. cit.*, ii. 256.

who heard him that he was an unbeliever, as he had invoked someone other than Allah. "You have invoked," he said, "the Apostle, who is dead, and who is useless now. This stick is better than he, as it is of some use." The Egyptian was angry, and a fierce dispute arose. "Let me show you," said the Wahhabi. A camel was moving on the road, and the Wahhabi made it kneel. He said to it, "Camel, in the name of Allah's Apostle, rise!" The camel did not move. He then struck the camel with the stick, and it rose. "Did I not tell you," he said, "that the stick was more useful, only you would not believe me?"

Allah, the writer proceeds, then inspired the Egyptian with an idea which acted like a thunderbolt. He took the stick from the Wahhabi and made the camel kneel. Then he said to the camel, "In the name of Allah, rise up!" The camel did not move. Then he hit it with the stick, and it rose. He said to the Wahhabi, "What do you say now? Is the stick more useful than Allah?" The Wahhabi admitted that he was nonplussed.

This mode of reasoning seems somewhat naïve and behind the times. On the whole, one prefers the historic method wherein Qur'anic texts and traditions are marshalled on the one side and the other, and the dispute is about the interpretation of the one and the authenticity of the other. It is asserted that when the Wahhabis took Mecca, they wished to destroy the Maqam of Abraham—*i.e.*, the stone which retains the impression of the patriarch's foot, dating from the time when he built the Ka'bah. They were induced to spare it by the argument that this relic is expressly mentioned in the Qur'an, and included among the Clear Signs which are to be found in Bakkah, as the home of the Prophet is there called. It might certainly be argued from this text that the veneration of sacred sites is permissible or even commendable, though the Wahhabi might reply that extension of the privilege to other sites was not permissible. In the biography of the Prophet there are certainly anecdotes which may be used in favour of the practice of visiting graves, and the belief that their inhabitants retain the power of hearing and understanding. But the authenticity of the traditions which make up the Prophet's biography is always open to question, and controversy which follows this line is unlikely to lead to any ascertained result.

The visitation of tombs takes us from the region where it is forbidden to the region where it is most lavishly practised, and here we have the advantage of using the work on Islam which of all those that have been published in recent times seems to me the richest in information—the posthumous treatise of Mr. F. W. Hasluck, edited by his widow, with the title "Christianity and Islam under the Sultans."* It is the result of travel in European and Asiatic Turkey, or lands which

* Oxford University Press, 1929.

were once included in the Ottoman Empire, and laborious research into the works of earlier travellers and explorers. It is mainly an account of sacred places, supposed to be tombs of saints, visited by Moslems or Christians, or both : historical inquiries into the origin of the cults and ceremonies connected with these shrines and their adaptation to Christian or Muslim ideas, into the theory of sainthood as held by the different communities, and the diffusion of certain superstitions, often traceable to pagan times, and their perpetuation down the ages. The work is of special value for its account of the Bektashi order, its importance in the history of the Ottoman Empire, and the aims which it pursues in the present day in Albania and the Balkans. The information amassed on this subject is a marvel of thoroughness and industry.

Mr. Hasluck has furnished a complete translation of a summary of Bektashi beliefs which was published in Albanian, a language little known outside the area in which it is spoken. The employment of this language both for instruction in religion and devotion is a concession to nationalism, not unlike what has occurred in the Turkey of Mustafa Kemal. It may convince some readers of the accuracy of Mr. Hasluck's opinion that Bektashism aims at winning over the Christian population into the Islamic community, utilizing the reverence paid to the local shrines as an expedient for the purpose. That it is Islamic does not admit of doubt : the saints or sacred persons whom it recognizes are either the objects of veneration among the Shi'ah—viz., the family of the Prophet Muhammad and the twelve Imams—or such Biblical saints as are mentioned in the Qur'an. On the other hand, its main precepts are those of philanthropy and moral purity, and it enjoins respect for the Christian religion and inculcates fraternity between the two communities.

The following paragraph embodies some of Mr. Hasluck's most interesting conclusions :*

"Liberal theory can have little hold on the imagination of the mass. For the illiterate, whether Moslem or Christian, doctrine is important mainly as embodying a series of prohibitions : their vital and positive religion is bound up with the cult of the saints, and demands concrete objects of worship, especially graves and relics, and above all miracles, to sustain its faith. It is in the cult of the saints that the Bektashi propaganda amongst Christians has left most trace. The lines adopted are identical with or parallel to those followed by the Mevlevi order of dervishes at Konia in the Middle Ages for a similar purpose. On the one hand Moslem sanctuaries are made 'ambiguous,' or accessible to Christians also, by the circulation of legends to the effect (1) that a saint worshipped by Moslems as a Moslem was secretly

* *Op. cit.*, ii. 569.

converted to Christianity, or (2) that the Moslem saint's mausoleum is shared by a Christian. On the other hand, Christian sanctuaries are made accessible to Moslems by (3) the identification of the Christian saint with a Moslem.

"The more ignorant the population concerned, the farther such identifications can be pressed. The Kizilbash Kurds, who possess in all probability a strong admixture of Armenian blood, equate Ali to Christ, the twelve Imams to the Twelve Apostles, and Hasan and Husain to SS. Peter and Paul. The conversion of illiterate Christians, always aided by material attraction, becomes fatally easy under the influences of this accommodating form of Islam."

In dealing with Islam as a missionary religion, it has to be remembered that after the age of conquest, which scarcely went beyond the second Islamic century, wholesale conversion was against the interest of the state. The emphatic orders recorded against interfering with the religion of Jews or Christians show statesmanly recognition on the Prophet's part of the need for cultivators as well as fighters within the community. But at the present time, wherein independent Muslim states are few and far between, and the old relation between the dominant and the subject or protected cults scarcely exists, the political motive which at one time hampered the zeal of the missionary is no longer potent. Yet it seems hard to accept without scepticism Mr. Hasluck's idea of a designed and deliberate scheme for the attraction of Christians into the Muslim fold by affecting reverence for Christian shrines. The process would rather seem to be the same which has caused Christians to take over sites of pagan temples, to turn pagan deities into Christian martyrs, and pagan festivals into Christian commemorations : which caused the Prophet Mohammed to take over the ceremonial of the Pilgrimage, including the Kissing of the Black Stone and the flinging of pebbles. The efficacy of the sites for the procuring of answer to prayer is supposed to be attested by experience : there is a *præsens numen*. I have myself seen Muslims in Kurdistan get a Christian priest to sacrifice a sheep at his Nestorian Church with the view of curing a lunatic member of their family : the belief that a sacrifice so performed at that particular sanctuary would be effective outweighed their scruples. But such scruples are not easily set aside, and the modes enumerated by Mr. Hasluck are expedients for reconciling practice with religious theory. But doubtless Mr. Hasluck was right in thinking that it is easier to effect conversion to Islam where it countenances and adopts these rites than where it is rigidly and ruthlessly Puritan.

It is a change of atmosphere when we turn from Mr. Hasluck's accurate, sober, and profoundly learned investigations to the pamphlets of the Egyptian theorists, which, however, owing to the reputation of

Al-Azhar University as the headquarters of Islamic learning and tradition, are widely read in Islamic countries. To this Dr. Zwemer, who has visited so many of them, testifies. The views of these theorists differ very widely. Some are frankly reactionary: such is 'Abd al-Bāqī Surūr Nu'aim, a sheyh of Al-Azhar, whose views are put forth in a pamphlet called "Islam Past and Present," dated 1924. He looks back with pride on the early days when the Arab hordes overran large portions of three continents, overthrowing Governments, and offering the populations the choice between conversion and subjection. And he finds the explanation of these triumphs in the unity of Islam, brought about by the blind and whole-hearted acceptance of the Qur'an as the rule of life and conduct, as well as a manual of religion. And he calls attention to the stress which the Qur'an lays on fighting power, military equipment, and all which makes for success in war. If the Muslims of our time would take these precepts to heart and, abandoning all other guides, follow the Qur'an, the unity and might which would result would enable them once more to conquer kingdoms and subdue nations.

The persons whom he regards as responsible for the distraction and consequent decay of Islam are a class whom we students of Arabic regard with gratitude and even affection—the commentators on the Qur'an. . For the first two centuries of Islam there were no commentaries, and Islam was united and victorious: in the third century commentaries were composed, and the Islamic Empire split and its acquisition of territory stopped. The differences of opinion which are characteristic of commentators caused the break-up of Islamic unity, and so furnished the seeds for the state of affairs which we find today.

It is not easy to distinguish this idea from that of Panislamism, but the latter, though not a practical scheme, was less visionary when it appeared than it is today. The Panislamic idea, which was to drive Europeans out of Asia and Africa, relied on the existence of an Islamic power whose military force was respected in Europe—viz., the Ottoman Empire. Abd al-Hamid II. toyed with the idea as a bugbear with which he could frighten European statesmen, but had no idea of starting a *Jihad* himself. He was also aware that, before engaging the European Governments, he would have had to subdue the other Islamic states, whose sovereigns had no intention of submitting to his rule. The prospects are very much bleaker now, since the old Ottoman Empire has broken up; what remains of it has no longer Islam for its official religion, and by abolishing the Caliphate has freed itself from all responsibility for Muslims elsewhere.

But the thesis that division of opinion based on the study of the Qur'an is responsible for the decay of the system is quite untenable. The civil wars of Islam started, not in the third Islamic century, but in

the first, just twenty-five years after the Prophet's demise : and they were not religious wars, but dynastic wars, fought not in the interest of some dogma or cult, but in that of some claimant to the throne. The break-up of the Islamic Empire, which commenced in the second Islamic century, continued in the third, and reached a climax in the fourth, was due not to divergent opinions about free-will and predestination, or whether the Qur'an was created or uncreate, but to the difficulty of organizing such a congeries of countries and nations, when communication was so slow and difficult.

Still there are two points on which this pamphlet deserves commendation. One is its recognition of the importance which the Qur'an attaches to military efficiency : of the fact that the Prophet was essentially a man of war, a conqueror, and a statesman : which is the point of view from which his career is explicable, whereas that for which Bosworth Smith is responsible, that he was a melancholy sentimentalist, is simply to be rejected. In the second place, it is true that the decline of the military power of Islam began when the Muslim masses ceased to be fighters, and the Government depended on a trained force, whose commanders were speedily able to defy the sovereign, depose him, or murder him when they chose.

This author's disapproval of commentators on the Qur'an seems to extend to all, except perhaps himself, as he certainly tries his hand at the same task as theirs. His anger is, however, specially roused by those who go to the Christian and Jewish Scriptures for information. The commentaries of the late Mufti Muhammad Abduh, collected and edited by Rashid Rida, certainly adopt this method, and, though at a distance, follow the footsteps of Modernist commentators on the Bible.

The ideas which dominate this school, if one may apply that term in this case, are quite different. They aim at proving that whatever is good in European civilization is borrowed from Islam : to Islam is due the abolition of slavery, religious toleration, and the improvement of women's status : in the political sphere the substitution of democracy for autocracy. These ideas are to be found in such works as one called "Islam the Spirit of Civilization," originally published as a reply to a work by Lord Cromer, wherein a very different view was taken, but recently reprinted, and so evidently enjoying some popularity. One of my Syrian correspondents adds to these reforms two which he finds that America has borrowed from Islam : prohibition and facility of divorce. In these two matters Islam may certainly claim priority : but it might be difficult to show that the people of the United States had adopted them after contemplation of their beneficial effects on the Islamic peoples. With regard to the others, it would seem that in the Islamic countries least penetrated by European ideas this theory of the nature

of their religion is unpopular : there is reason for thinking that King Amanullah was driven from his throne for adopting some part of it.

The question is sometimes asked whether Islam is faced with the problems which confront Judaism and Christianity in the Higher Criticism. The answer is that so short a time elapsed between the production of the Qur'an and its becoming stereotyped that the question of genuineness is restricted within very small compass. On the other hand, the doubts which are connected with the Higher Criticism and concern the historicity of Biblical characters and events could not fail to have their repercussion in Islam, whose sacred book so largely repeats what is contained in the Christian Scriptures. If, for example, it is held that neither Abraham nor Ishmael can be regarded as historical characters, serious consequences arise for those passages in the Qur'an wherein the two are connected with the building of the Ka'bah, and other deeds and sayings are ascribed to them. From an incident which occurred in Cairo three years ago it may be inferred that the sentiment in Muslim circles is similar to that which was illustrated by the treatment accorded to Robertson Smith in Scotland some fifty years ago, or quite recently in the United States to a teacher who promulgated Darwinism. The Professor of Arabic Literature in the new University of Cairo expressed doubts as to the historicity of Abraham and Ishmael, and the book wherein these passages occurred aroused a storm : protests were addressed to the Minister of Public Instruction, vehement letters were written to the papers, and questions, it is said, asked in Parliament. The Professor adopted the course of declaring himself an orthodox Muslim, and withdrawing his work from circulation, a new edition being substituted from which the obnoxious passages had been removed. From an elaborate work by one of this Professor's opponents, called "Beneath the Standard of the Qur'an," it may be inferred that the Professor's discretion occasioned mirth rather than pride or indignation.

The more orthodox method is to regard the Higher Criticism of the Scriptures as a confession by those Christian and Jewish scholars who adopt it that the charge of untrustworthiness brought by the followers of the Qur'an against those Scriptures is established, the true account being contained in the Qur'an.

When we read of the New World of Islam, New Ideas in Islam, and the like, it is probable that the point of view whence we should regard this subject is the radical change brought about by the extension of European rule over Muslim lands, and the abolition of Islam as the state religion in Turkey, once the hope of Panislamism. Accommodation to a state of affairs which the earlier Islam, constantly absorbing fresh territory, never contemplated is the explanation of the new attitude which exponents of the system adopt. It reminds us of Flavius

Josephus, who makes it a principle of Judaism never to vilify the deities of any nation, when his contemporary Pliny the Elder speaks of the Jews as notorious for their contempt of the gods, which would appear to be more in harmony with the practice of Israelitish historians, prophets, and psalmists. The enthusiasm which was evoked in all Islamic countries by Mustafa Kemal's defeat of the Greeks and the ephemeral victories of 'Abd al-Kerim in North Africa indicate that the sentiment so forcibly expressed by Mr. Rutter is at least widely felt. The dominance, however, of European nations has introduced the Islamic peoples of large portions of Asia and Africa to European literature, science, and art, and the effects which history tells us resulted from the arrival of Hellenic culture in the Near East at the hands of Hellenic conquerors are reproduced in our time. There are those who will have nothing to do with it: there are those who frankly acknowledge its superiority to their own inheritance: and there are those who discover that they had it all before the conquerors, and are therefore under no obligation to those who have introduced it. All three types are familiar to any who have followed the controversies of present-day Christianity. Confronted with the geological record and the researches connected with the name of Darwin, some reject them altogether, others accept them and find some formula whereby they can substitute them for the Biblical cosmogony, and a third set find them all present in and anticipated in the Biblical cosmogony, just as the Alexandrian Jews held that Plato and the Greek philosophers must have plagiarized the Jewish Scriptures.

Before closing I must reply to a criticism to which I have exposed myself. An ideal, it may be said, is not the same as an idea: and my subject has been current ideas rather than ideals. The reply to be offered is that to the historical student the spirit of a religious system is whatever its authorized exponents at any period interpret it to be. This is not, of course, the theological standpoint, from which innovation is intolerable: but the historian, who believes in progressive ethics, as resulting from accumulation of experience, by adopting this principle, escapes the charge of arrogance, of claiming to understand the spirit of a system better than its adherents understood it in previous centuries, or claiming to have hit on an interpretation which future generations will not supersede. Study of chronicles shows us that the spirit of the most widely spread religions underwent radical changes at different periods: today, e.g., religious toleration is regarded as a Christian virtue, but the theory that it was criminal prevailed among Christian nations till the middle of the eighteenth century. And if we apply this principle in dealing with time, we may also apply it in the matter of space. The ideals of Islam have to be learned by ascertaining what opinions are authoritative in the different countries where Islam is the dominant

religion. They are found, as we have seen, to vary as much as the Catholicism of Spain varies from the doctrine and practice of the Society of Friends.

The old ideal, conquest of the world by force of arms, which twice was nearly realized, and only since the Peace of Carlovitz in 1699 has got outside the region of possibility, is scarcely harboured in these days; even the Panislamists aimed no further than securing the release of the Muslim communities in Asia and Africa from European domination. Nor do many hold the ideal substituted for this, the winning of the world to Islam by peaceful persuasion, if Europe and America be regarded as a large section of the world. There are, indeed, missions and occasional converts; but the progress recorded would seem to be chiefly among pagans. The ideal which the most thoughtful appear to cherish is rather that of embodying in Islam the moral and social reforms which centuries of experience, not always progressive, yet mainly so, have taught the European nations. It does not seem to me to be the function of religion to discover ethics, but to sanctify them when discovered by experience, observation, and reasoning; whence it comes that the same religious system has at different periods sanctified and condemned the same procedure. If, then, the ideal of modern Islam be to utilize the reverence which thirteen centuries have accumulated for their religious institutions in the minds of the Muslim peoples for the sanctification of the advanced ethics which are the discovery of the European peoples, it would seem that members of other religious communities can only wish them God-speed in the attainment of that ideal. (Applause.)

THE PLACE OF INDIA IN IMPERIAL DEFENCE*

BY BRIG.-GENERAL ROWAN ROBINSON, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—May I draw your attention to the map of the world on the wall showing British possessions in red. You will see therefrom that the British Empire is a dual Empire compounded of East and West. The boundaries of the Empires are defined by the oceans. Very roughly, those washed by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean limit the Western Empire, and those washed by the Pacific and Indian Oceans the Eastern. The Western and dominant Empire is centred on Britain, the Eastern on India. Both centres are in direct contact with great defence problems, and, except as regards the air menace to Great Britain, are well placed for dealing with them. The Great Dominions are for the most part outside the immediate military sphere except for their coasts, which are a factor in the sea power on which they are dependent. Canada lies alongside a great friendly power; South Africa is far distant from possible enemies. Australasia alone, though protected to a great extent by distance and by the terms of the Washington Agreement, has certain perils to face. All these Dominions are reservoirs of military power, which they have placed, and may place again, at the disposal of the Empire. As, however, they are out of close contact with danger, and as they are young and growing nations, whose development is of great importance both to themselves and the Empire, it is best that they should stand clear of defence problems as far as possible.

The Eastern Empire has India as its central keep and *place d'armes* with outposts at Singapore, Mauritius and Aden. Singapore as the gateway to the Pacific presents a menace to any force moving southwards towards Australasia, and furnishes the Eastern guard to the Indian Ocean. Mauritius is a valuable element in India's maritime protection, and Aden is essential as a flankguard if the Suez Canal is lost to us.

Between the two Empires lie the countries of our *protégés*—Egypt, Sudan, Palestine and Iraq—a great Arabian or Middle Eastern group. They furnish links of vast importance in the Imperial chain of communication both by sea and air. Egypt and Palestine fall naturally to the West, Iraq and the Sudan naturally to the East; but the failure

* This lecture, given to the Central Asian Society on September 20, 1929, is based mainly on an article by the lecturer in *India*, and thanks are due to the editor of that paper for permission to publish it.

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of the Mediterranean communication would throw all into the Eastern Empire. This is what occurred in the Great War, in which, though control of the Mediterranean was not lost, our trade and transports were suffering a 50 per cent. loss, and the burden of supplying men and food for the Arabian group was accordingly placed on India to the maximum extent possible. The task was heavy, but it was finely executed. The *post bellum* addition of Palestine and Iraq to our responsibilities is by no means an unmixed blessing, for it has given us extensive additional and exposed frontiers to guard without any increase to the army. Palestine furnishes indeed a useful outpost to the Suez Canal, and threatens the flank of any land-movement from West to East such as that planned by Napoleon and more recently by the Germans; but Iraq, except as an air-link, has no compensating advantages.

The centres of Empire lie far apart—roughly 6,000 miles by Port Said and 110,000 miles by the Cape. The shorter route is well protected throughout, the longer much less so. Modern conditions—the submarine and the aeroplane operating in narrow seas—may make it so difficult for us to maintain the former that we may be forced to the Cape route even though the change would represent a 40 per cent. tax on our trade with the East and would gravely impair co-operation between the two Empires. The possibility of having to make this change in war indicates that we should arrange in peace for the organization and protection of the Cape route, as also for an alternative air route across Africa.

The military functions of the two centres are largely complementary: Great Britain furnishes the principal Army, the Air Force and the greater part of the Navy, and is, of course, the foundation on which the military power of the Empire ultimately rests. On the other hand, India has an incipient fleet, pays for the British Army in India and for the Indian Army, and provides them with a training ground. Moreover, she sends to England at the end of their colour service large numbers of trained men who form the reserves of the home army on mobilization. Both British and Indian troops in India exist primarily for the defence of that country; but when she is not directly threatened, are available for Imperial purposes, just as the troops of the home Army are available for service in India should they not be engaged in a campaign in Europe.

The value of India as an Imperial military asset was strikingly demonstrated in the Great War. She gave help in many directions. British and Indian troops from India helped to hold the trenches in France pending the arrival there of the new armies; then by means of Indian troops pressure was maintained on the enemy in every theatre outside Europe; and, lastly, India was used as the main base of operations for

all Eastern campaigns. No less than 685,000 Indian soldiers were enlisted. In addition, Nepal furnished 55,000 fighting men, and the Native States nearly 90,000, to which must be added a non-combatant recruitment of 430,000. Counting combatants and non-combatants, nearly 1,000,000 men in all were despatched overseas to serve in every country and climate from Belgium to North China.

Nor was assistance confined to the despatch of personnel. Towards the close of the war, for example, India was rationing about 1,000,000 men, and the output of the ordnance factories included 580,000,000 ball cartridges.

All these things and a thousand more, in addition to the payment of troops and a present of £100,000,000, constitute a mighty tribute. It is pleasant to reflect also that at the first meeting of the Legislative Council held after the outbreak of war it was on the motion of an Indian member that a resolution was unanimously passed claiming a share of the financial burden for the people of India in addition to affording military aid.

It is, however, necessary to strike a few notes of warning. The first is that help on such a stupendous scale could not normally be expected. A people wholly loyal, a friendly Afghanistan and an allied Russia form a combination of circumstances not likely to recur. Had there been internal trouble or serious fighting on or beyond the border, a large number of troops and vast quantities of stores must have been retained in the country; or, in the worst case, assistance might even have been needed from England. The second point is that, though it was generally expected that the conflict would be short and sharp, India was, owing to financial retrenchments, wholly unprepared at the outset, and only the great length of the war and her distance from its serious impacts enabled her to develop her latent powers. She cannot always expect to be allowed such a slow mobilization of resources. In another war she might have to develop her strength in the stress of conflict, and be allowed but a short time to put in the field all the power that would count in the eventual decision. The third point is that the numbers recruited furnished no true criterion of strength; for many of the later enlistments were drawn from tribes of no great fighting value, and it was difficult to officer them.

Doubts as to the availability in an emergency of vast numbers need, however, cause us no serious anxiety, for modern conditions have decreed that the day of man-warfare has passed. Our main requirements in the future are that the forces furnished shall be hard hitting and mobile, and that it shall be possible to maintain their mobility. Fortunately, as will be seen later, the Indian Government appear to be recognizing this.

Till now we have mainly considered the aid that India can render

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overseas. She herself, however, is of such vital importance to the Empire that her own protection is the greatest contribution she can and does make to Imperial defence. India is our best market; she holds a large percentage of the total of British subjects, and she contains vast British investments. The task of her protection is indeed great. It is indeed a big task. She has 5,000 to 6,000 miles of coastline to guard, and an equal length of land frontier. Vital, however, as this problem is, it has been the subject of such full discussion, before this Society and elsewhere, that I only propose to touch on its salient aspects.

I shall deal with the sea, air and land problems separately, but only as a matter of convenience. In practice, of course, they must be considered all together, and dealt with at headquarters by the chiefs of the services working in unison.

We may take the naval situation first. Most European and Arab invasions have reached India by the sea. But they have set foot upon an inhospitable shore. A scarcity of harbours, bad communications, mountain forests, heat and fever presented obstacles far greater than those offered by man. We alone surmounted them, and it took us two hundred years to do. Direct invasion by the Indian coastline therefore presents no serious danger, and, as will be shown later, can be definitely prevented by aircraft. The real danger lies elsewhere. The retention of India and its external trade depends largely upon the control of the sea, as do the lives of the millions brought into being by that trade. On the other hand, it would be difficult for us or for any other Power to maintain maritime supremacy in the Indian Ocean unless in possession of India. So these two matters react mutually upon one another: India depends on the sea, and sea power in Eastern waters depends on India.

The special difficulty in the naval defence of India is that with her great sea-borne commerce, amounting to about four hundred million pounds annually, she has only five large commercial ports. That is, she has only one port to each thousand miles of coast. The groupings of ships and the routes they must use are therefore obvious, and it is an easy matter for cruisers, working from temporary refuges along her coast, to raid her shipping effectively, as was done by the *Emden*; and equally easy for a hostile Power in temporary command of the sea to exercise an effective blockade without having to make serious detachments from his main force to achieve that object.

The main maritime protection to India in the event of the defeat of our fleet would in the first place be the absence of a suitable advanced base from which the enemy could launch an attack; and, in the second place, the action of our raiding vessels from Singapore, Mauritius and Aden against his line of communications. Sea and land operations,

however, react unceasingly upon one another; and the enemy might, therefore, if for a considerable time in command of the sea, capture these fortresses successively, and seize such a harbour as Trincomalee as an advanced base.

The Air Force is a tremendous asset to the Eastern Empire. In the first place it is of course always valuable as an accompaniment to naval and military action. It can be used alternatively on the North-West Frontier or for coast defence. It can reinforce or draw reinforcements from Iraq, Aden, or Singapore. When in reasonable force it can by bombing transports and aircraft carriers prevent any expedition reaching India by sea; and because of its superiority over aircraft based on the sea, it can prevent the bombardment of Indian harbours, for warships need a dominant air service to assist them by observation in such an attack. On the frontier it deals with enemy aircraft, which offer a dangerous threat to our communications, running as they do through dangerous defiles. It can afford a quick reinforcement to an allied Afghanistan, and can seriously delay a hostile advance through that country. Then, while the soldier holds the border hills on the Hindu Kush, the airman will bomb the communications of the assailant and enforce his withdrawal.

We may now turn to the land problem. There is no country in the world so well guarded by nature as India, and yet no great country perhaps has been subjected to so many invasions.

Land defence has a fourfold aspect, being faced with the provision of internal security and with the tribal, Afghan and Russian problems.

With regard to the first problem, the principle on which we work is to breed content rather than crush rebellions, yet where suppression is necessary, our task has been greatly simplified by the advent of the aeroplane and the armoured car; for these weapons, apart from their fire-power and their immunity from counteraction, possess that capability of striking a swift blow which, especially in the East, multiplies greatly the value of force. Internal troubles present their gravest dangers when expressed in non-co-operation, in interference with communications and in sabotage of works. Such action can only be defeated by a firm administration in Delhi and in London.

The second problem, that of the control of the frontier tribes, has for many decades been a burning and recurrent military issue. Fortunately, it is now well on the way to solution, partly in the use of the Air Force and partly in the building of roads. The latter have the dual effect—firstly, of facilitating the quick punishment of refractory tribes by enabling columns to penetrate quickly and deeply into their rugged country without the vast preliminary preparation formerly needed; and, secondly, of helping to solve the economic problem of the

tribesman both by giving him employment in their maintenance and protection and by facilitating the trade and development of his barren country. Waziristan, peopled by the most daring and bloodthirsty of the clans, furnishes a good example in this connexion, for it is now well rooted and consequently peaceful. Every opportunity should be taken of continuing this policy elsewhere as the complaisance of the tribes or their misdemeanours admit.

Across the border, the civil war has altered the situation sadly to our disadvantage. The key to all our frontier troubles is a solid and friendly Afghanistan. In 1919 the peace of forty years was broken by Amanullah's outrageous onslaught. Undeflected, however, from its permanent aim by that unprovoked attack, the Indian Government had succeeded, prior to the recent outbreak, in restoring amicable relations, and could congratulate itself on the strength of an Afghan administration which survived the absence of its chief in Europe for seven months. Unfortunately, the precipitate progressiveness of Amanullah then plunged the country into a state of chaos from which it has not yet emerged. This is the worst possible situation for us; but it has been admirably handled. The firm and tranquil attitude of the British Minister and the brilliant performance of the Air Force have enhanced our prestige, while the policy of non-interference, strictly enforced, has confirmed belief in our bona fides and at the same time has, by implication, indicated that we will tolerate no interference by others.

With regard to actual operations in Afghanistan, the problem has been simplified for us enormously by the adoption by the Indian Government of a policy of mechanization. The large quantities of war material required for an expedition and the number of luxuries considered necessary especially for British troops were rendering both mobilization and movement slow, and would have given such an impression of hesitancy to our actions that the whole frontier would have been up in arms before a blow could have been struck. The six-wheeler, which is being ordered in large numbers, is solving all these difficulties.

The nature of the Russian problem is well known. The Muscovite regards us as the main block to his policy of world communism. He has failed in England, and now hopes either by propaganda or by arms to destroy our rule in India. Hitherto the waves of Sovietism, though very ably directed, have broken on the Afghan frontier and then surged eastwards. But the Soviet Government is a power in Asia. It has an Oriental scorn of time and can await its opportunity. In the meantime, by patient and virulent underplay, it may hope to undermine our rule.

Ever since the proposal of Napoleon to the Czar Alexander, Russia has always threatened the Indian border. Sometimes the threat has

caused great excitement and the expenditure of crores on fortifications ; at other times it has been termed a bogey. The threat remains. It is for us to gauge its immediate value and to project our minds a little into the future for its value in the coming years. As this matter is one of Imperial defence in which India may be expected only to withstand the first shock and gain time for the mobilization of transport of other forces of the Empire, we must go into it in some detail. Russia will not make a serious attack unless in the first place the inducements are sufficient, and in the second place there are good prospects of success.

As regards inducements, let us look at the map. Russia is like a vast unventilated room, for she has no access to the open sea. She suffers everywhere from ice-bound ports or closed seas : Archangel, the Baltic, the Black Sea, Vladivostock. She long had eyes on Constantinople. Indeed, it was often said that she threatened India not with the intention of invading it, but to strengthen her hand diplomatically in her claims on the Turkish capital. That may have been true once, but it can hardly be true any longer. A share in the back end of the Mediterranean could only be won against the opposition of half Europe, and when won Russia is once more in a *mare clausus*. On the other hand, India has the attraction of fabled riches, of vast territories, and, above all, of four great ports looking out to the open ocean south of the centre of Russian territories. Moreover, the country is now fully organized for development, and railways have been driven from the ports right up and through the frontier passes, so that they will be able to connect Kushk quickly with Karachi and Termez eventually with Bombay and Calcutta.

As for prospects of success, at the moment they are nil, for the Russian of today is not equal to the task. As to the future, the matter is in doubt. It depends to some extent on the nature of the change to be wrought in new generations of Russians. It is certain that we can no longer judge that race by the specimens we meet at Archangel. Many competent observers believe that the youth of the country is being informed with a new spirit, that he has cast away the slouch of his father and is now squaring his shoulders confidently to the world, believing by the grace of the Soviet he has come into his kingdom. These observers think the new spirit will certainly not stand still, but will advance by spreading the creed or by conquest till it has been rebuffed or has reached the peaks of endeavour. May not such a spirit insist on access to the oceans ; and knowing the difficulties at Constantinople and Port Arthur, may it not try the avenue of Hindustan ?

Then, too, the Soviet Government is spending a large proportion of revenue in developing and industrializing the country, and the work is

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proceeding apace. When Russia can completely equip her fighting forces from her own resources, she will be a much more powerful opponent than she is now. Finally, Russian prospects are much improved by the chaos in Afghanistan : for in such conditions it will be easier to pick a satisfactory quarrel, easier to spring a surprise owing to the absence of any organized communications, and easier to effect a rapid conquest of the country, because not only will the divisions among the inhabitants eliminate serious resistance, but external aid may not be forthcoming, as there would be no acknowledged Government to demand it. Thus a future generation may see a well-equipped Russian army inspired by a new and ardent spirit sweeping across a chaotic Afghanistan to reach and penetrate the Indian border.

These are the prospects putting them at their highest expression. Provided, however, that we maintain our present standards, the Russian will have no greater hopes of success than he has now. The only danger for us lies in weakening our present position, either by allowing Russian propaganda to undermine our influence or by some such failure as allowing a too rapid Indianization of the Indian Army. The latter project is sound enough if allowed to proceed slowly and submitted to regular checks, but might become dangerous to the Empire if advanced too quickly.

India must first of all think of her own defence. Till that is assured she can make no great contribution to the pooled security of the Empire. Nevertheless, in none of her plans or organizations should the interdependence of East and West be for a moment omitted from consideration, nor the dependence of both on the command of the sea. The Indian combat group is both a sword and a shield ; and as a principal unit in Empire defence, must be prepared to act in either capacity. In the fulfilment of its Imperial functions its main requirements are—a contented people, a guarded sea and a peaceful border ; independence, over a long period, of external aid ; and an army that, however small, is fully efficient and equal to the delivery of a succession of quick blows either on the frontier or overseas.

Questions were asked regarding the result of Soviet propaganda on internal Indian security and other matters.

Sir GEORGE MACMUNN closed the meeting with very hearty thanks to the lecturer for raising and discussing a subject of such vital importance to all members of the Society.

THE IRAQ-NAJD FRONTIER

THE disturbances which have taken place of recent years on the Iraq-Najd frontier have attracted a certain amount of comment and attention, both in and out of the Press. They have also provoked a good deal of rather violent criticism against the various authorities concerned, Ibn Saud, the Iraq Government, and His Majesty's Government. It sometimes seems to me that governments and rulers have much less influence in the world than the man in the street is apt to suppose. The conditions of life are subject to constant change; especially in recent years have rapid changes taken place, made necessary by inventions, the progress of education, improvements in communication and so on, rather than by governments and rulers. These changes periodically render the existing laws or structure of society inapplicable and necessitate their modification.

There is always, however, a certain element of risk in change, which inspires apprehension both in governments and people, and, as a result, the authorities in the limelight, who are sure to be blamed if anything goes wrong, are more usually behindhand with their modifications than they are premature. Inventions often come upon us unawares, and, as a result, governments are more often than not left behind with their measures, faint but pursuing the changes which are taking place in society. The steps which they take are more often than not inevitable, in view of all the facts at their disposal, though this does not, of course, save them from being liberally abused by those who, not being in power, do not share their responsibility and often are not aware of many of the factors.

The situation in Arabia seems to be a case in point. The heart of Arabia has been affected by the movements of the modern world almost as profoundly as England and Europe. These changes are quite inevitable and entirely beyond the control of governments. It was equally inevitable that, in so conservative and backward a country, portions of the population should bitterly resent and oppose such changes. This fact having been realized by all concerned, and Najd not being a particularly desirable country as far as outsiders are concerned, the authorities have struggled desperately to avoid getting mixed up in the birth pains of a new age in Arabia. However, in spite of their best efforts, all have more or less failed, driven by inevitable events stronger than themselves. They have also been abused for taking the actions which events forced upon them, mostly by persons not sufficiently in touch with the situation to realize the inevitability of these actions.

The following notes are divided roughly into three parts:

- (a) I propose to give you some idea of the ground (which was almost entirely unexplored until five years ago) and of its inhabitants.
- (b) A very brief résumé of the Iraq-Najd relations in the past few years.
- (c) Something of the present situation and the lessons we have recently learned.

THE TERRAIN AND ITS INHABITANTS.

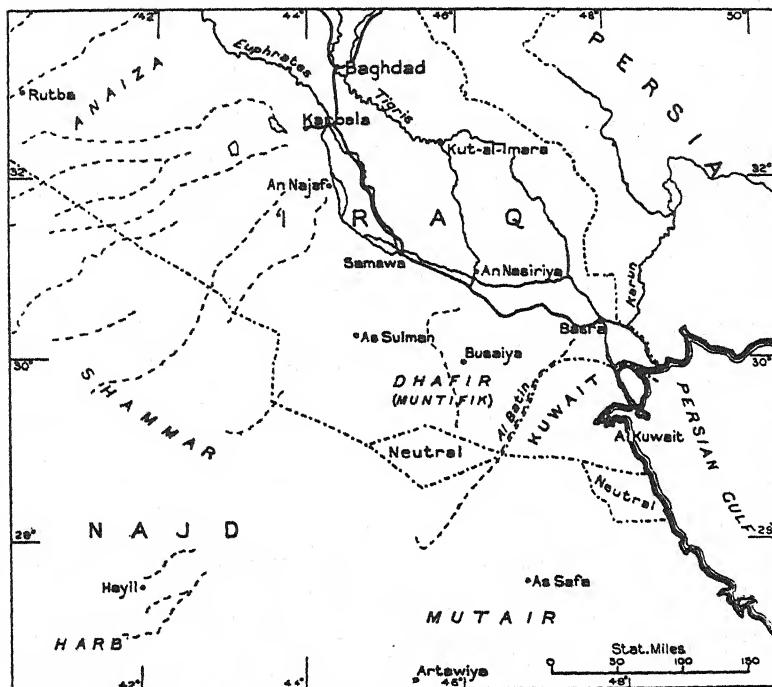
The desert areas of Northern Arabia are quite unlike the common mental picture most Europeans form of a desert—namely, a wilderness of sand. The desert which we are considering consists of rolling hills of light gravelly soil, with outcrops of limestone in some parts. It is in most cases capable of bearing cereal crops, its chief or only disadvantage being lack of water in hot weather. After the winter rains, however, it becomes clothed with fresh grass and flowers, which in summer dry up, forming, so to speak, natural hay. In winter such territory forms a valuable asset as grazing country, though in summer its value is restricted by the lack of water to water the flocks, though grazing in the form of dry grass is usually plentiful.

Desert stock-breeders, therefore, need an alternative summering area to enable them to keep sufficient stock to take advantage of the desert winter grass. In Iraq this is supplied by the alluvial valley of the two rivers. The Tigris and Euphrates very conveniently flood in April, when they submerge considerable areas of country. When the floods subside in May, considerable areas of coarse marsh grass replace the floods, just when the water supply of the desert is becoming low. In the autumn the marsh grass dries, just when the winter rains are to be expected in the desert. These conditions allow the breeding of sheep in Iraq on a very large scale. The sheep spend the summer in the marshes of the rivers, while in winter they are sent out perhaps 150 or 200 miles into the desert. Almost every agricultural village in Iraq breeds sheep. Some tribes are settled, live in villages and rely for a livelihood principally on agriculture. Their sheep are a side-show, and are taken into the desert in winter by junior members of the family or by paid shepherds, the principal Sheikhs remaining behind in their houses to superintend cultivation. Other tribes live principally on sheep, merely cultivating a little maize or millet in summer, or engaging paid labourers to work their land while the principal members of the tribe spend the winter and spring in the desert. Thus, in ranging proportions, sheep and agriculture in Iraq go hand in hand, and every year enormous numbers of Iraq citizens, owners of houses and cultivated land, move into the desert with their sheep, or send their sheep out in charge of

paid servants. This winter population of the desert we commonly refer to as the "Iraq shepherds."

There is nothing corresponding to this in Najd, because Najd has not an almost unlimited water supply. The increase of flocks in Najd is strictly limited by the available water supply in the summer.

Now the Iraq shepherds, moving into the desert in winter only, own no camels. Camels would be a nuisance to them in summer in the marshes, and horses and donkeys can travel fairly well in the desert in



winter. They cannot, however, travel very great distances in the desert even in winter, and for this reason the shepherds are at a great disadvantage compared to the Bedouins in war. Again, the shepherds are not homogeneous tribes in the desert. They are composed of innumerable small units, a few flocks each from different villages and cultivating tribes, the sheikhs in many cases remaining behind on the river. Thus they lack the first requisite for waging war, unity of command, or even, in many cases, the existence of any commander at all.

The second class of inhabitants in the Iraq desert are Bedouins—that is to say, camel-breeding nomads. The Bedouin tribes subject to Iraq are very similar in character to those subject to Najd. They are camel riders, accustomed for centuries to raiding one another over enormous distances. While, however, on the Najd side, the tribes

in the frontier area are all Bedouins of this type, on the Iraq side the Bedouins are, in winter, enormously outnumbered by the shepherds, who are unable to raid, and are at a terrible disadvantage in all desert warfare.

At the same time, the shepherds are full tax-paying citizens of Iraq ; the great majority own land also, while many of the sheep which move into the desert in winter belong to merchants and notables, and even to members of parliament or of local administrative bodies. An enormous proportion of the inhabitants of Lower Iraq either own or have some interest in sheep, and a disaster to the Iraq shepherds is therefore something in the nature of a national calamity.

These people claim, and I think rightly, that nowadays, when they are expected to contribute regularly to the taxes of the State, they are entitled to demand that the Government safeguard their property and lives from aggression. Their position is entirely different from that of the homogeneous Bedouin tribes, who have lived for centuries by looting and being looted, and whose losses affect themselves alone.

HISTORY.

But, it may be said, what have these shepherds done from time immemorial to defend themselves in the desert ? They did not have aeroplanes and forts to defend them in the past, so why should they now ? This brings me to the second part of my lecture, an outline of the past history of the area.

Until, roughly, the year 1920, the neighbours of the Iraq tribes on the south were the sheikhs of Kuwait and Ibn Rashid. Two powerful Bedouin groups existed opposite them in Iraq, the Muntifik and Anaiza. These four tribal groups of Bedouins were more or less continually engaged in raiding one another. To secure some sort of protection when in the desert, the shepherds used to pay a small tribute to whatever Bedouin chief seemed most powerful in the particular area in which they wished to graze. The disadvantages under which the shepherds labour in the desert are lack of mobility and lack of leadership. Lack of leadership was to some extent supplied by the Bedouin chief. As regards mobility, the shepherds never could raid ; but, if warned by the Bedouin chief, who, having camelmen, could more easily obtain information of an impending raid, they were sometimes able to collect and defend themselves where they stood.

But the chief difference between then and now lay in the nature of their enemy. None of the old Bedouin chiefs raided to kill. Very few persons were hurt in these picturesque battles, and, indeed, part of the loot was quite often given back if the victorious chief found the victims to be very poor !

Since 1919-20, however, the Ikhwan have taken to killing all males in cold blood, even small boys. Some people have been inclined to pooh-pooh this question of massacre, and to refer sarcastically to propaganda about Ikhwan frightfulness. Far from propaganda having been employed, one-tenth of the horror of these murderous attacks is not known to the public. Only the well-to-do amongst the shepherds have horses, and perhaps two-thirds of them travel about the desert on foot. For these escape from a sudden attack by perhaps 1,500 camel and horsemen, early in the morning, in open country, perhaps, over a hundred miles out in the desert, is almost impossible. Whole camps have been almost annihilated in this manner, only crowds of women surviving.

It is this which has really transformed the situation. Before 1920 the shepherd did suffer occasional losses in sheep to Bedouin raiders, but these losses were probably compensated for, in comparison with the present day, by the fact that the central Government was so weak that taxation was almost negligible, whereas new methods of efficiency now enable taxes to be collected in full. But it is the shepherd's terror of massacre which has rendered it necessary for Government to intervene, when formerly the shepherd more or less took care of himself.

It was, I think, in 1919 that the Ikhwan first began to massacre, and in 1921 Ibn Rashid fell, thus bringing the Ikhwan for the first time, for about one hundred years at any rate, in direct contact with Iraq all along the frontier.

You will remember, however, that in 1920 the Arabs of Iraq themselves were in rebellion against the Government. The troublous years of 1921 and 1922 were devoted to the building of a new administration in Iraq, and amid constant troubles in suppressing internal disorders, surmounting political crises and building up a revenue and administrative system, no leisure or forces were available to stabilize conditions in the desert.

When, therefore, negotiations with Iraq's new neighbour, Ibn Saud, took place in 1922, sufficient time had not been given to studying the problem. The ground itself was almost entirely unexplored. It was the duty of the Government to secure some kind of settlement with the Ikhwan as quickly as possible, in order to leave its hands free to deal with internal affairs. As a result the treaty then concluded left many gaps and contained many vague obligations which have since given trouble.

On this occasion the present frontier was fixed. Iraq insisted, against some opposition, on the inclusion of a strip of desert within her frontier. The reasons, I imagine, although I have never seen them officially stated and have never seen the correspondence exchanged at the time, were presumably :

1. It was realized that Government would be compelled in future to

tax the tribes of Iraq fully, all of whom owned sheep which must graze in the desert in the winter. To sign away their winter grazing grounds to another Power would have placed them under the necessity of paying taxes twice, not to mention that it would have placed them for six months of the year entirely under a foreign Government. It may be noted that the shepherds are all Shiahhs, the sect most fundamentally opposed in every way to the Wahhabis.

2. The Euphrates flows for the whole of its course in Iraq along the edge of the desert, and many of the principal cities of Iraq—Kerbela, Najd, Samawa, Nasiriya, Basra—are on the edge of the desert. All these cities are thus exposed to attack by Bedouins, and have been constantly so attacked in the past. Again, the railway from Basra to Baghdad, the main artery of communications in Iraq since the war, runs from Basra to Samawa, actually through the desert itself. Bedouin raiders in the desert are extraordinarily difficult to intercept, and a belt of desert for this purpose was doubtless thought essential, owing to the manner in which so many of the "vitals" of Iraq lay exposed to the desert on the west of the Euphrates.

3. The area included in Iraq belonged, I think by universal consent, to the Muntifk and Anaiza tribal groups, who summer on the Euphrates or even east of it. And in any case its inhabitants consisted to a far greater extent of shepherds than of Bedouins, the shepherds being undoubtedly out-and-out Iraqis.

The period since the conclusion of this treaty in 1922 may be divided into two:

- (a) 1922 to 1926.
- (b) 1926 to the present date.

1922 TO 1926.

The 1922 treaty stated that Najd and Iraq were at peace, and that neither country was to allow its subjects to raid the other. During this period (1922 to 1926) neither side fulfilled this rather elementary obligation. On the Iraq side large numbers of refugees from Najd had entered the country, principally Shammar, followers of the defeated Ibn Rashid, but in some cases members of other tribes, who had their own reasons for making themselves scarce in Najd. These undesirable immigrants continued to raid their enemies in Najd, although they were camped in Iraq. Their raids were all in very small numbers, and their object was to loot camels by stealth and speed. The average raid by these so-called Ikhwan or Shammar refugees was probably about fifteen or twenty strong.

The Ikhwan, on the other hand, though small raids of this nature did occasionally come from Najd, usually attacked only in very large numbers, about one thousand to two thousand men. The refugees

from Najd, who had raided into that country from Iraq, knew all the ropes too well, and their camps were usually well behind in a place of safety. The fury of the raids from Najd fell entirely on the Iraq shepherds, who were insufficiently mobile to enable them to get out of the way.

Morally, therefore, there was little difference from 1922 to 1926 in the action of the two Governments—that is to say, that neither prevented its subjects from raiding. Iraq, however, was by far the heavier sufferer, because the Ikhwan raids were better organized, better led, stronger and more ruthless, and fell chiefly on the victims least able to defend themselves.

It may well be asked why, if the Iraq Government were the losers, they did not take steps to prevent the Ikhwan refugees from raiding Najd. To answer this question it is necessary to visualize the extent of the desert. The Iraq-Najd frontier is about 350 miles long and most of it is at least 100 miles from the nearest town, where alone, in those days, Government posts existed. This area was dotted with ever moving camps, from which only very vague and spasmodic news percolated to the settled areas and hence to the Government. In these circumstances it was easy for a small party of fifteen or twenty men to slip across the frontier from one of these camps and steal some camels without the Government hearing about it. The principal reason why from 1922 to 1926 the Government did not prevent raiding into Najd was because they did not know about it.

1926 ONWARDS.

By 1926, however, internal progress in Iraq had been so great that the authorities were enabled to set themselves systematically to establish order in the desert. I have at times heard it said that Bedouins have always raided from time immemorial, and that it is impossible and even undesirable to prevent them. From 1922 to 1926 the Iraq Government struggled most manfully to keep clear of the desert. Like many other modern Governments, they were obsessed by the fear of commitments and expenditure. The reasons why they were obliged to take steps to help the shepherds have already been explained, but such help was usually spasmodic and arrived too late. They struggled desperately against the idea of regularly policing the desert, which they feared meant expense and commitments. They endeavoured not to interfere with inter-Bedouin raiding between Iraq tribes, but the attempt proved a failure. If the Iraq Bedouins were allowed to raid one another, it was impossible to prevent them at times raiding across a frontier, an act which provoked strong protest from their neighbours, the loudest of all being from Ibn Saud himself.

Finally, in the autumn of 1926, an edict was issued forbidding all

raiding by Bedouins of whatever kind. Not long afterwards a large raiding party of Shammar refugees in Northern Iraq carried out a raid into Kuwait. They had crossed the Euphrates from the Mosul area within the Syrian boundary and travelled down a line of wells parallel to, and some sixty to eighty miles from, the Euphrates. They were overtaken by aircraft and cars and severely handled.

As a result of this affair, a good deal of correspondence ensued regarding the best methods of preventing raids. Hitherto the Government had confined its permanent forts and forces to the river area with the exception of Rutbah and Muhaiwir, two posts on the overland route to Baghdad. The tribes who might raid or be raided could be camped anything up to 150 or 200 miles out in the desert. It might thus take five or six days or more for news of the departure of a raiding party to reach the Government. When this occurred very expensive pursuing forces, consisting chiefly of aircraft, were sent out, but rarely, of course, could find raiders, who had left a week before and might be anywhere in the interminable expanses of the desert.

It would obviously be more efficient to keep a few small posts of irregular police on the wells in the desert (a) to ensure that rapid information of raids was sent in; (b) to deny the use of the wells to the raiders—wells inside the Iraq frontier being very scarce.

In accordance with this scheme, seven police constables were sent to Busaiya and later on an equal number to Sulman. Both were accommodated in tents. There were already posts on the overland route at Rutbah and Muhaiwir. This enabled the Government to keep fairly well in touch with the desert situation, except in the Lusuf-Benit-Shabicha area, which was left for subsequent treatment, should the experiment prove a success.

The seven men remained at Busaiya for six months. The local police officer then requested permission to erect a small building in dried mud for their accommodation, storage of rations, etc. I think, writing from memory, that the sum originally allotted for the building was Rs. 500 (say £40). During the ensuing few months certain extra sums were added, making the total expenditure before the attack something in the vicinity, I think, of £100.

In view of the wild statements subsequently published about Busaiya, I would draw your attention to the size of the garrison and the money expended on the building.

At this time, the Ikhwan war in the Hijaz was just over. During its continuance, the Ikhwan had been kept busy and a period of abnormal quiet had been enjoyed on the frontier. Instead of attributing this quiet to its apparently real cause—namely, the fact that the Ikhwan were busy elsewhere, it was hoped at the time that the Ikhwan had permanently abandoned the practice of raiding Iraq.

Seven men at Busaiya would obviously have been useless to repel an Ikhwan raid, which was 1,500 men strong. They were, however, of real value in preventing the Iraq tribes from raiding, because an Iraqi hesitates to shoot at policemen, however few in numbers, for fear of drawing down Government punishment.

The seven to ten men had been at Busaiya for a whole year, without any protest or comment from Najd, when they were suddenly attacked and annihilated by a force of about sixty men from the tribe of Mutair from Najd.

It has been stated in the Press that the police were killed by a Bedouin tribe, which arrived at the well in the course of its normal migrations and found a Government post on it. This is quite incorrect. No Mutairis were camped within about 100 miles of the post at the time. The well is actually too small to water a tribe in summer, though sufficient for a raiding party. The attack, which was preceded by a visit by spies, was a deliberate cutting out expedition, carried out from a base far into Najd.

The post had been there for a year, during which year raids into Najd had ceased. Everything was thought at the time to be perfectly quiet.

The reasons for the attack are closely connected with internal politics in Najd.

NAJD POLITICS, 1927.

1. The Government of Najd for some years had somewhat resembled the Fascist régime in Italy. At the head was Ibn Saud himself, and his weapon was the Ikhwan Bedouin tribes, the fascist militia of Najd.

These tribes were *par excellence* Mutair, part of Ataibah, part of Harb, and certain more southerly tribes who do not directly concern us. With these tribes he had conquered both Ibn Rashid and the Hijaz. The tribes in question had for years lived on the fat of the land, lorded it over the other inhabitants, and made a regular income by loot. With the end of the Hijaz war, Ibn Saud found himself with no more fields to conquer unless he desired, which he did not, to provoke the hostility of H.M. Government. He had issued orders against raiding Iraq. This situation was highly distasteful to the Ikhwan, who had for ten years enjoyed victory and loot. Thus another war of some kind was essential to the Ikhwan Bedouins.

2. There were also other factors which contributed to make the Ikhwan chiefs discontented. When Ibn Saud's dominions were smaller, the Ikhwan chiefs, so to speak, filled the picture. Ibn Saud depended entirely upon them in his wars with Shammar and the Hijaz, and thus their chiefs and their counsels were vital to him, and they enjoyed

correspondingly influential positions and large shares of any loot or subsidies which were going.

The conquest of Shammar and the Hijaz, however, brought very large numbers of other tribes under Ibn Saud's sway, including chiefs with as powerful followings as the Ikhwan leaders. Many of these leaders were hereditary and bitter enemies of the Ikhwan. Ibn Saud, endeavouring to win the loyalty of his new subjects, was compelled to some extent to extend his favours to them also, to the bitter jealousy of the Ikhwan.

3. Bedouins are, again, bitterly resentful of control or autocracy. The conquest of the Hijaz made Ibn Saud a powerful monarch, gave him more funds, and induced him to take to motor-cars and other modern inventions. The Ikhwan realized that if Ibn Saud were to go in for modern weapons and appliances, he would be able greatly to increase his power over them. Instead, therefore, of the great Ikhwan leaders being able, if not to dictate, at least greatly to influence the councils of the State, they saw their influence greatly reduced, both by the number of other tribes who had joined Ibn Saud and by the development of scientific appliances.

4. A very important cause of dissatisfaction in Najd was the prolonged absence of Ibn Saud in the Hijaz. His Government had always been extraordinarily centralized in himself, and owed much to his own very remarkable personality. In the long absence of Ibn Saud in the Hijaz, there was nobody to take his place in Najd.

Thus the five causes of the rebellion in Najd may be said to have been :

- (a) The cessation of wars and loot.
- (b) Jealousy of the non-Ikhwan tribes who had become subjects.
- (c) Fear of the increase of Ibn Saud's power through modern appliances and wealth.
- (d) The long absence of Ibn Saud from Najd.
- (e) Also the inherent fickleness of Bedouins. A study of the past history of Najd will show that the Bedouins have never remained quiet and loyal to one prince for long.

Why, then, it may be asked, did Ibn Duwish open the ball by attacking Busaiya?

This was due to three reasons :

(a) Firstly, because he and his tribe, Mutair, did not like any Government influence in the desert. Bedouins are very much afraid of modern weapons, and the entry of the Government into the desert, even by the thin end of the wedge with the seven men, meant, the Ikhwan feared, if it developed, an end of their raids against Iraq shepherds, the most lucrative raids they had enjoyed in their ten years of domination. Ibn Duwish and the rebel Ikhwan opposed Government forts in the

desert for the same reason as they opposed the employment of cars and wireless by Ibn Saud, because they feared that both would be used to keep them in order.

The demands which the malcontents submitted to Ibn Saud at the outbreak of the troubles included both the evacuation of the Iraq deserts by the Iraq Government and the abandonment of cars, wireless, telegraphy, and other modern inventions by Ibn Saud. In reply, Ibn Saud refused to abandon his own cars and wireless, but held out hopes to the malcontents that he would have the Government posts removed, and undertook an intensive propaganda for the purpose. Faced with a crisis, Ibn Saud naturally wished to be able to make a concession to the rebels which would cost him nothing.

(b) The second reason why Ibn Duwish commenced his programme by attacking Busaiya was possibly in the hopes thereby of embroiling Ibn Saud with Iraq and of creating a situation from which loot might be forthcoming. The Ikhwan were not at that time as afraid of the Government as they subsequently became, and if Ibn Saud could be involved on their side, the Ikhwan did not fear a war with Iraq.

(c) The third reason was purely internal politics. Ibn Saud still had immense moral and, above all, religious prestige behind him. To attack him openly with the avowed object of loot or power was too risky. The rebels, therefore, undertook an extensive propaganda to the effect that Ibn Saud was sold to the infidels, and had himself invited the English into the desert to help him in putting down the Ikhwan. "If this is not so," they said, "let him join us in a jihad against the infidels. If he does not do so, it will be proof that he is himself in secret relations to bring them into Najd." This was very clever propaganda and had a good deal of effect.

Thus Ibn Saud was telling the truth when he said that the Mutair were indignant at the presence of the Iraq Government in the desert. The real reason, however, of their indignation was because they feared that, if it developed, their last and most profitable raiding field would go. But Ibn Saud did not add that they were equally indignant at his own motor-cars, and for the same reason.

REMAINING ACTIVITIES IN NAJD IN 1928.

It is remarkable that the next attack delivered by Ibn Duwish after his attack on Busaiya was not against Iraq, but against Ibn Saud's own Shammar and certain Anaiza and Shafir details, all camped in Najd. The former were definite subjects of Ibn Saud, the latter two had paid tribute to him. Those who know the strictness of the Bedouin custom of "wajh" will realize that this was a direct challenge to Ibn Saud himself, and had nothing to do with Iraq. The rebels continued to spread their propaganda against Ibn Saud.

In the remainder of 1927 and the first half of 1928 the rebel Ikhwan, principally Mutair and Ataiba, continued to carry fire and sword up and down Northern Najd, accumulating vast quantities of loot from anyone within reach, either other Najd, Kuwait, or Iraq tribes.

Ibn Saud, desperately anxious to avoid fighting the Ikhwan, his own fascist militia, continued to exhort them to be good, to give them money, and to promise to remove the Iraq Government influence in the desert. Unwilling to surrender any of his own powers, the only concession he could think of was one at the expense of Iraq, which would cost him nothing.

Meanwhile, after the successful attack on Busaiya, the Iraq Government had strengthened Busaiya and built a fort at Sulman, both of which were temporarily occupied by soldiers in view of the very disturbed condition of the frontier.

JIDDA.

During the summer of 1928 a conference took place at Jidda with Ibn Saud. Faced with civil war at home, Ibn Saud was at his wit's end, and could think of no straw to grasp except the immediate evacuation of their desert territory by the Iraq Government as a concession to the rebels.

The Iraq Government were, I think, reasonably unwilling to abandon all measures to defend their own subjects just at a moment when Najd was obviously out of hand and the Ikhwan were busily engaged in raiding all and sundry.

What it came to was that, if the Government evacuated the desert, the Ikhwan would have been left a free hand to raid the Iraq shepherds, and the pressure on Ibn Saud and his loyal tribes would have been reduced. If, however, the Government were to take such steps as to make raiding Iraq difficult or impossible, the Ikhwan would raid other Najd tribes, as they were doing at the moment. At a pinch, Ibn Saud obviously preferred the former alternative, the Iraq Government the latter.

1928-1929.

This appreciation of the situation a year ago has proved to be correct.

During this period the Iraq Government have actually reduced their forces in the desert, and have replaced their soldiers once more by police. The better organization and training of the police, however, have sufficed to deter the Ikhwan very largely from raiding Iraq. As a result the Ikhwan have turned against the other Najd tribes, and a bitter civil war, still raging at its height, has broken out. The two countries are so closely connected in trade and grazing, that the dis-

turbances in Najd have caused heavy loss to Iraqis. Iraq and British forces are strictly forbidden to cross the frontier, so any Iraq subject who enters Najd has to look after himself. As a result last winter about two hundred Iraq subjects were killed by the Ikhwan in Najd or Kuwait, and damage suffered to the extent of about eight lakhs of rupees.

But once the two sides, Ibn Saud and the rebels, took the field against one another, the Iraq forts dispute, which had been a pawn in the early stages of the game, fell out of prominence. The points at issue between the two parties still are:

- (a) That the Ikhwan do not like peace as it means no loot.
- (b) That they fear and resent the growth of Ibn Saud's power and his use of modern appliances.
- (c) That they are jealous of the Shammar and the newly conquered tribes.

A proof that the Ikhwan in protesting against the forts originally were not genuinely inspired by fanaticism is that, once they came to open blows with Ibn Saud, several of them attempted to open negotiations with Iraq for an asylum on which to base their hostilities against Ibn Saud. It is scarcely too much to say that had it not been for the pressure of the Government in the desert, the rebels could not have been prevented from using Iraq territory as a base, as so many refugees did in the period 1922-1926. I have already pointed out that almost all the raids from Iraq into Najd which occurred previous to 1926 were carried out, not by Iraqis, but by refugees from Najd.

Another even more valuable service which Iraq has been able to render to Ibn Saud is in the matter of supplies. All Bedouins must trade to live and they depend on towns for their food. A large portion of the northern half of Najd depends for supplies on Iraq. Owing to the excellent control now exercised by Iraq in the desert, the Iraq Government has been able entirely to prevent the purchase of supplies in their country by tribes in rebellion against Ibn Saud. Unfortunately, a certain amount of leakage has occurred throughout Kuwait, but shortage of arms and supplies has all along been one of the most serious difficulties experienced by the rebels.

Since the Iraq Government decided to control its desert areas, raiding by cr from Iraq has absolutely ceased. The presence of a strong and friendly administration in the Iraq deserts has been of the greatest benefit to Ibn Saud for the past year.

It may, then, be asked, Why do the Saud sources continue to abuse Iraq? It is necessary to appreciate that the whole structure of Najd was previously based on the theory of religious unity under Ibn Saud. The principal exponents of this religious unity were the Ikhwan or brethren. The rebellion of the Ikhwan against Ibn Saud destroyed the

moral fabric of the Wahhabi state and thus did Ibn Saud infinite harm. Ibn Saud is now employing non-Wahhabi tribes to fight his own followers and disciples. This fact required some explanation. Ibn Saud did not like to admit that the Ikhwan were Bedouin after all and that he had lost his popularity with them as soon as he was unable to offer them loot. It was better propaganda to say that all the trouble was caused by aggression or intrigue from outside sources.

Before ending up I might refer to two criticisms which have at times been made regarding the actions of the Iraq Government. The first is the statement that the Iraq posts are established on desert wells, and that the Bedouin naturally resent the Government being in a position to deny them water and camping ground. There is in practice no foundation whatever for this assertion. Busaiya is a small water-hole in the bed of a wadi, which does not produce enough water for a camp, though sufficient for raiders. Sulman is a magnificent watering-place and camping-ground, but it is far beyond the range of any of the Ikhwan tribes. There is no record within the memory of living Bedouins of any of the truly Ikhwan tribes, in which I do not include Shammar, ever camping at Sulman. The wells are situated between the Shafir, Shammar, and Anaiza areas. All these three tribes have been at feud with one another for at least a hundred years, probably more. Sulman, being between their various areas, was therefore unsafe for all. The summer after the post was built, 1928, was the first occasion on which Bedouins had summered at Sulman for many years, and during that summer between 1,500 and 2,000 tents were collected there. Not only so, but these tents were partly Najd Shammar, partly Anaiza and partly Shafir, just the three tribes who for so many years had all been unable to camp there for fear of one another. The Najd Shammar never had the courage to camp at Sulman until the Government established control there. Most of the summer was spent by the British officers in settling old blood feuds between these tribes.

CIVILIZING THE DESERT.

Another criticism which I have heard made is that the Iraq Government is trying to civilize the desert, and visions are conjured up of hordes of bureaucratic effendis descending upon the Bedouin tribes. This impression is entirely wrong. For the past eighteen months only two non-Bedouin have been employed in the desert—one British officer and one Arab commandant. All the remainder of the personnel were Bedouin, recruited in the Camel Corps. All disputes and cases in the desert are settled by Bedouin sheikhs according to tribal custom.

A rather unexpected result of preventing raiding in the desert has been that all the Iraq Bedouin have been pleased. This, even, we

hardly expected at first. The Iraq Government decided that raiding must be stopped because it had become a nuisance, but they did not expect the Bedouin to agree. Actually the Bedouin tribes are not unlike the European powers on a small scale. If somebody forcibly prevents all war, they are in the end all very pleased. But if left to themselves wars inevitably recommence. It is not too much to say that the most enthusiastic advocates of Government control in the desert are the Bedouin themselves.

THE DESERT AS AN ASSET.

But there is one aspect from which the Iraq Government favour "progress" in the desert. They are beginning to realize that the desert is an asset, not, as it was previously considered, always a liability. The Iraq desert is not a wilderness of sand hills, but excellent grazing steppes, which support a very large trade in Iraq in sheep and camel breeding and the products of wool, meat, oil, and live stock. This trade has hitherto been greatly hampered by insecurity. The best exporting firms will not send their agents out to the breeders to buy wool, etc., if it means that they must ride for a month on a camel and possibly have their throats cut. The breeding tribes have no capital and hence borrow at 100 per cent. for six months from small usurers, who charge exorbitant interest to cover their risks due to raiding.

The desert has at some time in the past been well governed, probably in the times of the Abbasid Caliphs. It is covered with ancient wells now fallen in and disused. Incidentally, almost all of these wells have also ruined forts on them. Much of the best grazing in the desert can often not be used, owing to the scarcity of wells still in action. If a little capital could be put into it, the desert could be made to support a far greater number of head of live stock. In the same way much could be done to help the nomad tribes by improving strains, washing wool, etc. But the first step in all such changes is law and order.

I should like to say one word more, and that is to deprecate violent blame and abuse. *Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner.* If the Iraq Government was ever in the wrong it was from 1922 to 1926, when owing to its desire for economy and fear of commitments it endeavoured to avoid the desert altogether. Even since it has in principle opposed every step, until it was forced into it by the demand of its subjects for protection or the protests of its neighbours against raids.

Ibn Saud is in a very difficult position—in fact, he is literally fighting not only for his throne but for his life. Personally, I think and hope that this time he will win through. But it always seems to me that his principal difficulty is that he has no regular forces, and thus is always

at the mercy of fickle tribes. He can only put down one tribe by rallying another tribe against it and thus starting a civil war. If only he could do it, it seems to me that the chief hope of quiet would be if he could obtain modern weapons—machine guns, cars, etc., in the hands of a paid force.

It is true that Ibn Saud or those inspired by him have taken up a querulous attitude towards Iraq and H.M. Government. This, however, as I explained before, is largely due to political reasons. He must put forward some explanation of the break-up of Wahhabism. Personally, however, I think that he is mistaken in taking this line. It would be much easier to sympathize with and help him, as nearly every external influence desires to do, if he made a clean breast of it, than as at present, when he responds to every attempted service by fresh accusations and abuse. We must, however, make allowances for his very critical position.

One of the greatest obstacles to better relations is the isolation of Ibn Saud, and even more so of his subordinates. If one could only meet more often and discuss difficulties more openly, things would go better. But with Ibn Saud buried in Central Arabia, surrounded by fanatical or interested advisers, an occasional note is almost useless. The principal problem now, however, is how Ibn Saud can really establish power over his subjects.

THE ARAB STATEMENT ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN PALESTINE*

BY JEMAL BEY AL HUSSEINI

Preamble.—In making a study of this statement the reader is requested to bear in mind :

(a) The Arabs in Palestine bear no hatred to Jews as Jews. Their continual complaint is of the aggressive predominance of the political Zionists. Arabs have lived with Jews before the war on friendly terms, as Arabs and Jews now still live in Syria and Mesopotamia.

(b) There is no truth in the rumour spread by anti-Arab propagandists that Arabs use their anti-Zionist movement as a screen to hide an anti-British campaign. Arabs have good faith in British people, and believe that it is through the friendship and assistance of Great Britain that they will be able to attain their full national aspirations.

Pledges.—In 1915 the British Government pledged itself to recognize the independence of the Arab countries, then under Turkey, with the exclusion of Lebanon, in which France was said to have certain interests.

In 1918 Lord Allenby proclaimed in the name of Great Britain and France to the people of Syria and Palestine that, "The object aimed at by France and Great Britain . . . is the complete and definite emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of National Governments deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous population."

In 1917 the British Government proclaimed the Balfour Declaration to encourage the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. This promise, which conflicted with the above-mentioned pledges, should have been abrogated by virtue of Art. XX. of the Covenant of the League of Nations because it was inconsistent with the terms of Art. XXII. of that Covenant.

Moreover, in applying the first part of this Declaration, pertaining to Jews, the Government has neglected the second, pertaining to Arabs, in a manner inflicting such injustice upon the Arabs and causing such arrogant elation amongst the Jews that the two neighbours who lived amicably side by side before the war were brought to a struggle that has focussed, during the last three months, the attention of the whole world, and is likely to recur on a greater scale, involving not only Palestine, but the Arab countries surrounding it, unless an equitable settlement is speedily forthcoming.

The Form of Government.—Since the Declaration of Liberty in Turkey, 1908, Palestine enjoyed wide powers of self-government, and was treated on the same footing as the Turks themselves, with a fair

* Paper given to a Group on November 22, 1929.

representation on the Government and in the Ottoman Parliament at Constantinople.

On assuming powers in Palestine, Great Britain, bound by the Zionist policy, replaced the existing democratic system of Government by an autocratic Administration, in which the inhabitants have no say. The Arab majority then of 93 per cent. of the population was completely excluded from high posts of the Government, and the Jewish minority, besides being over-represented in the Central and other departments of the Government, exercise undue influence over the Administration through the Zionist Executive, which was given an official standing in questions relating to Jews, involving practically all questions relating to the country as a whole. It is hardly realized amongst British people that the Attorney-General and Legal Secretary, the Director of the Immigration Department, the officer in charge of Publicity, the Government Land Advocate, the Assistant Chief Secretary, besides many others, are ardent Zionist Jews.

In 1922, a Constitution was offered to Palestine, which the Arabs found neither secured them their basic rights nor satisfied their rightful aspirations. This Constitution they unanimously rejected.

Budget.—Computing from figures given in the last year's report of the Government, the Palestinian tax-payer is paying £4 per year (£3,400,000 budget to a population of 850,000). This per capita taxation before the war was only 5s. Per capita taxation in Syria is 16s., and in Egypt £2 15s., and in Iraq less than £2.

The poor Palestinian Arab is thus being overtaxed in order :

- A. To provide for a large Public Security Department that absorbs £400,000 in order to enforce a hated abnormal policy, besides possible extra charge for political anti-Zionist disturbances.
- B. To revive a dead Hebrew language by a swarm of Hebrew interpreters, clerks, typists, etc., in Government offices that are otherwise not wanted.
- C. To provide work for Jewish immigrant unemployed workers (see Government Report, 1927 and 1928).
- D. To provide for education of Jews who do not attend Government schools, which is no fault of the Arab tax-payer (£20,000 is being granted for Jewish education from the Budget annually).
- E. To run a huge Immigration Department mainly for the immigration and naturalization of Jews.

Jewish Immigration.—The declaration of British policy in Palestine subjected Jewish immigration to three conditions :

FIRST.—Immigrants should not exceed in numbers the economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals.

SECOND.—Immigrants should not be a burden on the country as a whole.

THIRD.—Immigrants should not deprive the present sections of the population of their employment.

Statements in the Palestine Government Reports of 1920-21 and of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations of 1924, together with self-criticism in Government Reports of 1927 and 1928 as to Jewish immigration, all clearly show that since 1920 Jewish immigration, although it was allowed to flow freely in all through these years, was not in proportion to the economic capacities of the country.

Again, statements in Government Reports of 1927 and 1928, showing that public works were being promoted "in order to engage the maximum number of Jewish unemployed," together with subsequent writing off of debts of £75,000 due against Tel Aviv, the exclusively Jewish immigrant town, and the further granting of loans to Jewish municipalities, and the big amounts recently lavished by the Government for exclusively Jewish relief, all point out the fact that Jewish immigrants were a burden on the country as a whole.

Further, in every branch of work for which pre-war Jews were responsible, Arab workers have been turned out in order to give place to Jewish immigrants at higher rates of pay and less effective work. The Government was frequently obliged to give public works to Jews also at higher rates of pay. Many private firms were effectively pressed by Jewish organizations to give work to Jews which was in the hands of Arabs, as the Jewish recent campaign against the British Electric Corporation of Jerusalem and the Petah Tikvah orange harvest scandal of 1927 clearly show.

Most of the Jewish immigrants were penniless workers who were a hindrance to the prosperity of the country, by introducing new problems and new conflicts. The number of Jewish immigrants coming from Poland and Russia was about 50,000. It is interesting to note that about 30,000 Arabs who temporarily emigrated to America are artificially excluded from Palestinian nationality. Their Ottoman nationality having expired, they are thus without nationality. When Palestine Arabs see Palestinian nationality being freely acquired by Russian, Polish, and Rumanian Jews, from which their wealthy Arab compatriots are excluded, it cannot fail to make a deep impression of injustice on their minds.

Land.—Private lands in Palestine may be divided into two categories :

1. Lands owned mostly by absentee non-Palestinian landlords and cultivated by Palestinian Arab tenants.

2. Land owned by the Arab farmers who cultivate them.

Lands in the first category were nearly all sold to Jews. The proceeds were paid to non-Palestinians outside Palestine. The poor Arab tenants, who have kept their tenancy since time immemorial, were evicted to give place to new Jewish settlers. The Government did not offer real protection. The scanty safeguards were, on application, found to be valueless.

THE ARAB STATEMENT ON THE

The farmer-landowners of the second category would not sell their lands except under conditions of grave financial stringency. The Zionist policy was very active in bringing about such a condition. I will give the following examples out of many more:

1. The British Military Palestine Administration of 1918-20, on finding the country quite impoverished by war, began to grant agricultural loans at reasonable rates of interest, which were a great relief to the farmers. Suddenly these loans were stopped. Dr. Eder, Chairman of the Zionist Executive, stated before the Commission of Enquiry of 1921 that it was through the Zionist organization that these loans were stopped, because they were not of Jewish interest. The Arab farmers in financial distress found no relief except in selling their land to Jews.

2. Sir Herbert Samuel liquidated the Agricultural Bank in Palestine that was established by the Turks, from a capital secured by an increase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of agricultural products collected with the Tithes tax. He insisted that debtors should settle their accounts against the sale of their mortgaged property, and also in collecting the $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increment over the tithes due to the Bank in existence. The results were disastrous. The impoverished, indebted Arab landowner had no outlet other than to sell his land to Jews at whatever price they may offer.

The evicted Arab tenants and owners were set loose and became a menace to public security. The crimes registered, excluding political disturbances in 1921, were 11,000. They became 20,000 in 1924 and 27,000 in 1928, showing that the increase in crime always corresponded to the increase in the number of evicted tenants and farmers from their land by Jewish settlement. The Government has never given any consideration to this serious situation.

Concessions are being granted exclusively to Zionists without either consulting the Arabs or adequately safeguarding their inalienable rights. The most important of these concessions is that to develop the vast mineral resources of the Dead Sea, and the subsidiary industries that will rise therefrom. It is interesting to know that while the Arabs of Palestine demanded that this Concession should, if not worked by the Government itself, be granted to purely British applicants, because they believed that their interests will be safer on that side, the Colonial Office insisted that it should be given to Mr. Moses Novomesky, a Russian Jew, with Alien International Financiers behind him. Mr. Novomesky, some years ago, adopted Palestinian nationality apparently for that object. Indeed, the Dead Sea, the Rutenberg Concession, together with the Haifa Harbour, form the key that commands the great industrial development of the Middle East.

The Wailing Wall (the Moslem's Buraq) is a part of the Western Wall of the Mosque of Omar, which is considered in the whole Moslem world as only second to Mecca and Medina. The Wall, with the passage abutting on it and all the buildings and immovable properties

surrounding it, is the uncontested property of the Public Moslem Fund (Waqf). It was out of Moslem tolerance that previously Jews as well as others were allowed entrance to the Wall for simple visits.

The Zionist Jew, after the war, claimed a right of congregational worship there, involving the use of many appurtenances that made of the Moslem Holy Place and Waqf property an open synagogue.

The British Government, after careful consideration, issued a White Paper, 1928, declaring the inviolability of the Moslem ownership and upholding the *status quo*, as practised during Turkish times, registered previously by the Government and as limited by official documents in Moslem possession.

Although a year has since passed, the Government, through Zionist influence, failed to execute the principles laid down in this White Paper, which, postponed, inflated Zionists to such a degree that they marched in a provoking demonstration on August 15, 1929, through Moslem quarters to the Buraq, creating the tension that culminated in the riots of August 23, 1929.

It must be made clear that the Wailing Wall Question, although of great importance in itself, was only the spark that set ablaze the August conflagration. The injustices inflicted upon the Arabs by the Zionist policy might at any time produce another spark to cause the explosion of indignant feelings.

People.—Palestine has been occupied continually by its Arab inhabitants for the last thirteen centuries. The historical monuments that stand there to tell of the Arab civilization are surpassed by no others. The Jews, whose stay in Palestine was shorter and whose stability in it was always wavering, have left few standing traces to link them with it. On the Jewish historical argument, Mussolini might as well claim rights to colonize England today. But nothing can justify the infliction of a gross injustice upon a peaceful people.

The Palestine Arabs are not the Bedouin rovers and outlaws that have been described by their enemies. Thousands of their students are now scattered in the American, European, or English Universities. Nor can their literature, culture, and architecture of old be forgotten.

The continual Turkish military conscription has drained their man power and impoverished their country. They only await their opportunity to make of the Holy Land a paradise of peace and happiness.

The Arabs of Palestine make the most peaceable demands. They want a Palestinian National Democratic Government to be established in their country in which both Palestinian Arabs and Jews will participate in proportion to their numbers.

Immigration of Arabs, Christians, and Jews equally, to all of whom this country is so dear from religious points of view, to be subject to the economic capacity of the country to absorb the new arrivals.

REVIEWS

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA. BY W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. 396. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons. 15s.

No writer of the present day has investigated the economic conditions of India under the Moghuls more thoroughly and presented the results more clearly than Mr. Moreland. His wide experience as a settlement officer in the United Provinces, where the Moghul land revenue system was longest in operation, gave him great initial advantages for the work, and in two admirable works, "India at the Death of Akbar" and "From Akbar to Aurungzeb," he has given us a most accurate survey of the conditions under which the Indian peoples lived when the Moghul Empire was at its zenith. The present work is even wider in its scope, for while professing to be only an historical essay on "The Agrarian System of Moslem India," it also contains a valuable synopsis of the Hindu agrarian system that preceded, and of the British system that followed and was built upon it. Thus we get a conspectus of the land-revenue system of India from the time of Manu almost to the present day.

This is invaluable to the student of Indian history. For, as the author quotes in his preface, "troops and peasants are the two arms of the kingdom"; the political history of India is already tolerably accessible to students, but now for the first time we are given a connected account of the position of the peasants in relation to the State.

The most striking feature in that narrative is the fundamental similarity in the land-revenue administration throughout. *Prima facie* no three systems of government could be more diverse than that (1) of the early Hindu rajas, based largely on the Shástras as interpreted by the Brahmans; (2) the conquering Muslim kings and emperors, whether Afghan, Turk, or Moghul, based, in theory at least, on the Kur'an: and (3) the British rulers, based on modern economic and political principles. But in their handling of the all-important question of the relations of the Indian peasant to the State or its assignees, all of them, however varying in the application, have followed a fairly uniform principle.

The Hindu law defines the duties of the peasant as, firstly, to raise produce; and, secondly, to pay a share of that produce to the king, who in return affords him protection and allows him to enjoy the balance. The raja or king had the right to determine the share to

be paid to him, and also the methods of assessment and collection. Mr. Moreland tells us that the texts in the sacred books differ as to the king's share, that the practice was not uniform—

"but it may be said that the rate regarded by the text writers as appropriate was one-sixth, falling possibly as low as one-twelfth, and rising in times of emergency to one-fourth or even one-third."

As regards actual practice in Hindu states, as apart from theory, we fortunately have a concrete instance in the ancient Rajput state of Udaipur, which was never subjected to Moslem administration, and where, if anywhere, Hindu institutions have survived in their integrity.

There Mr. Chevenix-Trench, the Settlement officer, recently found that the Maharaja's share was from one-third to one-half of the produce (apart from cesses), and that this share was in practice taken either by estimate of outturn, or by (1) sharing—actual division on the threshing-floor; or (2) measurement, the application of differential cash rates, based on the value of the estimated yield per unit to the actual area under each crop; or (3) contract, a fixed cash assessment for one year or a term of years.

The various Moslem conquerors made little change in the system they found in force. Under Islamic law the ruler's share was one-tenth (*ushr*), but that, of course, only applied where the subjects were Moslems. In the conquered countries of the infidel (Kharaji) there was no such limitation. The will of the ruler alone determined his share and the manner of assessment and collection. The Khalji Emperor Ala-ud-din (1296-1346), who carried the victorious Moslem banners into the Deccan, regarded it not only as a pious duty but sound State policy to reduce the power and resources of the Indian chiefs, who still exercised subordinate authority over the actual peasants, by reducing as far as possible their margin of profit. With this object he (1) raised the State share of the produce from one-third to one-half; (2) abolished all the privileges of the Hindu chiefs in the form of lands held rent free or at privileged rates; (3) fixed the method of assessment by actual measurement of cropped areas and the application of standard rates of yield, the result being either levied in kind or commuted into cash, according to circumstances; (4) imposed a grazing tax (*tirni*) on the uncultivated land.

These drastic measures were vigorously enforced, and, as Mr. Moreland puts it,

"the Chiefs (Hindu notables) were set aside and the administration was brought into direct relations with the peasants throughout a large part of the kingdom."

Under Ala-ud-Din's successors the standard of assessment was gradually relaxed to one-third, and the old methods of collection by

sharing and contract were as a matter of convenience reintroduced, and large areas were made over to assignees subject to feudal or other service. The very capable Afghan king, Sher Shah, who ruled the Delhi kingdom before Akbar completed the Moghul conquest, thoroughly reorganized the revenue system, and in fact introduced many of the reforms for which Akbar and his famous Hindu Dewan, Todar Mal, have received the credit. Sher Shah clearly laid down the State share as one-third, and even one-fourth in backward or depopulated tracts. This share was applied to actual cropped areas by measurement, average rates of yield being assumed for each crop; and while in some cases the resulting demand was levied from the peasant in kind, in others, and perhaps the majority, it was commuted into cash; for cash payments were general even early in Akbar's reign. Akbar's epoch-making reforms, as perfected by Raja Todar Mal under the Emperor's careful guidance, are described with picturesque but conscientious detail by his favourite Minister, Abul Fazl, in his chapter in the "Ain-i-Akbari" on "Tribute and Taxes." Mr. Moreland has of course closely studied that chapter, but as he has not quoted Abul Fazl's interesting historical generalizations I reproduce them here. Abul Fazl writes [the explanatory words in parentheses are the reviewer's]:

"In former times the monarchs of Hindustan exacted the sixth of the produce of the lands; in the Turkish Empire the husbandman paid a fifth and in Turan (Turkestan) the sixth, and in Iran the tenth. But at the same time there was levied a general poll tax (on unbelievers) which was called *khardj*.

"Naushirwan instituted a land-measure of 60 square *kaisari gaz* (Roman yard of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet), and computing the produce of such a quantity of land (3,025 square yards or $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre) to be a *kifeez* valued at three *dirhams*, he determined that a *third* part should be the proportion of (State) revenue. When the Khalifat descended to Omar, he approved of the wisdom of Nau-shirwan, but introduced a few innovations.

"Latterly in Iran and Turan (Muslim lands) Government has taken a tenth part (*ushr*) of the produce of the soil, but at the same time the husbandman is loaded with a number of other taxes, which altogether exceed half the produce. In every kingdom, besides the land-tax, Government exacts something from the property of every individual (details are given). But this mode of collection is destructive to the country and vexatious to the people.

"His Majesty (Akbar) abolished all arbitrary taxes. He settled the *gaz* (yard) and *tendub* (measuring chain) and the *bigha* ($\frac{1}{8}$ acre); after which he ascertained the value of the lands and fixed the revenue accordingly. *Poolej* is that land which is cultivated every harvest, being never allowed to lie fallow. *Perowty* is that which is kept out of cultivation a short time in order that the soil may recover its strength (current fallow). Both of the two kinds of land are of three sorts—viz., best, middling, bad. They add together the (estimated) produce of a *bigha* of each sort, and a third of that aggregate sum is the medium (mean) produce of one *bigha* of *poolej* land, one-third part

of which is the (State) revenue fixed by His Majesty. What was exacted by Sher Khan exceeds the present produce of lands."*

Then follows a table showing the average rates of outturn assumed for each crop ; they are on the whole decidedly higher than a British Settlement officer of today would venture to assume.

We know, however, that in Akbar's reign cash assessments were the rule except in backward tracts, such as Bikaner or Multan. But here too, the invaluable Abul Fazl comes to our aid.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* has tables showing the cash rates per *bigha* for each main crop in the Agra province, arrived at by commuting the grain into cash payments at the varying prices of each year from the sixth to the twenty-fourth of the reign. The variations in the demand are enormous and must have caused great inconvenience to the Treasury as well as serious hardship to the peasant, who did not know till his crop was garnered, and often not then, how much he had to pay to the State. How Akbar solved this problem with wise solicitude for the interests of the State and the peasants is thus described by Abul Fazl:

"When through His Majesty's prudent management the bounds of the Empire were greatly enlarged, it was found very difficult to procure the current (commutation) prices every year from all parts of the kingdom, and the delays that this occasioned in making the settlement were productive of many inconveniences. Sometimes the husbandmen would cry out against the exorbitancy of the demands that were made upon them, and on the other hand those who had the *tankhas* (State revenue) to collect would complain of balances. His Majesty, in order to remedy these evils effectually, directed that a settlement should be concluded for ten years, by which resolution giving ease to the people, he procured for himself their daily blessings. For the above purpose having formed an aggregate of the rates of collection from the commencement of the fifteenth year of the reign to the twenty-fourth inclusive they took a tenth part of that total as the annual rate (demand) for the year to come."

Thus Akbar arrived at a fixed cash assessment, based on past average collections, for a term of ten years—a system which the British Government as it extended its sway often adopted in the newly acquired territories as a temporary measure till it was in a position to carry out a more equitable assessment based on a survey, classification of soils, investigation of prices and estimates of outturn and of rents in kind and cash. But experience has shown the difficulty of working a fixed cash assessment, especially when pitched so high as Akbar's, in areas where, owing to drought and other vicissitudes of season, the outturns are widely varying and uncertain. Akbar's regulations provided

* How Julius Cæsar's reforms in fixing the standards of length (*kaisari gaz*) and of area spread through the Byzantine Empire and were copied thence by the great Sassanian Emperor Naushirwan, adopted by the Arab Khalif Omar, and after long desuetude were revived by Akbar and accepted by his British successors, is one of the romances of history. But space prevents the reviewer from pursuing that fascinating subject here.

for this contingency (1) by allowing remissions for lands thrown out of cultivation (2) bringing under assessment at progressive rates new land brought into cultivation, (3) authorizing the collectors to collect in kind, by estimate of yield or actual division, in the more backward and precarious tracts, and enjoining them "not to be covetous of receiving money only but to take also grain."

The system of revenue administration outlined in the above extracts remained in force with some amendments and improvements to suit local conditions—especially in the newly acquired provinces—during Akbar's reign. The State demand, based on one-third of the produce, was doubtless high according to modern British standards, but not above the standard which the writer of this review has found in existence in many native states today.

Anyhow, Akbar's assessment was lenient as compared with what had gone before, and the security created by a fixed demand for a term of ten years, subsequently extended, did much to encourage the extension of cultivation and raise the standard of comfort among the peasantry.

Unfortunately, Akbar's successors, able and efficient though they were in other directions, did not inherit his strong sense of justice towards the peasant and his capacity for organization. In the first half of the seventeenth century the standards laid down with such precision, and, as far as we know, steadily enforced by Akbar, fell into desuetude. More and more of the land was made over to assignees and farmers of the revenue, who, owing to the uncertainty of their tenure, had no object in improving agriculture, and squeezed what they could out of the peasantry.

In 1670—early in Aurangzeb's reign—Bernier, the French physician at the Delhi Court, who had the best sources of information at his disposal, in a letter to the French Minister, Colbert, gives the following gruesome account of economic conditions :

"Much of the Empire is badly cultivated and thinly peopled ; and even a considerable portion of the good land remains untilled from want of labourers (peasants), many of whom perish in consequence of the bad treatment they receive from the Governor. These poor people, when incapable of discharging the demands of their rapacious lords, are not only often deprived of the means of subsistence, but are bereft of their children, who are carried away as slaves. Thus it happens that many of the peasantry, driven to despair by so execrable a tyranny, abandon the country and seek a more tolerable mode of existence, either in the towns or camps, as bearers of burdens, carriers of water, or servants to horsemen. Sometimes they fly to the territories of a Raja, because there they find less oppression, and are allowed a greater degree of dignity."

When such was the peasants' lot under the strong rule of Aurangzeb, one can imagine how much worse it became under his feeble successors, when Hindustan became a prey to civil war and foreign invasion, and the Maratha hordes and Pindari marauders spread like locusts over the

land to eat up anything the State tax-collector or assignee had left to the villager.

Mr. Moreland thus sums up the position in the eighteenth century :

"The direct result was to take from the peasant whatever he could be made to pay, and thus to stereotype a low standard of living. . . . Thus the normal position was a contest between the administration and the peasant, the former endeavouring to discover and appropriate what the latter endeavoured to retain and conceal—an environment in which agricultural development could not be expected to make much headway."

No wonder this bitter experience has been crystallized by the Indian peasant into the proverb, "Rayat kisi ka nahin hai" (the ryot is nobody's child).

The one safeguard he had was provided not by man, but by nature. Throughout the Moslem period there was usually land to spare, and the risk of losing the peasants set some limit to administrative exactions, though that risk, of course, did not restrain the Maratha, Pindari, and other marauders.

Such was the economic anarchy which confronted the East India Company when after Plassey, 170 years ago, it took over the administration of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, thereby undertaking the first step in the reorganization of the sub-continent.

The Hindu and Moslem principle that the ruler was entitled to a share of the produce of the soil, that share to be fixed by himself, was adhered to; tradition of Akbar's cash assessment for a term of years was still intact; and the new rulers set themselves to restore that system and at the same time to make the settlement with those whom, following European not Oriental analogies, they regarded as possessing proprietary rights in the soil. In their eagerness to come to a decision the interests of the peasant were, at least in the earlier stages, often overlooked, notably in the permanent settlement of Bengal and parts of the United Provinces and Madras, where the farmers of the revenue were allowed the status of an English landed-proprietor and given a settlement in perpetuity at about nine-tenths of the average ascertained collections. As experience was gained, these initial defects were rectified. The State demand was steadily reduced, and about the middle of last century was limited to one-half of the net rental, representing from one-quarter to one-eighth of the produce, in Northern India. That process has been steadily pursued, and today the Government demand in British India represents only some 10 per cent. of the value of the crops grown. At the same time the interests of the peasant in the land have been more and more recognized. Outside the permanently settled areas the peasant now either holds direct as a tenant from the State a heritable and transferable interest in his holding (*ryotware*) or is recognized as a peasant proprietor (*zamindar*) subject to payment of

the State revenue. The latter system is general in the Punjab, and this lengthy review may well close with a brief notice of how it has worked in practice.

When we took over the Punjab from the Sikhs eighty years ago, agricultural land sold at an average price of 5s. per acre, equal to twice the State demand. Forty years later, when the reviewer began settlement work in the Punjab, the average value of land had risen to £3 10s. per acre, or fifty times the State revenue. Today the average value, based on actual statistics, is over £25 per acre, or more than three hundred times the State demand.

Could there be more conclusive proof of the benefit of British rule?

The Punjab peasantry as a body are today the most prosperous in Asia. They showed their appreciation of what had been done for them in the Great War, when 360,000 men, drawn almost exclusively from the peasantry, voluntarily enlisted in the Indian Army to fight the battles of the King-Emperor in every theatre of war. Compare this picture with that of the oppressed serfs given in Bernier's account quoted above.

Mr. Moreland's book is a mine of most valuable information. He writes purely from the standpoint of scientific investigation, without any ulterior political object. But he has rendered a real service to the cause of truth by clearing away the mists which obscured the position of the peasantry (70 per cent. of the population) in pre-British India, and so enabling us to see how it has been altered for the better under British rule.

M. F. O'Dwyer.

THE DILEMMA IN INDIA. By Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. 9 x 6. Pp. 379. Constable. 15s.

This is an important and valuable study of the Indian problem by one of the most able and upright of Indian administrators. The author traces the series of concessions to Indian political feeling: concessions always accompanied by conditions, which were in practice ignored while the concessions were accepted as the basis and the justification for further demands. The Morley-Minto reforms were expected by their authors to be an advance sufficient for many years, and Sir Reginald Craddock considers that they were far from unsuccessful. Before, however, they had had any prolonged trial, they were entirely overthrown by the pronouncement of August, 1917. Whether that pronouncement was due to the idealistic temperament of the new Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu, or whether it was assisted by a temporary nervousness of the Government of India, has not been yet fully revealed; but the author points out that the dispatch of Lord Chelmsford's Government has never been published, and a recent correspondence has established the fact that few, perhaps none, of the heads of Provinces were consulted on

the principle and the terms of the pronouncement. The unexpected insertion by Lord Curzon in that pronouncement of the words "responsible Government," at which, we are told, Mr. Montagu "threw up his hat," was naturally accentuated, while the requirements of "progressive realizations" were ignored. So far from the generosity of the advance being recognized, it has only led to such statements as "Indian politicians have lost trust in the good faith of the British Government," and to a campaign of sedition and agitation without precedent in India. The right of the British Parliament, unassailable in law in any part of the British Empire and certainly in India, to prescribe the steps towards self-government, has been repudiated by the denial of its right to appoint a Commission composed of its own members. Full Dominion Status has been demanded, and its correctness as a proximate aim has been recognized in the highest places. The implications of such a status are, however, as Sir Reginald Craddock points out, far greater in the case of India than in that of the other great dominions, where bonds of race and sentiment preclude separation, and where there is no possibility of anarchy or of communal warfare. Sir Reginald examines the course of Provincial administration since Mr. Montagu's Reforms came into force, and indicates the general falling off in efficiency and honesty, particularly in the administration of local affairs, where, as one Government has recorded, "misappropriation of public funds is generally regarded more as a subject for mirth or envy than repudiation." He is finally led up to his dilemma, which is the impossibility of observing both the Sacred Trust created by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and the Pledge conveyed in the announcement of 1917. It may be agreed that Sir Reginald states the case with vigour and conviction, but there may also be some underestimation of forces of great importance. Among these is that of national feeling. It is certainly incorrect to suggest that it was the people of England who first gave the name of Indians to the inhabitants of the sub-continent. Leaving aside the fact that at various ages nearly the whole of India was ruled, however temporarily, by a single ruler, there was indubitably a national feeling in Hindustan proper, which has, almost within our own time, been extended to include other parts of India. It is doubtless true that, as H.H. the Aga Khan said so recently as 1908, "generations must pass before India is a nation." The fact, however, that it is made up of different nations, entities, and communities is no argument against union, provided at least that such union takes the form of a federation, in which the Indian States could take their place. The situation in fact, with a common army, law, and customs union, and a common *lingua franca* in the English tongue, is the ideal aimed at by those who hope for a United States of Europe. Secondly, Sir Reginald does not perhaps sufficiently recognize the power of the forces aroused by the war, and especially the awakening of the

Women of India. That movement has in many parts taken the form of a fierce, if unreasoning, form of patriotism. This may, as a thoughtful Indian lady has written, be a passing phase, but the influence of the women will clearly be much greater in the near future. Thirdly, Sir Reginald Craddock scarcely gives sufficient weight to the influence of the Intelligentsia, though he recognizes that this charge may be brought against him, and points out that the Intelligentsia forms a much smaller and less representative part of the population than in any other country which claims democratic constitutions. The real objection to Sir Reginald Craddock's proposals is, however, that they are opposed to British tendencies. The system adopted by the French in Algeria, and particularly the retention of control over the Budget, may lead to better administration and be in the best interests of a disunited people. As, however, Sir Reginald himself states : "the Pledge of 1917, inconceivably rash as it was, must be honoured." That Pledge involved progressive movement; Sir Reginald's scheme, however well devised, could now only be regarded as progressive in the sense of moving backwards on the path set out in the pronouncement. The true dilemma is between the establishment of an Indo-British Dominion, and the leaving of India to itself, with the probability of what Lord Morley predicted as "anarchy and bloody chaos." Every one will agree with the author's hope that, with the help of the well-disposed, and the co-operation of the Indian States, the former alternative will prove to be possible.

INDIA UNDER WELLESLEY. By P. E. Roberts, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 323.
Price 15s. net.

This autumn has been marked by the appearance of two first-class books on India, both of which, I venture to predict, will live beyond these critical times and prove of substantial value to historians of that great country : Mr. Roberts' "India under Wellesley" and Sir Reginald Craddock's "The Dilemma in India." Although these volumes relate to widely different periods, readers of one will benefit by reading the other, for history often repeats itself in new forms ; and if our hold on India was gravely menaced when Wellesley became Governor-General, it is also menaced at the present time. Nor are the causes of danger altogether dissimilar.

Wellesley arrived in India at a highly critical time. The policy of non-intervention laid down by Pitt's Act of 1784, followed with discreet variations by Cornwallis and with slavish fidelity by Shore, had produced a dangerous state of affairs. British prestige had seriously declined. The idea was gaining ground that we could no longer be trusted to stand for our friends and against our enemies. All the power and position which we seemed ready to surrender were going elsewhere.

As Malcolm says, "It had been proved that no ground of political advantage could be abandoned without being instantly occupied by an enemy, and that to resign influence was not merely to resign power, but to allow that power to pass into hands hostile to the British government." Yet for five years things had drifted. Faced with perplexities, Wellesley's predecessor had sheltered himself behind the letter of the law and refused to assist an old ally against a hostile combination. Had Shore been succeeded by a Governor-General of his own calibre, confusion would have become worse confounded, the victories and labours of the past would have been vilely cast away, and India would have gone back to that condition of chaos and internecine strife from which she was slowly and painfully recovering. But Providence willed otherwise; and with the hour there came a man.

"Wellesley," says Mr. Roberts, "impressed all men, from the moment he landed in India, with the comprehensiveness of his views, the completeness of his knowledge, his luminous grasp of difficult and complicated situations, and his instinct for driving straight into the heart of the problem. . . . Further, he possessed the moral courage of the statesman in the highest possible degree." "He preferred," as it was well said, "the manly examination of real danger to the torpor of a delusive and fallacious security. He faced every difficulty, he fore-stalled every peril, he never rested on his oars."

Wellesley's character, indeed, shines forth in his long minute of August 12, 1798, where, after discussing the *casus belli* against Tippu, the arguments for hesitation advanced by the timorous Government of Madras, the dangers apprehended from other parts of India, the strength of French influence in the country, he summed up in these words: "Under all these circumstances the situation of the British empire in India is, without doubt, extremely critical, but in my opinion by no means alarming. For in the very difficulties of our actual situation are to be found the means, not only of averting the danger of the present moment, but of providing permanent security against the future return of a similar crisis." Then, with keen penetration into the very heart of the whole position, he pointed out the weaknesses and divisions among the Company's enemies and laid down the measures which, unswervingly carried out, led to a complete reversal.

No wonder that such a chief inspired his fellow-councillors and subordinates with no small portion of his ardent and resolute spirit. As Mr. Roberts says, "He was nowhere greater than in his dealings with his subordinates, civil or military; in the loyalty and devotion which he won from them; and in the generosity with which he praised their success or made allowance for their failures. One may recall, for instance, the fine words that he used of Colonel Monson, who by rash action had ruined all his schemes in the war with Holkar: "Whatever

may have been his fate, or whatever the result of his misfortunes to my own fame, I will endeavour to shield his character from obloquy, nor will I attempt the mean purpose of sacrificing his reputation to save mine."

It is not only as a born leader of men in critical emergencies or as a fearless champion of British rights and British interests, that Wellesley deserves the lasting gratitude of his countrymen. It was from him and from Cornwallis, rather than from Clive or Hastings, that our political system in India took its form. "They it was," says Sir Alfred Lyall, "who stamped its distinctive qualities and rendered it at once the most incorrupt and the most efficient public administration that the world has ever seen. From Cornwallis was derived that high sense of honour and integrity, that obedience to duty and that chivalrous forbearance, which have become traditions of the Service; from Wellesley that rare adaptability to the circumstances of government, that plastic power of influence, that instinctive statesmanship, which are no less the badge of the English in India." These words were written in days which seem remote now, but they are none the less true. Whatever may be the result of the new order of things, the old system, which has been largely swept away, brought the sub-continent united into the Great War and conducted its various peoples with credit and safety through that supreme ordeal. And it is the momentum of the old machine that still preserves India from chaos.

One of the most interesting chapters in this book is XXIII., "The Governor-General, the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control." Here the author exposes the mistake made by Lord Curzon in pouring scorn on the elaborate system of check and countercheck which our ancestors devised for the regulation of Indian affairs. Mr. Roberts makes it clear that "the problem had necessarily to be solved by a *solvitur ambulando*, and the three bodies above mentioned were perhaps the best means then available for reconciling Indian experience with commercial interest and political control." Lord Curzon, on the other hand, whose views regarding control from home were evidently coloured by his personal grievances against the Secretary of State and Cabinet of his last year or two in India, observes: "Had a Committee been assembled from the padded chambers of Bedlam, they could hardly have devised anything more extravagant in its madness or more mischievous in its operation." It does not seem to have occurred to him that every period has its fixed conditions, and that those who hold high office must take reasonable account of those conditions or will inevitably suffer in consequence. This Wellesley himself would not always see, and incurred the necessary penalty. He was by no means free from the defects of his qualities. His other defects as a ruler of India are justly pointed out by Mr. Roberts. But Mr. Roberts declines altogether to follow this great Governor-General into his dressing-room

in later life or to detail those vanities and foibles from which the greatest of mankind are never exempt.

After pointing out in an admirable epilogue the high esteem and tender regard in which Wellesley was held by members of his own family, and the long delayed but grateful recognition which was in his last years accorded to him by the Court of Directors, Mr. Roberts proceeds in words which deserve to be quoted at length :

" There, perhaps, in this last sunset gleam of public recognition and family love it is best to leave Lord Wellesley, remembering and judging him by what is the fairest source of recollection and the justest criterion of appraisement—all that was highest and noblest in his composition, and, indeed, making full allowance for anything that was harsh or inconsiderate in his public career—I have not in this memoir disguised these traits—and for all that was trivial, petty, affected, or even effeminate in his private life, I must record my deliberate conviction that he was an administrator and ruler of wonderful achievement and glorious capacity.

" This verdict, which may seem to some excessively laudatory, is based on two main considerations : first, the practically unanimous testimony of all those who were brought into close personal contact with him, men whose private ambitions and natural rivalry might well have led them, had they the least excuse for doing so, to hint that some of the credit belonged to themselves ; secondly, the fact that few historical characters, in the writer's judgment, lose less and gain more when their work is examined at close quarters. In his case, as in no other, the nearer view enhances, it does not impair, the promise of the distant prospect. It so often happens—we must all have experienced this—that much of the glamour of a great reputation fades when we unweave the close-knit web that was woven on the loom of time, and survey month by month and week by week the work and life on which it was based ; when we see how often the subject of our quest—one, perhaps, who has held our long allegiance—hesitated and floundered ; how often he ' became great by bestriding great movements ' ; how often he was not really resolute, as we had thought, but vacillating ; not self-guided, but hounded on by circumstances ; not gifted with divine prevision, but swayed to doubting decisions by the innumerable accidents of chance or the cross-currents of barely conscious aims. But Wellesley's fame seems to rise triumphant above the deadening contact with detail, circumstance, and environment. He, if any man ever did, knew the motive springs of his own soul, and fashioned his own purpose. That purpose appears all the more, and not the less, his own as we trace it day by day, and see it growing in breadth and contact. He welcomed and shouldered responsibility when smaller men shrank from and disclaimed it. It is better for the statesman to be sometimes

wrong than always indecisive. If Wellesley on occasion erred, he erred boldly and openly, not striving to hide his proceedings from men's eyes, or to attain his own end by devious means, but ready to defend and justify them at the bar of the world's judgment."

The question irresistibly suggests itself: Is there any place for a Wellesley in these days when "government is too often a matter of regretted compromise, of dreary second bests, of happy or unhappy opportunism, and of reluctant modification of the ruler's will to the will of others"? But although those who are most of all responsible for India's destinies have no longer the spacious opportunities which fell to Wellesley's lot—for their path is beset by previous undertakings and subtle elusive obstacles—Wellesley's intrepid spirit, penetrating vision, "candid examination of real dangers," stand out still a beacon light for them and for us all.

H. V. L.

THE CASE FOR INDIA. By John S. Hoyland. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. 173. J. M. Dent and Sons, London and Toronto. 4s. 6d. net.

The author of this book, as he tells us in his preface, has spent fifteen years in India, engaged in educational work. He claims to have been closely in contact with thousands of educated Indians, and to have gained some knowledge of the conditions of life of industrial workers. "He believes, in consequence, that he has been able to learn with fair accuracy what it is that Indians really feel and desire concerning the future of their country, and the relations between India and England, especially perhaps in connection with industrial problems."

The object of the book is to expound "the Indian point of view." By way of introduction to this exposition the first eighty pages are devoted to a description of what the author calls Factors in the Present Situation in India, with chapters on the Question of Attitude, the Birth of the New Nation, Hinduism, Islam, and the British System.

The author has set himself a difficult task, and it cannot be said that he has been successful. The first part of the book is particularly disappointing. To deal in the space of eighty pages with the five topics enumerated above demands careful selection and concentration; but Mr. Hoyland's account is at once diffuse and meagre. His view of recent Indian politics, as set forth in "The Birth of the New Nation," is uncritical and sentimental. For example, the account of the Rowlatt Bills reads like an extract from a leader of the *Bombay Chronicle* of the period. The author admits that "in certain parts of India there existed conditions of anarchical crime which seemed to point to the necessity for setting up special tribunals," but he adds, "psychologically the forcing through of the Act at such a time against the united opinion of the whole of India was a blunder of the first magnitude." Here he is content to leave the matter. Of the fact that the agitation against the Bills was mainly inspired and sustained by a newspaper campaign, organized in Bombay, there is not a hint.

As might be expected, Mr. Hoyland assigns a good deal of space to Mr. Gandhi. He evidently accepts without question his students' view of Mr. Gandhi's influence and activities. The "extraordinary calm" that prevailed when Mr. Gandhi was arrested is ascribed, on the authority of a student, to the fact that "the Mahatma forbade us to use violence if he were arrested." *This was true for the whole of India*, adds Mr. Hoyland; who is apparently ignorant of the fact that Mr. Gandhi's influence had declined so considerably at the

time of his arrest, that it created comparatively little excitement. Even more significant of Mr. Hoyland's credulity is the statement that by his twenty-one days' fast in 1924, undertaken on the occasion of some Hindu-Musulman riots, Mr. Gandhi "stepped back into the leadership of the National movement." The futility of Mr. Gandhi's habit of indulging in much advertised fasts had become apparent even to his admirers long before 1924 : and this particular fast was the most futile of all.

The chapter on Islam is entirely inadequate, and of the actual working of the reforms Mr. Hoyland appears to know nothing.

The second part of the book, Mr. Hoyland tells us, "is meant to be an objective statement of the views held by educated India." It is divided into five chapters, entitled: How an Indian looks at the West, at India, at Swaraj, at Religion, at the Future. Being frankly uncritical, it is less open to criticism than the first part of the book. As a description of the confused medley of ideas derived from Orthodox Hinduism and advanced Western politics that fill the brain of the Hindu student, these chapters have their value. But educated India does not consist entirely of Hindu students ; and Mr. Hoyland seems unaware of the existence of educated Indians who are neither sentimentalists nor fanatics, but practical politicians. The Muhammadan point of view is frankly ignored. And it is a pity that the chapter on Religion should have been almost wholly devoted to a second glorification of Mr. Gandhi, whose significance is greatly overrated.

Mr. Hoyland rightly lays stress on the religious attitude of the Hindu towards politics—an attitude that is too often ignored or scoffed at. The following sentences from the concluding summary can at all events be quoted with approval :

"The most important phenomenon in connection with these aspirations—a phenomenon which is very difficult for the Westerner to comprehend—is that they are religious. India is a goddess to whom not merely loyalty but worship is owed by her children. Her service is a cult : her claims are superior to all mundane considerations. Her future of freedom and greatness is the object of passionate religious vows, of earnest prayers, of fanatical enthusiasms. The real nature of the modern national movement is only to be understood in the light of religion."

It is regrettable that a book which contains so much first-hand information on a subject to which so much attention is being and will be devoted should fail from lack of balance, critical judgment, and a sense of proportion.

P. B. H.

AFGHANISTAN FROM DARIUS TO AMANULLAH. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 359. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. 21s. net.

This is an important book, nor is it surprising that it should be so, for not only is the writer an author of repute, but, other things being equal, books on Eastern questions by experienced soldiers who know something of Eastern history are of greater value than books by historians who can only write objectively. To Englishmen as to Indians, the problem of Afghanistan is essentially a military question : its history since the middle of the eighteenth century has been so bound up with the problem of the defence of India that the two are insepar-

able. It is linked up almost as closely with Anglo-Russian relations, a problem no nearer solution than it was a century ago, and far more complicated, and with the former ambitions of Persian monarchs to re-establish their sovereignty in this inhospitable land—ambitions no longer cherished, though the echo still lingers in the bazars of Kabul and from time to time reaches the ears of attentive listeners.

Through Sir George MacMunn's well-written and closely packed pages pass in procession names that have become historic in the annals of Eastern travel—Barnes, Pottinger and Stoddart, Todd and Elphinstone. Unsuccessful political envoys such as Sir William MacNaghten and Sir Louis Cavagnari are depicted here in the heyday of their optimistic anticipations, and in the moment of their cruel deaths.

There is (p. 134) a very clear and well-balanced statement of the functions of the Political Officers with a force in the field, and an account of the "extraordinary fatuity and incapacity" which marked the abandonment by the army authority of control of their own affairs, and which was the primary cause of the disaster of 1842. The lesson has not been forgotten, and since that day every G.O.C.-in-Chief of an army in the field has been the chief representative of Government in the territory in which he operates, with a Chief Political Officer as the head of one of his departments. This system, however, though it places ultimate responsibility where it belongs, does not make "regrettable incidents" impossible. MacNaghten, in 1840, insisted *against military advice* on withdrawing the garrison from the commanding security of Bala Hisar at Kabul to a cantonment in the open, doing thereby irreparable mischief. In 1920, in Mesopotamia the G.O.C.-in-Chief insisted, *against political advice*, on withdrawing the garrison from Baghdad and its environs to the Persian hills, with similar results. The problem still is to find a man with right judgment in all things.

"An oak should not be transplanted at fifty," said a great Irish orator. MacNaghten's experience was confined to the secretariat: he had never seen men face to face, nor handled men and affairs on the spot. He failed, but it is clear from Sir G. MacMunn's account that none of the senior military officers on the spot would have done better, so gross was their incompetence, and it was equalled by the supineness and short-sightedness of the Viceroy, Lord Auckland, and his principal officials, who had appointed General Elphinstone, unfit for service in body and mind, on his own showing, to the most responsible and arduous command at his disposal, and this not in ignorance of General Elphinstone's disqualifications, but in the fullest knowledge of them!

Of modern Afghanistan General MacMunn writes informingly and well, but it is a little surprising to find no reference in his pages to Sir Henry Dobbs, whose negotiations with the Government of Afghanistan in 1918-20 had an important bearing on subsequent events.

If a word of criticism of so excellent a book may be allowed—and it is a book for every regimental and station library, as well as for all who wish to have at hand a vivid record of the history of the stormiest spot in Asia—it is the absence of a bibliography or of references to enable the student to study particular phases of Afghan history in greater detail. Sir George MacMunn has read widely and is master of his authorities, but he does not quote them, and on occasions his verdicts are not those of earlier historians. This is not to say that they do not carry weight, but their authority would be even greater if in a subsequent edition he could provide a fuller bibliography with an estimate of the degree of reliability of the various writers. Elphinstone's "Cabul" (1815), Forbes' "Afghan Wars" (1892), Hamilton's "Afghanistan" (1906), and other works such as those of Hanna, deserve quotation not merely in a bibliography, but in footnotes, to serve as a guide to those whose curiosity and imagination have been stimulated by Sir George MacMunn's fascinating narrative.

A. T. W.

HISTORY OF THE ASSAM RIFLES. By Colonel L. W. Shakespear, C.B., C.I.E. 9×5½. Pp. 301. Maps and illustrations. Macmillan and Co. 1929.

Colonel Shakespear calls this a "History of the Assam Rifles," but it is more than that—a readable account of the conquest and civilization of the conglomeration of tribes who occupied the hills north, south, and east of the Brahmaputra River from where it emerges from the Himalayas to the great bend from east and west to south, and also of those tribes which occupy the broken mass of hills between Bengal and Burma.

The records tell of the constant warfare from 1824 to 1925 against these tribesmen, all of them independent, cruel, and treacherous—a centenary of raids, counter-raids, and minor expeditions, of hidden ambuscades, of the defence and capture of jungle stockades only visible at close quarters.

It is also an illuminating description of how a civilized country bordered by savage tribes is forced, often much against its wishes, to afford protection to its border villages, first by local garrisons, then by counter-raids in pursuit and punishment of raiders, then by occupation of tracts of country, until finally the whole tribal country has to be administered and the tribesmen forced to observe the Pax Britannica. Kipling puts the whole history of the Assam Rifles in a few lines:

"We broke a king and we built a road,
A Court-house stands where the regiment goed
And the river's clean where the raw blood flowed."

Not the least interesting is an intriguing chapter at the end, describing the sites of ancient cities now buried deep in the jungle, of the traces of

dense population and settled government where now are scattered villages, marsh, and forest.

W. G. L. B.

PULLING STRINGS IN CHINA. By W. F. Tyler. $9 \times 5 \frac{7}{16}$. Pp. 310.

Maps and one illustration. London: Constable and Co., Ltd.
15s.

Many foreigners have tried their hands at pulling strings in China, more especially in these later days of turmoil and confusion, when Chinese, who have learned the methods of propaganda, have multiplied strings to be pulled. It may be questioned, however, whether in the majority of cases this pulling has effected any great displacement in the order of events, or has resulted in anything but disappointment to the pullers. When the strings have been in Chinese hands the operation has not infrequently been attended by disaster. In general, it may be said of the foreigners who have handled Chinese affairs, that those have had most influence on events who have refrained from pulling strings. This was true of the most eminent of all—the late Sir Robert Hart. His habit was to plant seeds, leaving to time and Chinese soil the germination of his plans. Very occasionally he was known to give an almost imperceptible push to the rocking stone of Chinese affairs, when it showed a tendency to desert that equilibrium so dear to Chinese statesmen.

But there are exceptions to every rule, and certainly the author of this most entertaining book pulled strings in China to some purpose. Actuated in part by a very natural ambition to make his mark, and urged on by a spirit of adventure, almost exuberant, of which he makes no secret, his motive was invariably the furtherance of the interests of his employers the Chinese Government, and the public good. Yet, even so, it may be observed that in direct achievement he was most successful when the strings he pulled were in foreign hands.

Of all forms of literary enterprise, perhaps the writing of personal reminiscences is the most difficult. The difficulties are not lessened when a very short period of time separates the writer from the events he describes. Repression must be strenuously adhered to if controversy is to be avoided on the one hand, and, if on the other, the feelings of many who are still living are to be respected. This cannot but have a cramping effect, and this book bears evidence of the author's dilemma, with so much that he would like to say and the stern necessity for keeping silent imposed upon himself. When in addition the author is unknown to the public, and has made his career in scenes remote and amid events which to a great extent have no more than a local interest, the difficulties of this form of literary effort are greatly enhanced. Mr. Tyler is to be congratulated in having produced a book of extraordinary interest, of considerable literary merit, and, unequal though it be in

parts, one which will be read from cover to cover by the China hand, by all those who in administration or trade have been brought into contact with the matters discussed, and by personal friends of the author, or of those, living and dead, to whom he alludes by name.

The general reader, who has no special interest in China and its problems, will probably like best those chapters which are devoted to story telling. The early days of sea-faring life, the Yalu Battle, the Siege of Wei-Hai-Wei, and the *Yangtse Dragon* are all excellent. Mr. Tyler has the gift for spinning a good yarn. The story of the first sea voyage, ending in a wreck before his vessel had cleared home waters, has a flavour reminiscent of Clark Russell at his best. What would not even Conrad have given for that story of my Friend the Murderer? There is a freshness and savour about stories of sea-life in the old sailing-ship days, when told by a sailor with a gift of literary expression and a sense of the incongruous, which never fails to appeal to a large class of readers. The number, alas! of those who can write at first hand of such experiences is an ever-dwindling one, and when a new recruit appears he should be welcomed with all encouragement. Something there must have been in that hard training peculiarly adapted to bring out qualities of tact and initiative, and a power to act adequately in emergencies when the means at disposal were entirely inadequate. The author, starting with a healthy ambition, a lively imagination, and a zest for adventure, probably owed much to the hardships of those early experiences. There is a bond of freemasonry between sailors the world over, and his early training assuredly bore fruit in later life in his dealings with Chinese sailors of all classes, officials as well as the ordinary seaman.

The story of the Yalu Battle has more than a personal interest. As one of the few survivors of that small band of foreigners who were present with the Chinese fleet, the author, while giving an account of his own share in the action, entirely creditable to himself, is able to make a highly important contribution to historical fact. It is maddening, even at this date, to read in such circumstantial detail about the treacherous conduct of the Chinese Commodore and technical Commander-in-chief, in altering at the last moment the line of battle agreed upon and in attempting at one stroke to wipe out the heroic old Chinese Admiral and his foreign Aide, who knew too much. But even this pales before the disastrous lack of ammunition for the big guns of the Chinese ironclads. Here was China entering a fight, which might well have given her command of the sea. Her two ironclads were practically unsinkable by the concentrated fire of the Japanese fleet, and her big guns outranged and dominated any the enemy could bring to bear. And to serve these guns there were in all on the two vessels four shells of battle calibre. The author, who did his best to remedy the disaster, is

uneasy about those shells and would like to fix responsibility for one of the greatest blots on modern Chinese history.

The Siege of Wei-Hai-Wei is also good and has historical value, but the author is too heavily weighted with material, and his account suffers in consequence.

It is in his story of the *Yangtse Dragon* that Mr. Tyler is at his best. Here was a "stunt" after his own heart. He tells the story with humour and zest, and it is to be hoped that he has others of the same kind to give the public about China's greatest river. Comparatively few people know the Upper River—that wonderful waterway, which begins at the Ichang Gorge and ends at Chunking.

Of the author's activities in China, perhaps the most interesting to the general reader will be those which have to do with the Chinese Navy. His war service laid the foundations of friendship with many officers of junior rank who afterwards attained to high positions in the State. Mr. Tyler was able to meet them on a footing of comradeship which made possible many things that it would have been folly for any other foreigner to attempt. His intervention at a critical moment of mutiny, his handling of the internment of enemy vessels and neutrality questions arising out of the Great War, in which the Chinese Navy played its part, are cases in point.

As Head of the Marine Department of the Maritime Customs, Mr. Tyler showed administrative ability of a high order. He was successful in gathering into his hands executive power which had not been wielded by any of his predecessors. But he had too restless a mind for the limitations of a routine department, however onerous its duties, and was always thirsting for new worlds to conquer. The story told in the later chapters of his book shows that his heart was really in the extra-departmental adventures into which he threw himself with so much ardour. Having by singleness of purpose and absence of any personal axe to grind gained the confidence of Sir Robert Hart and his successor, he was given his head in many matters requiring the utmost tact and discretion, and this confidence was never misplaced.

To Conservancy questions and the problems of Greater Shanghai the author brought an original mind fortified by profound technical and local knowledge. He is obviously bursting with information on all these subjects, but his book in these later chapters shows the defects of its qualities. The self-imposed limitations within which he wrote make this portion the least satisfactory. The advisership, with which the book concludes, came to an untimely end owing to an unfortunate breakdown in health. It closed a remarkable career which began on board the *Worcester*, and ended in a high position in a Chinese Ministry of State. When it is remembered that the author had no knowledge of the Chinese language and had to contend with a distress-

ing legacy of deafness from the guns of the *Ting Yuen*, this was no mean achievement.

As a writer this book shows Mr. Tyler to be equally at home as storyteller and publicist. He has so much material at his fingers' ends that he may be expected to be heard from in the latter capacity. Let him not neglect his other gift.

FRANCIS A. AGLEN.

TU FU: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHINESE POET, A.D. 712-770.

Arranged from his poems and translated by Florence Ayscough, D.Litt. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. 450. Maps. London: Jonathan Cape. £1 1s.

The title of this book does not sound very attractive. There must be comparatively few people in any country outside China who have ever heard of Tu Fu and who take an interest in Chinese poetry. So, while browsing among the literary pastures of the booksellers' shelves, it may well happen that the ordinary reader will pass this volume by, and all its delights be therefore unexplored.

Perhaps more readers will be attracted by the name of the authoress, and if so they will be rewarded, for Dr. Florence Ayscough maintains her high standard of literary excellence, and gives us a volume which is full of interest and charm.

In many respects the Far East lends itself to poetry in a special way. The wonderful sunny climate, the scenery, the habits of the literati (whose numbers, alas! are diminishing), the cadence and modulation of the language, and the way in which each ideogram by its component parts can convey a wealth of imagery to the sense, make the Chinese and Japanese languages vivid media for beautiful poetic thought. Word pictures can be tersely expressed, and yet be as full of meaning and suggestion as the more elaborate lines of European poems.

Dr. Ayscough has set herself the task of showing how all this is done. The poems of Tu Fu occupy the centre of her stage, and round this she groups interesting and enlightening essays on Chinese poetry and the life and times of the poet who lived during the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618-907). Much reading of contemporary Chinese history and analysis of the poems have enabled the authoress to give details relevant to Tu Fu's life, and to make the volume take an autobiographical form by means of the notes and comments which accompany each poem.

She explains her plan: "What does the poet say? How does he say it? and How can I make the text comprehensible? I found that I could give the answers to these questions best by abandoning all thought of writing conventional English, and by concentrating on the

attempt to bring over each ideograph and all that it implies in the text."

Prepositions, articles, conjunctions, which are not present in the Chinese text, have not been added, as the authoress found it was not possible for her to reproduce the poems in the rhymed cadence of that sweet singer, the late Miss Amy Lowell, who had been her coadjutor in "Fir Flower Tablets," the book of Chinese poems published in 1921, and who would have collaborated in this volume but for her untimely death.

The matter of suggestive allusions, which complicate the rendering of Chinese poems to an incredible degree, is examined and explained, and a useful biographical index and a glossary of terms at the end of the volume help in no small degree to elucidate the beauty of the poems.

From earliest times, 500 B.C., when the "Shih Ching," a collection of three hundred ancient songs, was published, countless literati down through the ages have revelled in Chinese anthology, and a striking feature has been the passionate love of Nature which most of the poets manifest. Tu Fu, who has been described as one of China's greatest men in poetic genius, is generally ranked as second only to Li T'ai-Po, who lived contemporaneously, and was renowned for the exquisite imagery, telling allusions, and the musical cadence of his verse.

Later, in the Sung Dynasty, Su Tung-P'o (A.D. 1036-1101) caused enthusiasm by poems in which the language of China was said to have reached perfection of finish, of art concealed. His works ran the length of one hundred and fifteen volumes, and since that time most educated Chinese have made versification their favourite pastime. Even the lower classes are passionately fond of recitations by ballad-mongers.

It is thus not difficult to understand the enthusiasm Dr. Ayscough has for her task with all its literary beauty. Her object in compiling this book is to reveal the personality of Tu Fu, and the reader who studies her introductory preface will find himself guided through the collection of poems by explanatory notes. These give autobiographical data recounting the circumstances in which each poem came to be written. Thus, when a lad of four, Tu Fu saw a woman perform the posturing dance of the two-edged sword. This made an indelible impression on his mind, and in a poem written many years later he recounts his emotions as follows :

On all four sides all are stirred when she postures the two-edged sword.

* * * * *

The rising hill of onlookers gaze in breathless suspense.
Her dancing would cause Heaven, Earth to rise and fall.

* * * * *

'Her scarf descends : it is the nine suns falling to the arrow of Prince I.
She rises : it is the soaring dragons, three abreast, driven by Chün Ti.

* * * * *

She comes : it is the first clap of rolling thunder causing a shudder of fear.
She ends : it is clear light on frozen river and sea.

Probably the scene did not differ in its essentials from similar scenes which take place within the walled cities of China today. The dancer appears, and soon the crowd, the "hill of onlookers," gathers. Stolid country bumpkins gape, urchins wriggle, and sober gentry hold up their brightly-dressed children to have an unobstructed view. The performance is not one of nimble legs, but just as described in the poem—the graceful posturing and manipulation of a silken, undulating scarf.

Here is another word picture, the like of which may be seen on many a porcelain jar :

Blue-black moth eyebrows, gleaming white teeth assemble on high-roofed pleasure boat ;
Horizontal flutes, short flageolets, breathe plaintive sounds to far-off sky.

* * * * *

Ivory mast is slack : it sways at will in Spring wind.

Decorated hawser is taut : we loiter at leisure late in the day.

* * * * *

Girls sing and waft their fans, whose shadows on the tiny waves seem fish rising to breathe.

Maidens perform posturing dances ; flower petals loosened by the feet of swallows, fly ; they drop on a bamboo mat laid ready for the feast.

* * * * *

Were there not a little boat easily propelled by oars ?
Could a hundred flagons be served—could wine gush like a spring ?

Space forbids further quotation, though, as in a gallery of old Dutch masters, the temptation is great to see and discuss "just one more."

In a well-written topographical note we are introduced to the wonderful loess country through which Tu Fu strolled and where he lived and worked, in Kansu, Shensi, and Shansi Provinces, which are but little known to Western travellers.

Without doubt the poems would have been greatly embellished by graceful rhyming measures such as Miss Amy Lowell could have given. Perhaps a short stanza of Tu Fu's, as rendered by the late Dr. Martin of Peking, a leading sinologue in his time, will illustrate our meaning :

IN ABSENCE.

White gleam the gulls across the darkling tide,
On the green hills the red flowers seem to burn.
Alas ! I see another Spring has died :
When will it come—the day of my return.

There are those, however, who may prefer the beauty unadorned of the poems as set before us.

The literary pleasures of "Tu Fu." will whet the appetite for more, and we are glad to note Dr. Ayscough's promise of another volume. The text is well illustrated by reproductions from the pictures of

Wu Yu-ju, an artist of last century, who specialized in historical and legendary events. The frontispiece is a photograph of a life-like wooden figure of Tu Fu, which sits in his ancestral temple in Ch'eng Tu, Szechuan.

G. D. G.

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION: By Richard Wilhelm. Translated by Joan Joshua, with an Introduction by Lionel Giles, M.A., D.Litt. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 283. Maps. Illustrations. George Harrap and Co., Ltd.

Are the endpapers of this interesting book intentionally symbolical? In front appears an early map within whose limits ships under full sail traverse inlets beset by dolphins and whales; pointed mountain ranges rise in neat and serried lines; elephants and llamas wander beside the rivers of "Suchuan," while giraffes parade the bye-ways of "Cantam"—a fascinating map indeed, and no more inexact in its details than is, even today, the state of general knowledge in regard to Chinese civilization. At the back is shown an outline of present-day China and her dependencies, while the position of the ancient states is indicated by names in outline lettering—an excellent map, suggestive of the exact enlightenment which should illuminate the mind of a reader who has perused the faithful translation by Miss Joan Joshua of Dr. Richard Wilhelm's admirable treatise.

Dr. Lionel Giles points out in an able Introduction that far too little attention has been paid hitherto to the place occupied by China in the history of the world, and Dr. Wilhelm seeks to remedy this situation by explaining the roots from which Chinese culture—a curiously individual culture—has sprung. He wisely introduces his subject by a study of "sources": firstly, the Chinese historical records, and secondly, "direct sources," which latter differ essentially from the direct sources found in other lands; as he explains on page 34 "we are concerned with a country the greater part of which has for thousands of years been the arena of incessant turmoil. The tide of history has never ebbed from this arena, destroying the continuity of tradition, and leaving mere heaps of ruins for future historical research"; and in its continuity lies the great interest and importance of Chinese culture as it existed until September, 1905. In that very month, although Dr. Wilhelm does not stress the point, a wave of the Imperial writing brush swept away the framework underlying the Chinese social structure; in other words, during that fateful month there appeared, for better or for worse, an Imperial edict abolishing the system of education which had formed Chinese mentality for over two thousand years—this system it is which Dr. Wilhelm studies with care. That it was doomed to go cannot be denied; hanging as it did on the "magic influence of the Sovereign" (who was supposed to rule not China alone but All-Below-

the-Sky), it was totally unsuited to international relations; that in its sudden abolition is to be found the primal—though possibly unavoidable—cause of present-day chaos in China, which is, in my opinion, an equally incontrovertible fact. What form of social structure the Chinese may in future evolve no man can tell, but what they have discarded is vividly and thoroughly described by Dr. Wilhelm.

Four chapters—"Antiquity," "The Feudal Period," "The Decline of the Feudal Empire," and "Intellectual Currents in the Time of the Old Empire"—which absorb a good half of the book, are devoted to a detailed discussion of causes and results which led to the unification of China under the Ts'in dynasty two centuries before our era. The Chinese Middle Ages are then described in a further four chapters: "The Unification of the Empire under the Ts'in Dynasty," "The National Monarchy of the Han (206 B.C. to A.D. 220)," "The Dark Ages: Periods of Political Division," and "The Era of Cultural Prosperity: The Dynasties of Sui (589-618) and T'ang (618-907)." Modern history, beginning with the Sung Dynasty, A.D. 960, is then lightly touched upon in twenty pages—nor is this division as unbalanced as it may seem. Many as have been the developments since the rise of Sung, they have been rather in the direction of complication and crystallization, if one may so express it, than of evolution. A Chronological Table, a Bibliography, and a full Index bring to a close the most comprehensive single volume on Chinese culture of which I know.

The reader is not worried with a list of names or with a series of dates; Dr. Wilhelm is concerned with far more weighty matters. He deals, for instance, with the position of women in China—a question much misunderstood in the West; he speaks of the responsibilities of the ruler and his dedication of a successor who ruled by no right of primogeniture; he stresses the magic power of the written character which has so greatly influenced the evolution of Chinese civilization; he discusses wall paintings and other manifestations of art, and utters a warning note regarding the danger to historical monuments which exists today, largely as a result of thoughtless foreign acquisition; and he dwells especially on the peculiar rôle played by friendship in China. In speaking of friendship it is strange that, although on page 125 Dr. Wilhelm writes of their lives, he does not mention the friendship which existed between Pao Shu-ya and Huan Chung, one continually referred to in Chinese literature, and one which has become a veritable prototype. The remarks regarding furniture on page 39 are, I think, too sweeping. During the T'ang dynasty people certainly used mats and sat on the floor, but the frequent reference in T'ang poetry to *pu lien* or Palace push chairs and to *an*, long desks used by officials, proves that some furniture existed at that time.

It were easy to prolong a discussion of the innumerable interesting

points treated in the "Short History of Chinese Civilization," a book which should be read by all who are interested in world evolution. One can but be grateful to Dr. Wilhelm for its compilation and to Miss Joan Joshua for the translation, which makes it available to readers who "have not German."

F. A.

CHINA: A NEW ASPECT. By H. Stringer, B.A. (Cantab.), A.M.I.C.E. 9 x 5½. Pp. 240. Map. London: H. F. and G. Witherby.

The flood of books about China continues unabated. No one with local knowledge, who has a story to tell or an opinion to express, seems to have any difficulty in finding a publisher. Reviews gladly accept articles over well-known names dealing with present-day Chinese puzzles. *The Times*, admirably served by its correspondent in the Far East, keeps China in the forefront of its foreign news. All this points to a very lively interest on the part of the public.

And yet we are here at once confronted by one of those paradoxes of which China seems to provide no end of examples. Ask anyone connected with the Far East in official life or trade what he considers to be the state of public feeling about China, and he will in most cases reply that China politically and financially is "off the map." The interminable civil wars provide no journalistic "scoops," unequal treaties leave the man in the street quite cold, and "Extraterritoriality" conjures up no vision of immunity for British subjects from the trumped-up charge, the false witness who can be hired at a fixed tariff, and the fiercely prosecuting judge, with, in the background, a lingering and costly imprisonment in surroundings somewhat different from the model institutions set apart for the delectation of peripatetic commissions of inquiry.

Presumably the explanation is that, while the mystery and glamour in which China is still shrouded continue to make their appeal to the reading public, in practical affairs the British will have nothing to do with abstract propositions. They want concrete facts to bite on. When the cog of British prestige slipped a wheel at Hankow and altered overnight the position and future prospects of every British resident in China, the country accepted without a murmur the Shanghai defence force, giving little heed to the implications of that far-reaching reaction. And so perhaps it will ever be, until again some incident or crisis snatches Chinese affairs from departmental hands. Then the instinct of the country, which is seldom wrong when it understands the issue, may be depended upon to support the Government in any eleventh-hour measures it may feel compelled to take to maintain a last foothold in China for safe and ordered intercourse.

Frankly this book is disappointing as a whole. No one will dispute the author's contention that in the realm of finance, and in the influence which they have had on civil warfare, the railways of China have played a highly important part. A presentation, therefore, of Chinese affairs from a railway aspect, though perhaps not so novel as the title of this work implies, might well have proved both interesting and instructive. But in voicing the burning sense of personal indignity and disillusionment from which the author, in common with practically all British residents in China whose lives and prospects have been caught in the wheel of political development, is suffering, he has cast off all restraint. It is difficult seriously to review the chapters, some three-quarters of the whole work, dealing with foreign railway enterprise in China. The author, when not dreaming fantastic dreams of British sovereignty over China's millions, indulges in an orgy of criticism of his own and other countries which so clogs the historical summary he sets out to pre-

sent, that the reader must be left with a very confused impression of the play and interplay of foreign diplomacy on China's railway system. The chapter on Japan is perhaps least open to objection in this respect.

Of constructive criticism there is but slight indication in this book. For rehabilitation of the trunk lines the author pins his faith to the post-war consortium. It is obvious that without a very heavy capital outlay the railways cannot be put in a state of repair, and must soon peter out altogether. And it seems to be equally certain that at present the money cannot be obtained in China. When, however, he comes to lay down the conditions on which alone China could hope to obtain the necessary funds from the consortium, the author himself does not seem to be very sanguine of their acceptance. China, struggling to kick herself free from the last vestige of foreign control, is hardly likely to accept terms that would rivet control in a particularly objectionable manner more rigidly than ever. A Dictator might do it: a future Reorganization Loan is not beyond the bounds of possibility; but the emergence of a Chinese Dictator would seem to be as remote a contingency as the appearance of a new Chinese Gordon to cut the knot of China's vicious circle—another of the author's dreams.

The concluding chapters are the best in the book. The author, having disburdened his mind, would appear to have settled down, and some first-class descriptive writing is the result. His sketches of the railways under civil war conditions are excellent. No one, who has not witnessed it, would believe how quickly an orderly railway junction with its precise and clockwork arrangements can be transformed into a noisy insanitary Chinese village on wheels. The disorganization, squalor, and congestion of rolling-stock, the destruction of property and the hopeless inadequacy of Chinese military transport are well portrayed. With this lifting of the veil, the author enables us to catch a glimpse of what civil war in China means to the millions of peaceful inhabitants who are caught in its toils. We see towns that lie in the path of retreating and disorganized soldiery given up to panic. The difficulties of keeping a line open to traffic of any kind when squatted upon by thousands of beaten troops is well told in the troubles of the station-master Mow. How these conditions affect the foreign engineer is revealed in Bessel's horrible plight. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the devoted band of assistants whom Kinder gathered round him, and their successors, is a rapidly dwindling one.

In the concluding chapters on Chinese War Psychology and on the late Marshal Chang Tso Lin the author has some interesting things to say which will repay perusal. They do much to redeem the book.

FRANCIS A. AGLEN.

CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. A Human Geography by L. H. Dudley Buxton. 9×5½. Pp. 333. Maps and illustrations. London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Price 15s.

Mr. Dudley Buxton in his capacity as holder of an Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowship visited China in 1922, and passed up and down the country making intelligent observations.

Except that, as he says, "The writing of the book has brought back many pleasant memories of my time in China," it is somewhat difficult to know why Mr. Buxton did write it, as it does not fill any gap in Oriental literature, and one can search almost in vain for sentences embodying any original observation or expressing any views which have not already been well and often enunciated.

Those who have resided in China and have taken interest in the country will find practically nothing they do not know. It will therefore be to the larger audience, the people who have not had actual residence, that this book will appeal.

There is no flowery language, no ornate description of places, no incidental pen-portrait by way of light interlude in the solid recital of facts—for the work is full of meat.

Nearly everything that Mr. Buxton says is true; he has selected good sound authorities and has welded their observations together in a way that is almost flawless. Even though this book could have been equally well written by one who had never visited the country, it can yet be recommended as a fairly adequate reflexion of the present state of China, its people, its agriculture, industries, and its conformation, without any reference (thank goodness!) to its politics.

It can thus be read with pleasure and profit by anyone wishing to know something about China and having no acquaintance with the already extensive bibliography on this subject.

There is a concluding chapter on the climate by Mr. W. G. Kendrew. Mr. Buxton has taken special care, by a number of diagrammatic maps, to elucidate various points in the letterpress.

The book is nicely illustrated and the text clear. It is a volume of convenient size to handle.

G. D. G.

THE ARAB'S PLACE IN THE SUN. By Richard Coke. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6. Pp. 318.

Illustrations. Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 21s.

Mr. Coke is to be congratulated on having produced an exceedingly readable summary of Arab (rather than Arabian) history from the birth of Islam to our own times. He has already written attractively on the problems of the Middle East, and his present work is possibly the best he has done in this particular field. No student of Arabian affairs can afford to ignore it, and many will be grateful to him for the presentation in such summary form of a subject so vast that its various phases can only be studied seriously in close proximity to some representative library. For the ordinary reader Mr. Coke has provided a bird's-eye view of the whole history of one of the great episodes of human activity, while for the expert in any particular branch of that story he has produced rough-and-ready facilities of reference to the rest which have hitherto been conspicuous by their absence at any rate in English literature, for Huart's "*Histoire des Arabes*" (now no longer up to date) must be regarded as a somewhat similar attempt by a French scholar.

At the same time, while catering mainly for the man in the street, Mr. Coke must be prepared to find himself up against the expert in almost every section of his work, and particularly in the modern sections, where he is using material less completely digested by historical science than is the case in dealing with the earlier periods of Arab history. He has perhaps attempted a work not only beyond his own power, but probably beyond the power of any individual;

and certainly beyond the capacity of any single volume to deal with adequately. Nevertheless, his attempt has been well worth while, and he can freely be forgiven the inevitable lack of balance and inequality of treatment resulting from it, as also from the errors and inaccuracies which have crept into the picture, owing to too great concentration of the central idea of Arab humanity flitting about as mere spots on an enormous European (or British) sun.

If there is any connection between the glorious prime of Arabian empire and the modern renaissance of the Arab world (as there assuredly is), it has little if any relation to the dominance of Europe which once broke the empire, and more recently has been more of a clog than an aid to the movement of our own times. In former days the Arabs asserted themselves against the world, and imposed themselves on it willy-nilly until it rose and devoured them, and sent them back to a long sleep in the desert; and now in our own time Europe has imposed itself irresistibly on the Arab countries only to await the inevitable swing of the pendulum against the happily and rapidly weakening pressure of the old imperialism. Mr. Coke cannot envisage a new Arabia except as a tributary stream of Britain's imperial river; but the Arabs see it otherwise, and those who disagree with Mr. Coke are more likely to be justified by the event than those who borrow his glasses for a long glimpse into the future.

It is evident from his presentation of the case that Mr. Coke has only seen the Arab in contact with and in subordination to European influences; and, as he looks upon the handiwork of his fellows, he finds it very good, though he resents the return of the Jew to his native East, while omitting to place on record the actual promises made to the Arabs by Great Britain in conflict with the subsequent Balfour declaration. He also shares a widespread uneasiness at the presence of the French in Syria. But he seems to think that a Sharifian dispensation under British guidance is all that is needed to make all the desert blossom like a rose. He is therefore assuredly mistaken, for it is the Wahhabi movement, to whose history he gives totally insufficient space, that, if it is possible to regenerate Arabia, as it undoubtedly is, alone affords any hope of the growth of a great state comprising the desert peninsula and its borderlands.

Turkey and Persia, in varying degrees, have elected to throw over the methods and principles that were the foundation of their past greatness in favour of systems based on the lessons of European progress; and there is no reason whatever to anticipate their ultimate failure to assimilate foreign institutions and to develop successfully on a secular basis. But Arabia—the Arabia, be it said, of Ibn Saud and the Wahhabis—has chosen the other path; and while religion remains on this earth as a motive principle of human endeavour, there is per-

haps reason to believe that she will not merely establish herself as an Arab entity in the comity of the nations, but will become what the Ottoman Empire once was—the focal point of Islamic polities and civilization. Mr. Coke is on the whole pessimistic about Islam, but he scarcely does justice to the fact that Islam is still, and for many a long year will yet continue to be, a force capable of galvanizing its adherents into common action in the name of God; while Christianity has already become little more than the standard-bearer or handmaid of modern, material civilization. The puritan movement of modern Arabia may well prove to be, as it once proved to be in England, the harbinger of a great civilization of the future; and present indications suggest that the moral foundations of all stable society will not be neglected in blind deference to the lure of material progress. The machine and the motor-car and other products of modern civilization have been taken into and will remain in the service of Arab mankind; but Arabia will ever be the bulwark of Islam in its struggle against the vices which have ever sought to destroy humanity, and have insinuated themselves so easily into the Christian West.

Mr. Coke's work should be read by anyone interested in Arab affairs, but his readers should be cautioned against the wholesale acceptance of his facts and conclusions. His sympathy is wholly with the Arabs, but he is not quite so happy in his interpretation of the name, and may be reminded of Ibn Saud's war-time dictum: "Hanna al Arab" (We are the Arabs!). And that is very sooth.

H. STJ. B. PHILBY.

L'EMPIRE ARABE D'IBN SÉOUD. By Jeanne Broucke. Bruxelles: Librairie Falk Fils. 1929.

This little book gives in a clear, abridged, and well documented form the history of Wahhabism to the present day, dealing more extensively with the rise to command and the great personality of Ibn Saud, whom the authoress rightly points out to be one of the most powerful and enlightened rulers Central Arabia has ever produced. The readers of the JOURNAL are too well acquainted with the development of Wahhabism to require in this passage a detailed survey of the religious and national movement that has spread and strengthened itself in a remarkable way since Ibn Saud became the earthly and spiritual authority of the greater part of Arabia.

Those who take a special interest in the Middle East will find much stimulation in the final observations of the book, where the connections between the different and widely spread sections of the Arab world—including three British mandates—are dealt with. It is, indeed, very timely to realize that the Arab nation, while only partly susceptible to the puritanical doctrines of Wahhabism, is by origin a united whole, and that a pressure committed at one part will make itself felt to, and be rebounded by, not only the many millions of Arabs, but also by their Mohammedan co-religionists.

R. S.-R.

MESOPOTAMIA (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, fourteenth edition, 1929). By L. H. Dudley Buxton (Geology, Climate, Fauna and Flora, Geography—Modern and Economic); Stephen Langdon (Earliest Times to Sassanian Period); Philip Graves (Medieval and Modern Times); the late Major-General Sir C. E. Callwell (Military Operations).

It is to be regretted in the first instance that no attempt has been made to systematize spelling, which is chaotic throughout : the work of the Permanent Committee of the R.G.S. on the spelling of geographical names seems to have been in vain, each writer is a law to himself, and is not even then consistent—e.g., Qarbalah (!), Qadisiyah, Karkhah, Beled, Museyib, Nazariyah, Kufri. Mr. Dudley Buxton suggests that there may have been a change of climate during the historical period, but gives no reasons in support of this view. His article on "Modern Geography" is inadequate, and that on "Communications" even more so. There is no reference to the overland postal route, and the reference to railway and river transport is misleading. To say that Iraq "considering its size," is extremely badly provided with railways, is beside the point. The fact is that 80 per cent. of the population are within 50 miles of a railway or a navigable river—which can be said of few other Eastern countries. Is Basra an important wireless centre?

Under *Distribution of the Population* we might expect some reference to the known population of the large towns, and the proportion of Shiah, Sunni, Jewish, and Christian communities, as revealed by the census of 1919 as since corrected. We are told that "the position of Basra is threatened by the rapid silting-up of the river, which *may be* mended by engineering projects." Yet the bar was fully dredged two years ago, and the statement was at no time even approximately true.

Under *Economic Geography* we look in vain for some reference to the discovery of oil, some two years ago, in great quantities : all we learn on this subject is to be found in the following astonishing paragraph :

"Mesopotamia has been famous from ancient times for its oil springs. The wells at Hit, Kirkuk, and Jibbeh date from ancient times. The three localities which appear to be the most valuable are first in the Persian Gulf ; the wells here, however, though favourably situated geographically, are poor in quality. The second group on the Kuren (*sic*), including the well at Qirab which is mentioned by Herodotus, have been developed by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.* They lie outside the boundary of modern Iraq. The most promising field, however, lies within the boundaries of that state and extends in a south-easterly direction from Mosul to Kend i-Shir and Mandala (*sic*)."

The rest of the article is equally superficial. As to imports and exports, "an analysis of recent returns" is given, which brings our information up to 1925 : from this table we learn that Mesopotamia imported, in 1925, 141 lakhs of rupees worth of grain and flour and exported 11·5 lakhs worth ; imported 183 lakhs worth of carpets and exported 186 lakhs worth. The fact that there is a very extensive transit trade to Persia is not mentioned. The reference to cotton-growing is misleading. It is to be regretted that this section has been allowed to pass the editorial scrutiny : it is not worth the paper on which it was originally written and will cause just annoyance to the Government of Iraq.

Professor Langdon's contribution is, as far as a layman can pronounce a judgment, accurate and scholarly. With him has collaborated H. W. H. : the index to authors fails to disclose his name, but we may perhaps assume

* This is not the case.—A. T. W.

that it is Mr. H. W. Hutchinson, who collaborated two years ago with Mr. R. C. Thompson at Nineveh.

The value of the section contributed by Mr. Philip Graves on *Medieval and Modern Times* is not easy to assess : it makes no reference to the occupation of Basra by the Persians in the eighteenth century, nor to the sack of Karbala (which is spelt Qaribala !) by the Wahhabis at the commencement of the nineteenth century, both important landmarks, and the developments of Arab nationalism previous to the outbreak of the Great War are not referred to.

The late Major-General Sir C. E. Callwell's contribution is, as is to be expected, accurate and impartial, but somewhat uncritical, and makes no reference to the appalling treatment by Turkey of the Kut garrison : of the British rank and file who fell into their hands, only one in four survived, owing to the neglect and brutality to which they were subjected. Such things should not be passed over in silence, nor forgotten.

A. T. W.

AFGHANISTAN (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

At a time when the eyes of the world are fixed on the kaleidoscopic conditions in Afghanistan—the collapse of Amanullah's western card-house and the return of Nadir Shah—the article on Afghanistan in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is of very great importance. It will be the stock datum for journalistic reference and the *aide memoire* of the teacher for many years to come. It is therefore worthy of critical scrutiny, and it may be said that it comes through such a test well enough. It is perhaps to be regretted that the exigencies of printing in the United States has prevented allusion to the tragic events of the last twelve months. The encyclopædia leaves Amanullah in all his glory, and the French paeon of joyous might still unstifled. Perhaps in years to come when a Barakzai régime is restored and a tempered westernism revived, the episode of the water-carrier's son will be but a ripple on the Durani pool, but at the same time those who look for information will not find it. The quick-change scenes in which the Usurper has gone to the execution alley could not be kept pace with by any human printing press, but the disappearance of Amanullah ought to have been recorded if only in the form of a corrigenda. For the rest the space available has allowed of an extremely succinct abridgment of the history and ethnology of the last two thousand years, and the description of the modern economic conditions and prospects before the debacle are interesting and valuable. The portion dealing with the boundaries between British India and its dependencies in the mountains of "Roh" is particularly clear and concise, while the outlines of ethnology and language are admirable. Some criticism may be levelled at the spelling of such names as Mohammad and Sadozai with an "o" instead of the accepted "u." It must be admitted that transliteration of Arabic and Persian spelling is an extremely complicated matter, but the conventions of the "Permanent Committee on Geographical Names" are worthy of observation in the interests of uniformity. It would have been better to have included Afghan Turkistan in Afghanistan rather than give detail under a separate heading, for the twain have been one since the fifties with a few years of disruption.

The compiler of the article is to be congratulated on his effort, for compression is the hardest of all tasks, and perhaps the only effective criticism that can be passed is that in the legend under the map it is wrong to use the title "Amir," which was dropped for "King" in 1919, and also to con-

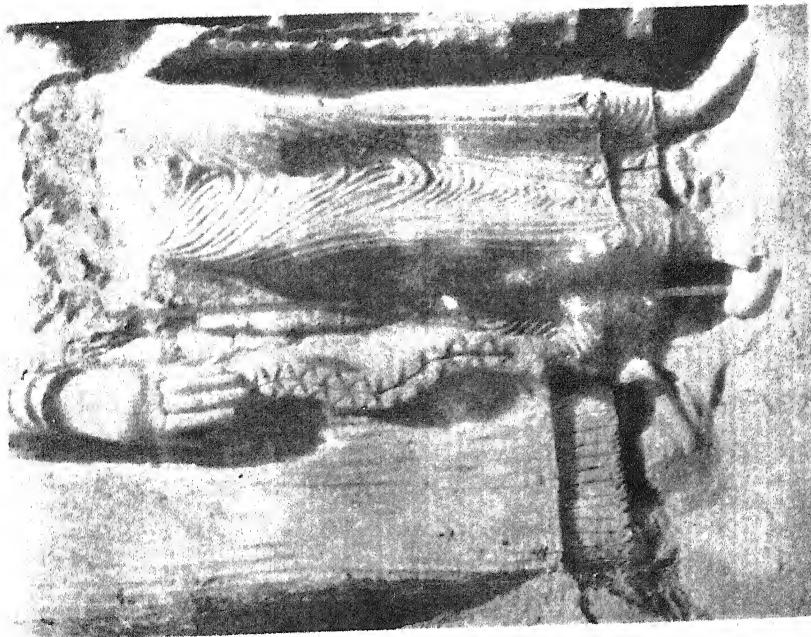


Photo by [W. Bosshard.
LOWER PART OF BIG LIFE-SIZE STATUE FROM RAWAK-STUPA.

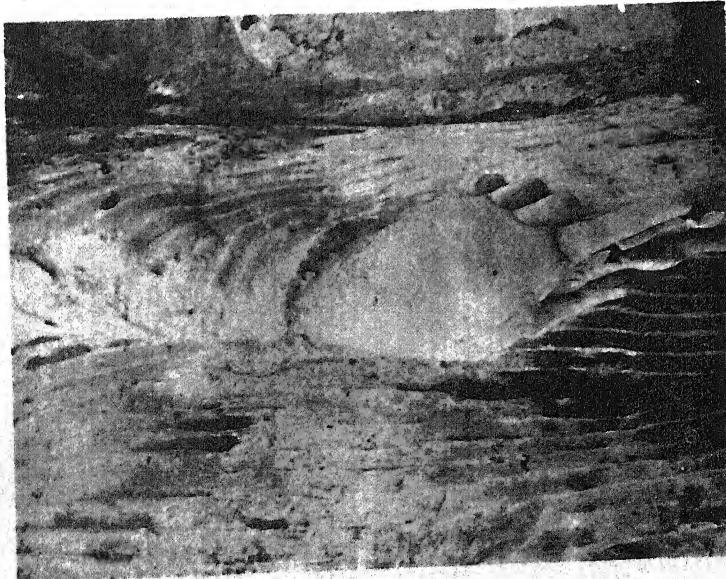


Photo by [W. Bosshard.
ARM AND HAND OF LIFE-SIZE BUDDHISTIC STATUE, RAWAK-STUPA.



tinue to subscribe to the old inaccuracy that the Khaiber (the compiler prefers the now discarded "Khyber") was the main way of entry to Afghanistan in the past.

G. F. M.

THE ROMANCE OF THE PORTUGUESE IN ABYSSINIA. By Charles F. Rey.

With illustrations from old prints and two maps. Pp. 319. 9"×5½".
H. and F. Witherby. 18s. net.

The interest taken by the general public in Abyssinian affairs cannot correctly be described as being more than spasmodic. And yet Gibbon was accurate, as will be seen from the story told by Mr. Rey and well substantiated by historical documents, when he said "encompassed by the enemies of their religion, the Ethiopians slept for nearly 1,000 years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten." That may have been so, however, but today, should it happen that an American firm has designs on harnessing the water-supply to or from Lake Tana, an astounding amount of interest is at once aroused, not only in this country, but in others. Again, the Belgians are credited with sending a Mission to train the Abyssinian army. In this instance, we, who have had so much experience in training other people's armies, view such a project with little more than a sympathetic interest. But when all is said and done, Abyssinia is still unconquered, and, although surrounded by British, French, or Italian colonial possessions, we hear of no demand for a corridor to the sea. She also appears to be content with her membership of the League and lays no claim to a seat on the Council. Yet Abyssinia, as an entity, is half as old as time. In the face of innumerable trials she has somehow contrived to maintain an independence. She has outlived and staved off the Moslem onslaughts, when her southern and north-easterly tribal units fell under the teaching of the Prophet. Egyptian dreams of expansion, so far as she was concerned, got no farther than an occupation of Zeila. In the days of grab in Africa, French enterprise halted some little way north of Dire Dawa, and here the Ethiopian railway had to stop, although it has since been extended to Adis Ababa. Concession hunters, bargain hunters and every variety of international magnate of some industry or other have knocked in vain at the doors of the Christian kingdom.

So, although modern Abyssinia may show some difference in extent to that which it presented to the Portuguese adventurers at the beginning of the sixteenth century, yet the character of its people remains amazingly unchanged. The peculiarities of its folk may not always be charming; in fact, they are far from being so, but they have been sufficient to keep out foreigners from the land.

Up to within quite a few years ago Abyssinia was one of the most difficult and heart-breaking countries for a European traveller. It led even Chinese Turkistan. But old Meulek, up to his death in 1913, liked it that way. No movement could take place without an infinite amount of procrastination together with the expenditure of a considerable amount of Maria Teresa dollars. Not an egg, nor supplies of any sort, could be got without the distribution, as you went along, of really expensive presents. It was not a matter of a few yards of calico being dished out. A good rifle or a revolver or their financial equivalent had to be produced for a Ras before supplies or transport or help on the road would be forthcoming. The early Portuguese Missions made the mistake of coming into the country inadequately furnished with presents. Of course the opening of the Djibuti-Adis railway has altered these conditions to some extent, but get away from the line, and you

meet the same conditions prevailing as when Da Lima, urged on by Mattheus, set out to Bisan in 1520.

Those were the brave days of high and often gallant enterprise, in which our ancient allies took a full part, and of which in this book Mr. Rey tells the fascinating story.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese were becoming more than attracted by stories connected with the whereabouts of Prester John and the extent and resources of his mythical kingdom. At the same time, they were not blind to the possibilities of new avenues of trade. All along the coast of Africa, west as well as east, the Portuguese navigators heard rumours of some great Christian potentate with his capital far in the interior. Then again, Islam was spreading, and the overland trade routes to and from the East none too secure. So John of Portugal selected Da Covilham and Da Payva to proceed and report. The former was the perfect "bushwhacker," as we should call him today, a linguist and a man of imagination. The pair set out on their enterprise, furnished with the King's blessing and 400 cruzadors, half in cash and half in bills on Naples! Neither of the two men returned to his native land again. Their route was from Santarem to Naples, thence to Rhodes and on to Alexandria. Via Cairo and Tor they came to Suakim and Aden. At this stage, Da Payva disappears, whilst Da Covilham went on and reported himself to the Viceroy in India. He then returned to the Red Sea and claimed to have visited Mecca and Medina. Finally he landed at Zeila. Iskander, then Negūs Negūsti, was in the neighbourhood beating up his Moslem neighbours, so Da Covilham had no difficulty in joining up with him.

Once at the Abyssinian Court he was too good to lose, and only his letters to his master reached Portugal. But the interest they aroused was tremendous, as might well be believed. Efforts to get at him were made on several occasions. There was Gomez, who with a Moorish companion was landed at Malindi, near Kismayu, and picked up again at Guardafui by Albuquerque in 1508. Their instructions had been to find Da Covilham and make their way back via Timbuctu and the Senegal river. In fact, Stanley seeking Emin was merely a later example of what had already happened in earlier days.

The next Mission was that of Da Lima. Hardships and difficulties of every description were encountered. Floods and lack of transport delayed him : attacks of wild beasts, chiefly "tigers" (possibly hyæna or leopard or both) kept them in constant terror. The inadequacy of this "present business" was an ever-recurring bar to progress. But they won through eventually to the camp of the Negūs, only to be kept waiting for weeks before they were accorded an audience. As an ambassadorial affair the Da Lima Mission was a failure, but as a link between Portugal and Abyssinia it was a success. Islam was now ascendant on the border. Egypt and Yemen had already been over-run : Zeila was occupied : the Adals were armed by the Emir of Harar—an age-long fœ to Ethiopia. Ahmed, the Somal, led his pillaging, raiding bands far into the interior. In the end, sore pressed as he was, the Negūs appealed to Portugal for help, in spite of the ill-treatment he had meted out to its representative. In response to the appeal, Christavao da Gama led the crusade, only to be captured and beheaded by Ahmed himself personally. But later on, notwithstanding the loss of their commander, the Abyssinians and their Portuguese allies routed the Moslems and slew Ahmed. And the marvel is that the Portuguese are not in occupation of Abyssinia to this day.

Having established themselves to some extent, they proceeded from one mistake to another. The ecclesiastical element found no liking for the Alexandrine form of Christianity practised by their hosts and promptly set to work to try and convert them to the Roman obedience. But what Fromentius had introduced in about 320 was good enough for the Abyssinians, and they strongly resented such an interference. It was the undoing of Portuguese influence. In the end they were expelled, lock, stock, and barrel. Later, certain French and Italian priests tried to enter the country, but without success.

Nevertheless, it was to Father Paz and to Mendez, his successor, that is due the relics of a great civilization in the land. These built churches, palaces and bridges throughout the country whose remains are to be seen today.

That, in brief, is a résumé of the story that Mr. Rey has set himself out to tell. It is indeed an epic.

On the whole, Mr. Rey serves us well, though here and there are shortcomings.

An introductory chapter might well have been put in, summarizing the earlier history of Abyssinia, that is, previous to the coming of the Portuguese. For, when Da Covilham arrived at the camp of the Negūs, he found other Europeans there already. We would have liked to have heard a little about the introduction of Christianity to the country and known a little about its development. As it is, we are plunged straight away into the stormy times of Da Covilham.

Mr. Rey has pretty well combed out the bibliography of his subject, from *futuh el kabasha* to the translations in recent days for the Hakluyt Society and there is no doubt that this work of his, relating in close narrative under one binding the multitude of facts available, is a work of real value not only to the student of African affairs but also to a larger circle of readers, who cannot but fail to be interested in such a moving story of early enterprise by a European Power in the heart of Africa.

The illustrations, taken from old prints, are all them full of interest, and serve to bring out to a marked extent some of the characteristics of this remarkable country—its wildness and its beauty.

D. S.

A HISTORY OF NATIONALISM IN THE EAST. By Hans Kohn. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$.
Pp. 476. Maps. Routledge. 1929. 25s.

This book contains much information that is of value, but little that is new. The author has read widely, the bibliography is good, and the comments are generally discriminating. He has endeavoured within the compass of a single work to describe the profound changes that have taken place in every country between Egypt and China inclusive, and has succeeded in treating his subject with a comprehensiveness which is only less remarkable than the lack of organic unity in the phenomena which he records. But it is the comprehensiveness of a précis writer rather than of an historian—or of an observer rather than a participant, surveying objectively through an imperfect lens a scene to which he himself is almost a stranger. The objects are, in consequence somewhat distorted and the edges are blurred.

Of Great Britain's activities he has much to say, of those of France and Germany very little. Yet they also have played a not unimportant part in awakening a new consciousness amongst Eastern peoples. French policy in Syria has proved an irritant rather than a solvent, and the Germans in the palaces of Constantinople before and during the War, dreaming heavy, German

dreams, gave an impetus and a direction to Turkish policy of which the writer scarcely treats. The author is not always accurate, nor is he well-informed. He can scarcely be unaware that, when in 1917 the English took control of the only independent military force in Persia, namely, the gendarmerie trained by Swedish officers (see page 335), it was because the latter, with their men, had been suborned by German filibusters (Wassmuss, Zugmayer, Pugin and others), and were wholly out of the control of the Persian Government, with whose consent and concurrence the South Persia Rifles were organized by Sir Percy Sykes.

To refer to Monsieur Mornard, the Administrator-General of Persian Customs, as "devoted to Russia's interests," is untrue as well as libellous; Monsieur Mornard served Persia honestly, and with single-minded devotion; but he had on occasion to face facts, and to assume responsibilities which the Persian Government were unable to bear.

He does not mention the invasion of Persia in 1914 and 1915, the cutting of the pipe-line and the devastation of Azarbaijan and Kirmanshah by Turkish forces, or the murder of British Consular officers at German instigation; in this respect his narrative is not wholly impartial.

So far as the section of the work devoted to India is concerned, the author appears to have come under the influence of Hindu intellectuals, and to be unaware of the existence of a powerful, active and militant Muslim minority. His description of British rule is not derived from his own knowledge, nor is it accurate or well-informed.

After over four hundred pages, covering the recent history of every Eastern country, his "Conclusion," which covers two pages only, is inconclusive and disappointing: it suggests, indeed, that he has been overwhelmed by his material: as Juvenal wrote in the VIIth Satire:

"Crescit multa damnosa papyro
sic ingens numerus jubet atque operum lex
quæ tamen inde seges? terra quis fructus apertæ?
Quis dabit historico quantum daret acta legenti?"

Nothing but unqualified praise can be given to the translator for the manner in which she has done her work.

A. T. WILSON.

ERGEBNISSE DER FORSCHUNGSREISEN DURCH INNERASIEN. By G. Prinz, Erster Teil der gesammelten Sonderdrucke. Beiträge zur Glaziologie Zentralasiens by G. Prinz, pp. 131-335, 5 pl.; Beiträge zur Petrographie Zentralasiens by S. V. Szentpétery, pp. 265-385, 3 pl.; Paläontologische Studien aus Zentralasien by M. E. Vadász, pp. 57-115, 4 pl.; and Második belsőázsiai utazáson neprajzi eredményei. (Ethnographie) by G. Prinz, pp. 1-63, 2 pl. Pécs. 1928.

This volume is a re-issue of some papers written twelve years ago on the expeditions to Central Asia in 1906 and 1909 under the leadership of Dr. Gyula Prinz, the Hungarian traveller. Dr. Prinz is little known in England owing to the fact that most of his works have only appeared in the Hungarian language, but he has written a number of treatises on geological subjects relating to Central Asia. Dr. Prinz devoted his attention to the Tien Shan, the Eastern Pamirs, and the western part of the Kunlun Mountains, and it is with these regions that the four papers deal.

The first part consists of a paper by Dr. Prinz, and is a learned treatise on the glacial geology of the parts of Central Asia explored by him. This paper was first published in the Hungarian language in 1916 as Vol. XXIV.,

Part II., of the *Journal* of the "kir. Foldtani Intézet Erkonyve." It has therefore hitherto not received the study and care that it deserves. The glacial geology of Central Asia has been the subject of much controversy, the great problem being the extent of the former glaciation of Central Asia. Most of this literature is either in Russian, Hungarian, or German, and therefore of little value to many writers. This paper, however, has just been translated into German and will consequently receive wider attention than before.

The author, during his explorations, collected an immense amount of information. There are details of no less than 140 glaciers which he examined, each of which is dealt with separately and his theories are illustrated by small sketches. These are very helpful to readers and assist in following the author's references to the terminal moraines of glaciers and the types of stone terraces. There is also shown on these sketches how the glaciers have been worn away by fluvial erosion. There is in addition a good collection of photographs. At the end is an interesting table giving details of these 140 glaciers which Dr. Prinz says existed during the period of the local Burkhan glaciations. This table shows the altitudes and lengths in former times and what he found when he was there. It will be seen that a large number have either disappeared altogether or have been much reduced in size. There are several maps and also folding out sketches of mountain ranges showing the remains of glaciers of former times.

The second treatise in this book by Dr. S. von Szentpétery gives a very detailed account of the rocks collected during Dr. Prinz's journeys. This is a reprint from the *Mitt. Jahrb. d. k. Ungar. Geol. Reichs.*, Vol. XXI., Part IX., and was first published in 1915. The collection consists of specimens for the most part from the Tien Shan and the Western Kunlun. At the time when these collections were made in 1906 and 1909, most of the area was unknown geologically. There is not the space to go into details, but the specimens have been divided into groups and each stone carefully described. At the end there is a list of several hundred specimens giving the exact place and district in which they were found.

The third treatise is written by Dr. M. E. Vadasz and was first published in 1911 in Vol. XIX. of the above-mentioned Hungarian *Journal*. He gives a detailed account of the fossils collected, and each is dealt with in the same detailed manner. There are some good photographs showing these palaeontological specimens. The volume ends with a treatise in Hungarian, written by Dr. Prinz. It gives an interesting account of the ethnological observations made during his second expedition. It is not necessary to know Hungarian to be able to realize what an exhaustive study the author has made of his subject. He describes amongst a multitude of subjects the methods of irrigation in these parts, and gives a number of small sketches which depict with unusual clearness the systems used. There are also sketches showing the various types of houses and different decorative designs. Many types of jewelry have been photographed, and at the end is a fine coloured plate showing various carpets from Central Asia. The reviewer has made no attempt to criticize this volume, but merely to give an outline of the subject-matter. It is hoped that these Hungarian writers, especially Dr. Prinz, will in time to come, as their works are translated into German, become more widely known and thus take their place in the front ranks of Central Asian geologists.

E. K. FEATHERSTONE.

A DIRECTORY OF SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN CONCERNED WITH THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. Compiled by Stephen A. Heald. Introduction by Sir William Beveridge, K.C.B., LL.D., B.C.L. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 64. Published by The Royal Institute of International Affairs, and The Information Service on International Affairs. 1929. 1s. 6d.

The R.I.I.A. and the I.S.I.A. have recently published a most useful directory, whereby any student of international affairs can find at once which societies are most likely to help him in his work. Those of us who have had any experience of the difficulties of getting to headquarters, and the amount of time wasted in finding where to go for authoritative information and for speakers on specialized subjects, will find it invaluable.

Two very useful appendices are given, giving particulars of British institutions in other countries; a third might have been added giving particulars of societies specializing in the study of countries lying within the British Empire. The Index is not the least useful part of the book.

AFTER MOTHER INDIA. By Harry H. Field. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 299. Jonathan Cape. 1929. 7s. 6d.

On reading the "Isles of Fear" some years ago, one's first instinctive hope was that Miss Mayo would come to India and write a book about it. Little could one visualize the terrible book that she did write. It was certainly the most important and truthful book that has been written about India during the last half-century. It was completely documented, and adverse critics had for the most part to draw on their imaginations before they could write against "Mother India." However, knowing the East, it was not difficult to imagine that violent criticisms would be made in the endeavour to convince people who had never been to India that the horrors described were not true.

The ordinary Englishman in India did not know the terrible state of affairs in an Indian household, and it is well that he did not, as such knowledge does not contribute to friendly social relations. He could not help seeing the terrible cruelty to animals and so know that Miss Mayo had not exaggerated there.

In the present book under review, Mr. Field has undertaken the task of refuting the arguments raised against "Mother India." His book will go a long way to convince the Western nations that Miss Mayo spoke the truth, and that her critics were for the most part contemptible; but whether it will convince or silence the Hindu intelligentsia is a very different question.

H. S.

AFGHAN AND PATHAN. A Sketch. By George B. Scott. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{10}$. Pp. 188, with maps and illustrations. London : Mitre Press. 8s.

Mr. Scott joined the Survey in India in 1863. He served with distinction in many frontier wars, and was twice rewarded for gallantry when attacked by Pathans.

In this unpretentious little book he has told some old frontier yarns which bring out the wonderful history of the Punjab Frontier Force.

His first chapter on Afghanistan is well-informed, but the others on the North-West Frontier are not so good. The map is a poor one, and the photographs have not come out very well.

While reading this sketch one realizes how much the author enjoyed

writing it, and the reader cannot help feeling that Mr. Scott could tell many a good yarn over a fire with a whisky-and-soda beside him which would fill up the gaps in the tale of the Frontier.

H. S.

THE HIMALAYAN JOURNAL: RECORDS OF THE HIMALAYAN CLUB. Edited by Kenneth Mason. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta and London. Vol. i., No. 1, April, 1929. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; 150 pages, with illustrations and sketch-maps. Five rupees or 8s.

The Himalayan Journal is the official magazine of the Himalayan Club, which has recently been founded in India. The Journal was first published in April, 1929, and its contents show that the organizers have, to use a common phrase, "got a move on" in their object of encouraging climbing and travelling in the Himalaya. The Journal was fortunate in securing the services of Major Kenneth Mason, and the only doubt that may arise is whether he will have the leisure to devote to the Journal the time which it deserves.

The number opens with a description of the history of the Club and the amalgamation effected with the Mountain Club of India, which was founded at almost the same time. The contents are of a varied nature, including two articles entitled "The Shyok Dam in 1928," by F. Ludlow, and "Indus Floods and Glaciers," by Kenneth Mason. Hugh Whistler contributes a valuable paper on bird-life in Kashmir, and Kingdon Ward one on "Botanical Exploration in the Mishmi Hills." Dr. J. de Graaf Hunter has written on "The Attraction of the Himalaya," which does not contain that which one would expect from the title, but deals with the physical gravitational pull of the Himalaya. This is a subject that is of such a highly technical nature as to be of great interest to the geodesist, but will not appeal to the average Himalayan traveller. There are also articles entitled "The Way to the Baspa," "Two Easy Passes in Kanawar," and others. At the end of the Journal are summarized notes on past expeditions to the Himalaya. The reviewing of books occupies a few pages, and the Journal ends with the Club's proceedings.

A glance at these proceedings shows us what an ambitious programme the Club has. Concentration on the publication of route books seems to be the order of the day. These volumes are to be based on the Survey of India Route Book, as Lieut.-Colonel Montgomerie's "Routes in the Western Himalayas, Kashmir, etc." is known. A similar route book is to be prepared for the Eastern Himalayas and the northern ranges of Assam. There is also a scheme on foot to prepare District Guides, giving detailed information of peaks and passes, and all scientific and other matters of interest to Himalayan travellers.

It is at present too early to criticize a Journal that has only produced one number. In its present form its contents will appeal to few people outside India. There is one point though that strikes one rather forcibly, and that is that none but British names appear in connexion with the organization of the Club. The Himalaya are such an international ground, to the knowledge of which all countries have contributed, that it would seem a most unfortunate oversight were not some of our foreign colleagues asked to serve in some capacity. The Survey of India has always extended help to all foreigners, and the reviewer can testify to the appreciation many have shown of the help given by the Survey of India and, if one may be personal for a moment, particularly by Major Kenneth Mason. Perhaps secretaries might be appointed in Italy, France, Holland, the United States of America and other countries. Arrange-

ments could no doubt be made with the leading geographical organizations in these countries, and this, even if no material benefit were to accrue to the Club, would at any rate have established a *liaison* abroad. These remarks are not intended in a derogatory sense but solely with a view to furthering the ends of the Journal. It is possible that Major Mason may not have had time to communicate with persons abroad before the first number was published, and has done so or intends to do so in the future, in which case these remarks will of course not apply.

It is to be hoped that in years to come the Records of the Himalayan Club will be of such a value and of such a high standard as to make them volumes of reference.

B. K. FEATHERSTONE.

The following books have been received for review :

- "Afghanistan," by Lieut.-Gen. Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., D.S.O. 359 pp. (Bell and Sons. 1929. 21s. Demy oct.)
- "The Agrarian System of Moslem India," by W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. 296 pp. (Cambridge : Heffer. 1929. 15s.)
- "The Case for India," by J. S. Hoyland. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". 173 pp. Illustration. (London : Dent. 1929. 4s. 6d.)
- "China. The Land and the People," by L. H. D. Buxton. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 333 pp. Maps and illustrations. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 15s.)
- "China. A New Aspect," by H. Stringer. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 240 pp. Map. (London : Witherby. 1929. 12s. 6d.)
- "The Dilemma in India," by Sir R. Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. 9" x 6". 379 pp. (London : Constable. 15s.)
- "East for Pleasure," by W. B. Harris. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 399 pp. Map and illustrations. (London : Arnold. 21s.)
- "L'Empire Arabe d'Ibn Seoud," by J. Broucke. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 89 pp. Map. Pamphlet. (Bruxelles : Librairie Falk Fils.)
- "The Field Book of a Jungle Wallah," by C. Hose. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 216 pp. Illustrations. (London : H. F. and G. Witherby. 12s. 6d.)
- "Four Faces of Siva," by R. J. Casey. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 270 pp. Illustrations. (London : George Harrap. 12s. 6d.)
- "History of the Assam Rifles," by L. W. Shakespear. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 301 pp. Maps and illustrations. (London : Macmillan and Co. 1929. 30s.)
- "A History of Nationalism in the East," by Hans Kohn. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. 476 pp. Maps. (London : Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 25s.)
- "India under Wellesley," by P. E. Roberts. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 323 pp. Maps and illustration. (London : Bell. 15s.)
- "Pulling Strings in China," by W. F. Tyler. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 310 pp. Maps and illustration. (London : Constable. 15s.)
- "Il Raggagli e le Memorie dei Viaggi e Missione nel Tibet di Padre Ippolito desideri da Pistoia," by F. de Filippi. 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 9 pp. Pamphlet. (Rome : Societa Geog. Italiane.)
- "The Romance of the Portuguese in Abyssinia," by C. F. Rey. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". 319 pp. Maps and illustrations. (London : Witherby. 18s.)
- "A Short History of Chinese Civilization," by R. Wilhelm. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 284 pp. Maps and illustrations. (London : G. Harrap. 12s. 6d.)
- "Tufu," by F. Ayscough. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. 450 pp. Maps. (London : Jonathan Cape. 21s.)
- "Alai! Alai! Arbeiten und Erlebnisse der Deutsch-Russischen Alai-Pamir-Expedition," by W. Rickmer Rickmers. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. 300 pp. Illustrations. (Leipzig : Brockhaus. 1929. 13 M. linen ; 16 M. cloth.)
- "Im Land der Stürme," by Emil Trinkler. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. 243 illustrations. Map. (Leipzig : Brockhaus. 1930.)

The following articles on Asiatic subjects have appeared in the November and December magazines :

November :

- The Contemporary Review* : "The Awakening of Indian Womanhood," by Lady Hartog.
- National Review* : "China and Extraterritoriality," by H. G. W. Woodhead, C.B.E. (Editor of the "China Year Book").
- The English Review* : "British Policy and the Palestine Mandate," by Captain C. D. Brunton.
- Empire Review* : "Arab and Jew," by Israel Cohen.
- Nineteenth Century* : "Swaraj : India and the League of Nations. A Reply," by Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E.
- The Quarterly Review* : "Lord Lloyd and Egypt," by the Hon. Mr. Justice Marshall.
- The Edinburgh Review* : "Anglo-Persian Relations," by H. A. "Illiteracy and Self-Government in India," by C. F. Strickland.

December :

- Nineteenth Century and After* : "An Indian View of Western Civilization," by John S. Hoyland.
- The Round Table* : "India and 1930."
- The English Review* : "Dominion Status for India," by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.
- The Fortnightly Review* : "Conflict in Palestine," by Kirby Page.
- The Empire Review* : "The Empire and Mandates," by T. Greenwood.

OBITUARY

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.

COLONEL SIR THOMAS HOLDICH, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
GENERAL SIR CHARLES MONRO, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.

IN the closing quarter of 1929 the Society lost by the hand of death two past Presidents—Sir Valentine Chirol and Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich—and a Vice-President, General Sir Charles Monro. Their ripe experience and acknowledged authority in their respective spheres of study and achievement cannot readily be replaced. Each made his distinctive contribution to the Imperial interests the Society exists to promote, and each gave it willing and valuable service.

To take these distinguished men in the order of seniority, Sir Thomas Holdich retired from the Survey of India in time to have a share in the formation of the Central Asian Society. As one of the early holders of the presidentship, he was concise and businesslike both in his conduct of committee meetings and in his contributions to our discussions. He had an unrivalled experience of frontier delimitations in the countries with which the Society is chiefly concerned, and his strong and thoughtful views on the services which a proper understanding of geographical science can be made to render in international politics gave special weight to his many utterances on record in the proceedings of the Society.

Sir Valentine Chirol's usefulness was of a more general kind. It was that of the traveller and student who had closely followed Asiatic affairs from early manhood, and who had been trained by tenure of one of the most responsible positions in British journalism to think out the appropriate policies in relation to contemporary foreign events. His book on "The Middle Eastern Question," published about the time of the formation of the Society, remains one of the most comprehensive and authoritative examinations of pre-war Central Asian facts and tendencies. Sir Valentine was in close contact for many years with conspicuous makers of history in Eastern regions, and almost without exception highly-placed servants of the British Government abroad gave him their fullest confidence and sought his counsel on great questions of policy.

General Sir Charles Monro will be remembered as the soldier who commanded the 1st Army Corps on the Western Front, who ordered and supervised with great skill the withdrawal from Gallipoli, and who held the chief command in India at a time of exceptional difficulty. This was in the last half of the War and in the troubled years of the

Third Afghan War and the operations in Waziristan, when the army in India was composed almost entirely of either raw recruits or war-weary men. Sir Charles was not given to public speech, but his acceptance of the office of Vice-President was not the less welcome on that account.

So long as the Central Asian Society has at its disposal the membership and service of men of this varied type—a maker of frontiers, a guide to public and official opinion on Eastern problems, and an illustrious soldier—it will continue to fill a useful place in the shaping of thought and action in respect to Asian problems.

F. H. BROWN.

ELECTIONS

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NOTICES

THE Council wish to thank the Council of the *Royal Institute of International Affairs* for so very kindly having allowed the Society the use of their lecture hall through the last session, a privilege which has been much appreciated by all members.

The Honorary Librarian wishes to thank Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson for a copy of Zwemer's "Arabia : the Cradle of Islam."

Members are asked to keep the office informed of any change of address, and to inform the office if they do not receive their Lecture Cards and Journals.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.



ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGN ON THE INDIAN NORTH-WEST FRONTIER*

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., ETC.

THE part of Asia to which I propose to take you this evening is a portion of that great borderland between the North-West of India and Afghānistān, stretching from the great mountain rampart of the Hindukush in the north down to the coast of the Arabian Sea in the south. It is only a corner, as it were, of this vast region. But I may as well sketch it to you in the broadest outlines. For it is the character of that region between India and Irān which has imparted historical and political importance to the area to which my explorations of 1926 led me.

That border region may be roughly described as lying in the mountains which stretch all the way to the west of the great Indus river. In the south that region comprised in the present Balūchistān and Makrān, the ancient Gedrosia, is exceedingly arid and barren. Little more than semi-nomadic life is possible there, and this accounts for the fact that ever since ancient times the tribes that had reached it or been pushed into it from the side of Persia have been obliged as it were by nature to look upon the adjacent fertile parts of North-Western India as the proper goal for raids and eventual conquest. It has remained the same to the present day as it was in prehistoric times, when the Aryan tribes, destined to extend their power over the whole of Northern India, for a time were held fast in those poor hills and valleys of what is now Balūchistān. This territory, too, little attractive as it is in its physical aspects, has its historical and antiquarian interest, and I was glad to have been able during the last two cold weather seasons of my work for the Indian Archæological Survey to make reconnaissance explorations of its remains, mainly prehistoric.

But as we pass north of Waziristān, where British and Indian troops are now obliged to guard what is the exact counterpart of a Roman Limes, we come to valleys more favoured by nature. I may not pause to describe to you the pleasant physical aspects and considerable economic resources of that great valley which now forms the Peshawar district of the North-West Frontier Province. It has been all through historical times the great gate for invasions by more virile races from the west and north. You may all have heard of the Khyber Pass and

* Lecture delivered on November 8, 1929, at a combined meeting of the Central Asian and Royal Asiatic Societies.

of the successive waves of invaders—Alexander's Macedonians, Bactrian Greeks, Indo-Scythians, White Huns, Western Turks, Pathāns, Moghuls—who are known to have passed down into the fertile plain of the Peshawar valley on their way to the Land of the Five Rivers and the rest of Northern India.

This great valley, known by its ancient name as Gandhāra, had been once a flourishing centre of Buddhist civilization. The remains of that Hellenistic art which inspired the sculptures of its Buddhist shrines and monasteries have for a long time past exercised a special fascination for students both of Buddhist cult and of Indian art. These Græco-Buddhist sculptures illustrate better perhaps than any other reliques that remarkable extension of Hellenistic culture far away into Asia. But what with the spoils of much irresponsible digging in the past, and of more systematic excavations of recent times, at such famous sites as Taxila, Takht-i-Bahī, etc., the field for true exploration, I confess, on that ground has become rather too much reduced for my taste.

If we turn to the extreme north of that Indo-Iranian border region there is indeed much to attract the geographical student and the lover of mountains. It has been my good fortune to view the ice-crowned main range of the Hindukush from the foot of the Pāmirs, that so-called Roof of the World. I have also been privileged on my way to successive Central Asian expeditions to pass through those wonderful deep-cut gorges of Chitrāl, Mastūj, Gilgit, Hunza, Darēl, Tangir, etc., through which the snow-fed rivers from the southern rampart of the Hindukush have cut their way down to Indus. But those narrow gorges afford too little space for civilized settlements, and this, together with their difficult access, explains why there is little to seek there for the student of history and antiquities, though much of ancient conditions of life and customs has survived in those isolated mountain tracts.

But there remains between that Hindukush region and the open plain of the Peshawar district much ground attractive in its physical aspects and in its history, and yet until quite recently completely closed to European investigation. I mean the valley extending along the Swāt river, the last great tributary of the Indus on the west, and the hill tracts stretching eastwards of it to the Indus. Ever since I first came to India forty-two years ago I had been drawn towards this region of Swāt, the ancient 'Udyāna,' perhaps also by its inaccessibility at the time.

That Swāt had been a seat of Buddhist culture in the early centuries of our era and probably for some time before was abundantly attested. Plenty of fine Græco-Buddhist reliefs acquired by collectors at British cantonments in the plains were

known to have been quarried and brought away from ruined Buddhist shrines of Swāt. Early Indian literature, so sadly lacking in historical records of any kind, had little to tell us about Swāt except its ancient name, *Suvāstu*, mentioned already in a hymn of the Rigveda. But fortunately there were the accounts of a number of pious Chinese pilgrims, whom the fame of the many sacred Buddhist sites had attracted to the country on their way from Central Asia to India. Beginning with Fa-hsien, who came through about A.D. 400, down to that greatest of Chinese pilgrims, my adopted 'Chinese patron saint,' Hsüan-tsang, and even later, they all have much to tell us about the wonderful fertility of the land, its pleasant climate, its hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, all attesting the high degree of culture which Swāt enjoyed in Buddhist times.

But owing to the warlike and fanatical character of its present Muhammadan population, Swāt remained, long after the annexation of the Panjab and the North-West Frontier districts, a land hermetically closed to individual European enterprise. It was not until the Chitral campaign of 1895, and the military expeditions which were necessitated by the great tribal rising two years later, that a portion of the Lower Swāt valley became accessible. During the intervals of those expeditions I was able indeed to avail myself of holidays—alas! far too brief—for the purpose of visiting Buddhist ruins situated in the narrow belt kept open by political control over the strategic route leading northward into Chitral. Accompanying the military expedition which in the winter of 1898 was directed against the Bunēr tribes, I was then able to visit a great portion of the tract extending between the middle portion of the Swāt valley and the plains of Peshawar for the purpose of a rapid archaeological survey.

Upper Swāt, by far the greatest and most important part of that region, remained, however, closed also after those military operations. Yet it was just to this portion that special attention was bound to be attracted by considerations connected with the greatest, and certainly most interesting, of historical events which the Indian North-West Frontier has ever witnessed. I mean the campaign of Alexander the Great preceding his invasion of the Panjab. The most celebrated of Alexander's exploits in that hill region was his siege of the mountain fastness of Aornos. The search for this locality has been the subject of much speculation, scholarly and other. As long as the ground remained inaccessible it was scarcely to be wondered that these speculations remained futile. But it was at least something when, with the help of my old friend and chief, Colonel Sir Harold Deane, the lamented first Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, I was enabled in 1904 to pay a rapid visit to Mount Mahāban. This mountain massif of Mahāban, rising on the right bank

of the Indus just where it debouches into the Peshawar plain, had for many years been assumed to be the site of Aornos. This conjectured location was based principally on a view gained by General Abbott through the telescope and from a great distance. When I succeeded in ascending to its height, under the protection of the neighbouring Pathān tribes, it proved untenable in view of the actual topographical facts.

When in 1906, on my second Central Asian expedition, I passed through Lower Swāt along the politically controlled Chitrāl road, I felt sure that I touched ground between the fort of Chakdara and the Panjkōra River through which Alexander's columns must have passed. But for years thereafter I had to bide my time for an attempt to trace the special localities which are mentioned by Alexander's historians in connection with that campaign. In 1921 I endeavoured to get a sight at least of that portion of the course of the Indus near which it was highly probable that Aornos would have to be looked for. Swāt was then on the eve of a period of upheaval greater than any during recent times. The Nawāb of Dir from the north and another Frontier potentate, the Nawāb of Amb, from the south, were both endeavouring at the time to possess themselves of the fertile land of Swāt. A lucky coincidence brought me into contact at the time with Abdul Jabār Khān, the exiled descendant of a once influential Swāt chief, whom the Nawāb of Amb was about to send forth as a cat's-paw for the conquest of Swāt. But this accidental meeting, interesting as it was, was all that was achieved at the time.

During the years which followed Swāt and Bunēr remained more than usually disturbed by internal dissension and the efforts of those outside chiefs to establish their power there. Fortunately for the modern destinies of the land, and incidentally also for my desired explorations, the few years following saw the rise to power in Swāt of a very capable ruler in the person of the grandson of that famous saint and spiritual ruler, the Ākhund of Swāt. For nearly half a century the Ākhund had exercised spiritual power over all the tribes in that region, and been a chief factor in guiding them to preserve their independence from Sikhs and British alike. His sons had failed to maintain that authority; but the elder of the two grandsons, Miāngul Abdul Wahāb Gul Shāhzāda, after a prolonged struggle, succeeded in overcoming all tribal factions and in driving out both invaders. Thus in the end, by 1923, he made himself undisputed master of Upper Swāt, of Bunēr, and of the valleys between the Swāt watershed and the Indus.

The peaceful consolidation of the large kingdom which the Ākhund's grandson had thus created helped to secure for me at last the long-desired opportunity for visiting that region and surveying its ancient

sites. The Miāngul, known to his people now by the significant title of *Bādshāh*, 'the ruler,' was wise enough to foster satisfactory relations with the administration of the North-West Frontier Province. This endeavour, duly met by the British Wardens of the Marches, enabled my old and ever helpful friend, Colonel E. H. S. James, then holding charge of the political relations with Dir, Swāt, and Chitrāl, during the late autumn of 1925, to secure the ruler's approval for my intended visit to his territory. So I lost no time in setting out early in March, 1926, for this eagerly desired expedition. It was the earliest time of the year when regard for the melting of the snows would permit me to penetrate in the mountains to the very limits of the Bādshāh's dominion.

There was enough in the way of Buddhist ruins and remains to make me feel buoyant at the opening now offered for explorations on ground that no European had before been able to visit. But may those pious Chinese guides, and in particular my patron saint, Hsüan-tsang, forgive if I confess that what made me even more anxious to use this chance was the hope of elucidating the details of Alexander's exploits in this region.

It is impossible for me here to set forth in detail the geographical and historical evidence which clearly points to the principal part of Alexander's campaign, before the crossing of the Indus, having lain in Swāt. It must suffice on this occasion briefly to sum up the essential facts to be gathered from Alexander's historians, and in particular from Arrian, the most reliable among them. He wrote his account in the second century after Christ, but used as his main source the contemporary record of Ptolemy, one of Alexander's generals and the first of the Ptolemies of Egypt.

We know that Alexander, returning from his arduous campaigns in what is now Russian Turkestān, crossed in the spring of 327 B.C. the Hindukush towards Kābul. After strengthening there the hold he had secured two years before upon this part of the present Afghānistān, he set out for his Indian campaign. As far as the country west of the Indus was concerned, this enterprise meant but a reassertion of the sovereignty of that Persian Empire to which he claimed succession. It was a sovereignty which, during the last feeble Achæmenidian "king of kings," had obviously weakened in the mountain tracts towards the Indus.

One large force was sent by Alexander down the Kābul river to the Peshawar valley, the capital of which at that time was Peukelaōtis, to the north-east of Peshawar. The other corps was led by Alexander himself into the hill country to the north of the Kābul river. The tracts along the Kūnar river into which Alexander's operations first led him lie within the present Afghānistān. This tract, as well as the tribal

territory of Bajaur into which he crossed from the Kūnar, are still inaccessible for archæological exploration. Hence no attempt can be made to fix particular localities mentioned here by Alexander's historians. But there can be no doubt that the river Guraios, which the Macedonians crossed before Alexander led them to attack the Assakēnoi, is identical with the Panjkōra river which divides Bajaur from Swāt. And here we reach the ground over which I must ask you to follow me on a rapid survey of the ancient sites I was able to explore.

Starting from Peshawar, I was able to reach by an excellent strategic road the height of the Malakand Pass, taken in 1895 after much hard fighting. Two years later they were again the scene of a desperate struggle during the great Pathān rising. The Malakand is now guarded by fortifications which may safely be declared to be tribal-proof. From the hospitable shelter there afforded by the house of the British Political Agent, I gained once more a distant view of the wide Lower Swāt valley. Far away in the distance to the north-east, I gained a sight of the magnificent snowy peaks which stand guard, as it were, over the rise of the united Swāt river.

Then the continuation of that road carried me on a rapid drive past the fort of Chakdara to the large village of Thāna close to the eastern limit of the politically controlled portion of Lower Swāt. From there I was able to visit by rapid excursions the first of those Buddhist sanctuaries which, even in their present much ruined state, attest the wealth and piety of the ancient inhabitants of the land. The Stūpa of Tōp-dara is a typical example of those massive domes of stone which were erected to guard in their solid interior some relics of the Buddha's holy person. Such Stūpas were invariably adjoined by Buddhist convents affording shelter to pious mendicants. How great the population and wealth of Swāt must have been in Buddhist times is significantly indicated by Hsüan-tsang's record of fourteen monasteries having once existed by the banks of the Swāt river. The number of mendicant priests whom they once contained was reckoned at no less than eighteen thousand. As I passed further and further up this wide portion of the main valley and came again and again upon ruined Buddhist shrines, it was easy to realize how true must have been the description of Song Yün, another Chinese pilgrim, who speaks of the sound of the temple bells filling the whole country during the night.

Crossing the abrupt spur of Landakai, I entered on March 12 the territory of the Miāngul. There I greatly rejoiced in being welcomed by Rāja Shāh Ālam, an old and trusted friend from the time of my third Central Asian expedition. He had then, as a young man of twenty or so, been entrusted by his uncle, then ruling Darēl and Tangir, to guide and protect me in those Hindukush valleys which no European before had entered. Rāja Pakhtūn Wāli had established there a new kingdom

of his own by unscrupulous use of valour and intrigue combined, such as befitted his descent from the Khushwakt race. No wonder that some years after my visit he met his death by foul murder, and his kingdom once more dissolved into petty tribal republics. His nephew, Shāh. Ālam, had thus become an exile under the protection of the Swāt ruler. In this capacity he once more acted as my best guide and trusted companion. How I wished I could have helped him in his endeavours to regain his uncle's kingdom.

I cannot attempt here to give an account of all the interesting ruins both of ancient Buddhist sites and of residences of the same period which I was able to survey both along the great river and in the verdant side valleys descending from the mountains to the south. I must content myself with showing only a few characteristic types of the structures examined. Thus, for example, in the valley of Kandag, I visited a remarkable domed structure which, judging from its great height, must have held once a colossal image of Buddha. It had become the abode of a Gujar herdsman and the passage enclosing the domed cella a stabling for his buffaloes. Elsewhere in a picturesque well-wooded glen flanking the valley of Najigrām I found a large Stūpa with extensive ruined monastic quarters behind it. Below the Stūpa there stretched the massive walls of a big barrage constructed with massive blocks of stone. Evidently it was designed to hold up in a reservoir the water from a small spring which at the time of my visit no longer came down so far. It may have yielded more water in ancient times. But certain cleverly designed conduits showed that the reservoir was meant to hold also flood water of the torrent which at the time of the summer rains passes down the glen, and to store it for purposes of irrigation on the fields below.

But perhaps the most impressive and the best preserved of all these Buddhist ruins is the big Stūpa above the little hamlet of Amlūkdara. It rises, like all the rest, on a triple base measuring at its bottom over 110 feet square, and the diameter of its solid dome is fully 71 feet. The remote position of the site appears to have as yet saved the relic deposit in its centre from being burrowed into. Of the large stone umbrellas or Chhatras which once were mounted in succession above the top of the dome, there lay four in a heap on the base just as they had fallen. The largest of them measured over 14 feet in diameter.

Almost as large proved the great relic tower now known as Shankardār which rises close to the road leading up the valley. I found this huge pile in a state of sad ruin. Not only had a big cutting been made long ago into the dome by treasure-seekers, but most of the masonry of the two lower bases also bodily removed to build a neighbouring village with. Yet with its total height of over 90 feet from the level of the road, which passes at its foot, this Stūpa looked very imposing.

A special interest attracted me to this ruined pile. There can be little doubt that it is identical with the Stūpa whose construction a local tradition, recorded by Hsüan-tsang, attributed to Uttarasena, an ancient king of Swāt. In his 'Memoirs' he tells us of a huge rock shaped like an elephant close by on the bank of the river. Tradition saw in it the body of the white elephant that had brought the share which the King had received of the relics of the Buddha's body in accordance with the Master's own command. Falling dead at this spot it had been miraculously turned into stone.

The usual accuracy of my Chinese patron saint was attested by the precipitous rock face which the road passes less than half a mile beyond the Shankardār Stūpa. It shows a distinct resemblance to the head and trunk of an elephant. As if to prove the veneration with which pious eyes used to look up at it, there is found close to the foot of the rock face a small natural grotto holding a remarkable relief. It shows the bearded and haloed figure of a royal personage, dressed in the characteristic Central Asian dress of an Indo-Scythian ruler and undoubtedly meant to represent devout King Uttarasena.

It was at the point where fertile side valleys holding most of those ancient monuments of Buddhist piety debouch and meet that I was first able to identify one of the strong places mentioned in Alexander's Frontier campaign. I mean the ruined stronghold crowning the rugged hill which rises abruptly above the left bank of the river to close on 600 feet and is known as the hill of Bir-köt. It has given its name meaning the 'Castle of Bir' also to the large village below. This completely isolated rocky hill forms a very conspicuous landmark many miles up and down the valley, and the main road of Swāt passes close along its foot. The hill is washed on its northern foot by the river towards which it drops in precipitous rocky slopes very difficult to climb and in places quite impracticable. On its concave side, to the south, high unscalable crags fringe the central portion of the hill and culminate in a bold rocky pinnacle. Both to the west and east the hill runs out in bare rocky ridges. Where the slope of the eastern extremity towards Bir-köt village affords room for small terraces these are covered with the debris of stone walls marking ancient habitations.

Above the highest of these terraces there rises an imposing stretch of wall, massively built of carefully set stone slabs, to a height of close on 50 feet. This wall continues at the same height to the north and is traceable, less well preserved, all along the steep river front. Where it reaches the narrow western side of the hilltop I could trace remains of small towers or bastions intended to ward off any attack that might be attempted from the narrow ridge below. Beyond this the hill is faced by sheer cliffs and no defences were needed to make the summit wholly unassailable. I found the whole of the circumvallated level

area on the top covered with ruined walls of decayed habitations and plentiful potsherds of pre-Muhammadan type.

Regard for the great extent of territory to be surveyed would not allow me to attempt systematic excavation either here or elsewhere. But I may at least mention the curious relics of ancient means of defence found on the western line of wall. Here we came upon numbers of round water-worn stones, undoubtedly brought from the river bed to be used for slings or heavier missiles. In a heap near one of the ruined towers we found a regular little 'dump' containing some thirty-eight rounds of this antique ammunition.

The value of Bir-kōṭ as a safe place of defence was greatly increased by the assured supply of water. So long as the hill-top was defended it was practically impossible for an enemy to cut off access to the river; so steep are the bluffs overhanging the river. Yet even thus care had been taken to make assurance doubly sure. For I was shown two rock-cut passages leading into the hill from above the river and lined with ancient masonry up to where fallen rock had blocked them. Local tradition rightly holds that they served to make access to water still more secure.

Many ancient coins are found on the top and slopes of the Bir-kōṭ hill, especially after rain. The plentiful specimens of pre-Muhammadan copper coins brought to me while encamped at Bir-kōṭ range from issues of the Greek rulers of Bactria and the Indian Frontier down to mintages of the Indo-Scythian kings and the Turkish Shāhis of Kābul. They alone would suffice to prove the early occupation of the stronghold. But that it already existed when Alexander made his triumphant advance to the Indus I was soon led to conclude by comparison of the topographical and archaeological facts which Alexander's historians tell us of the siege of Bazira or Beira.

After crossing the Guraios or Panjkōra river Alexander had entered the country of the powerful nation of the Assakēnōi. That this could be no other than Swāt a reference to the map shows, as was recognised long ago. The Assakēnōi had assembled a great force to oppose Alexander's advance. But this host did not dare to encounter him in the open and dispersed to their several towns. Geographical considerations I have set forth elsewhere show that the several fortified towns which Alexander successively besieged and captured were all situated in the main Swāt valley. Its lower portion then as now must have held the major part of the agricultural wealth and population of the land. There can be little doubt that Alexander gained it by what in ancient times, as at present, was the direct and most convenient route, leading down to the strategically important river crossing now guarded by the fort of Chakdara.

There is good reason to suppose that the important town of Massaga

which he first besieged, and by the overmastering effect of his war engines soon captured, was situated in Lower Swāt. But as Arrian does not furnish in this case definite topographical indications, the exact location of Massaga cannot be settled at present.

Fortunately we are in a better position as regards Bazira. Alexander after the capture of Massaga had dispatched a force under Koinos against Bazira while other troops, partly cavalry, were sent ahead to invest Ōra, another town, until he himself arrived. Koinos had no success before Bazira; for its people, we are told, "trusted to the strength of the position which was very elevated and everywhere strongly fortified." So when Alexander learned of the risk of finding Ōra reinforced by neighbouring barbarians whom Abisares, the powerful chief of the present Hazāra to the east of the Indus, was instigating, he decided to push on there himself, taking with him most of Koinos' troops. The remainder were left behind in a fortified camp with orders to prevent the inhabitants of Bazira from access to their lands. An attack which the people of Bazira made upon this small Macedonian force was repulsed with great slaughter, and when later the defenders learned of the fall of Ōra, they lost heart and at the dead of night evacuated their town.

The convergent evidence of position, remains, and name clearly points to Bazira being marked by the ancient stronghold on the Bir-kōṭ hill. This lies quite close to what nature has made the great highway up the Swāt valley; its great natural strength exactly answers the description given by Arrian of the position of Bazira. No assault could hold out promise of reducing such a fastness. It was, moreover, a position from which it was easy to block the main route leading up the Swāt valley and thus to interfere with Alexander's operations in that direction. So there was good reason for his decision to mask Bazira by a portion of Koinos' troops left in front of it.

The identification of Bazira with Bir-kōṭ, the 'castle of Bir,' is fully confirmed by the latter's name; for as I have shown elsewhere by a detailed analysis of the philological evidence, the first part of the modern name, *Bir*, is the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient local designation, **Bayira* or **Bajira*, which the Greek form *Bazira* was intended to convey. In Curtius' narrative significantly enough it figures with a slightly varied transcription as *Beira*.

With the firm footing secured here my task of tracing the other localities connected with Alexander's Frontier campaigns was greatly facilitated. When a short half day's march up the valley had brought me to the large village of Ude-grām, I discovered that the rugged hill range rising immediately above it to the south held a large and obviously very ancient mountain fastness. The site known to the local Pathāns as 'King Gira's Castle' was difficult enough to explore. It

cost us two days of stiff climbing along precipitous rock faces and along lines of walls that were carried in places over almost impossible slopes.

Above a well-wooded little valley there converges an amphitheatre of steep rocky spurs, closed at the back by the serrated crest of the hill range, fully 2,000 feet above Ude-grām. Where this narrow serrated crest overlooks the fertile side valley of Saidu, nature for hundreds of yards has provided absolutely impregnable defences; for the crest falls away on that side in sheer vertical rock walls. Yet even over these the line of the ancient wall could be traced. From both ends of this crest massive buttressed walls had been carried down to points from 800 to more than 1,000 feet lower. There the circumvallation sweeps in an arc round the hollow formed by converging ravines. There it is carried across a torrent bed, narrow and rock-lined, and in this we found a fine perennial spring gushing from among the big boulders that fill the bottom of the otherwise dry ravine. Massive outworks boldly carried over precipitous slopes were meant to protect this spring, the only source of water within the fortified area, and hence essential for its use as a place of safety.

Wherever the slopes within afforded room ruined walls of houses marked ancient occupation. Their far-advanced decay was clear evidence of their great antiquity. Low crumbling walls of other ancient structures could be traced plentifully amidst thick growth of scrub in the little valley below and at the foot of the spur that bears the south-western flanking wall of the stronghold. A succession of walled-up terraces afforded here the easiest approach to the fortified area, and accordingly there rose at this point a particularly massive bastion guarding it.

I cannot pause to describe the many points of romantic interest revealed by my survey of 'Raja Gira's castle,' nor can I detail the archæological evidence in the shape of antiques, coin finds, etc., which supports the location here and at the ruined site traceable below it of the town of Ōra.

Arrian's brief mention of Ōra supplies no direct topographical hint. He tells us that when the place had been partially invested by the force Alexander had sent ahead its inhabitants made a sally. "This was repulsed by the Macedonians without difficulty, and the inhabitants driven back within their walls." When Alexander himself had arrived before Ōra we are told merely that "he took the town on the first assault against its walls, and secured the elephants left behind there."

So much, however, is clear from Arrian's previously mentioned account of Alexander's operations after the capture of Massaga that Ōra was situated higher up the main Swāt valley than Bazira. Now Upper Swāt above Bir-kōṭ shows, at the present day, a number of large places

which might be called towns. But at none of these, apart from Udegrām, did I succeed in tracing definite evidence of ancient fortification. This negative fact would by itself suffice to draw our attention to Udegrām as the probable position of Ōra. But more reliance, I believe, can be placed on the name of Udegrām itself. This is certainly a compound of which the second part is the term *-grām*, 'village,' well known to most Dardic and Indo-Aryan languages and very common in the local names of Swāt. The first part, *Ude*, is pronounced with the cerebral consonant *d*, which to European ears always sounds like an *r*, and often undergoes this change in modern Indian and Dardic languages. Thus we may well recognize in Arrian's *Ōra* the Greek rendering of an earlier form of this name *Ude*.

What Arrian tells us of the impression produced among the Assakēnoi by the fall of Ōra is a proof of the importance attaching to the place. Not only did the people of Bazira abandon their own stronghold, but in addition we learn that "thus the other barbarians, too, did; leaving their towns, they all fled to the rock in that country called Aornos." To Arrian's description of that mighty mass of rock and to his account how the fame of its impregnability fired Alexander with the ardent desire to capture it I shall recur when relating my subsequent search for it by the banks of the Indus.

In the Swāt valley itself the capture of Ōra had brought Alexander's operations to a triumphant conclusion; for we learn from Arrian's narrative that after establishing Macedonian garrisons at Massaga, Bazira and Ōra the conqueror turned south to the Peshawar valley. There he established his junction with the division of the army that had preceded him down the Kābul river, and then moved east to the Indus for the conquest of Aornos.

We shall presently have to follow him on this crowning enterprise of his campaign previous to the invasion of India. Before this, however, I may let you have a few rapid glimpses of what my explorations right up the Swāt valley showed me of the beautiful alpine tracts which the rise to power of the 'Bādshāh' Miāngul Abdul Wahāb had allowed me to enter as the first European. At Saidū, not far from the town of Mingaora, where the river makes its great bend, I visited the ruler at his hereditary seat. Busy as I was kept by excursions to the numerous Buddhist ruins in the fertile side valleys around, I managed to see a good deal of the remarkable personality of the ruler and to learn something of his past struggles as well as of the administrative methods by which he carries on his enlightened but duly cautious policy.

It was here that by the ruler's command our party was joined by his active commander-in-chief, who along with his personal bodyguard and other men-at-arms assured safety as well as needful arrangements about supplies and transport.

Then on successive marches up the main valley northward, here still broad and fertile, I was able to visit Manglawar, one of Swāt's old capitals, and to trace and identify a number of those Buddhist sites which Hsüan-tsang, my 'Chinese patron saint,' and other pious pilgrims from China had seen here and described. I may mention among them the spot by the side of the river's right bank where the Buddha was believed on one of his peregrinations through Swāt to have washed his monk's garments. A huge boulder still found there with curious markings was believed to have retained impressions from the fabrics the Master of the Law had hung up there to dry. Elsewhere near the hamlet of Tirāt I found a large stone block bearing in shallow engraving the outlines of two footprints of truly imposing size. An inscription in early Indian script and language engraved below proves that this was the stone that was believed to show the miraculous footprints left behind by the Buddha. According to the Chinese pilgrim's account, their "size varied according to the religious merit of the measurer."

Beyond we entered the uppermost portion of the Bādshāh's dominion known by the name of Tōrwāl. Here the remnants of the pre-Muhammadan population of Swāt had found a refuge before the Pathān invasion and retained their old Dard speech as well as the physical characteristics of their race. The alpine isolation of this hill community, an independent tribal republic until a few years before, had helped to preserve here varied traces of an older civilization, as illustrated by fine wood-carvings in the headmen's houses showing motifs unmistakably derived from the Hellenistic art once prevailing in ancient Gandhāra and Udyāna.

But still more fascinating to me were the glorious views obtained all along our progress up the narrow gorge in which the Swāt river has cut its way here between steep forest-clad mountain sides. From above Maukiāl, the peaks covered with ice and snow, which I had first sighted from the Malakand, gleamed as if quite near. They rise to close on 19,000 feet, and mark the divide between the drainage of the Swāt river and the Indus Kohistān.

Then when I had reached above Pēshmāl, the northernmost limit of the Bādshāh's kingdom, there lay spread out before me the wide alpine basin of Kalām, still preserving its tribal independence. Around it there could be seen rising the great snowy ranges which divide the Swāt river's headwaters from the Hindukush territories of Chitrāl, Mastūj and Kandia. It was a very impressive panorama, and all this alpine ground right up to the watersheds wholly unexplored. Its attraction was great. But neither the early season nor regard for political considerations would then have permitted a forward move beyond the Bādshāh's border.

Instead I had to retrace my steps down the Swāt valley to below Tōrwāl and thence to make my way across the Indus watershed into the valleys drained by the Ghōrbānd river. It was a portion of the

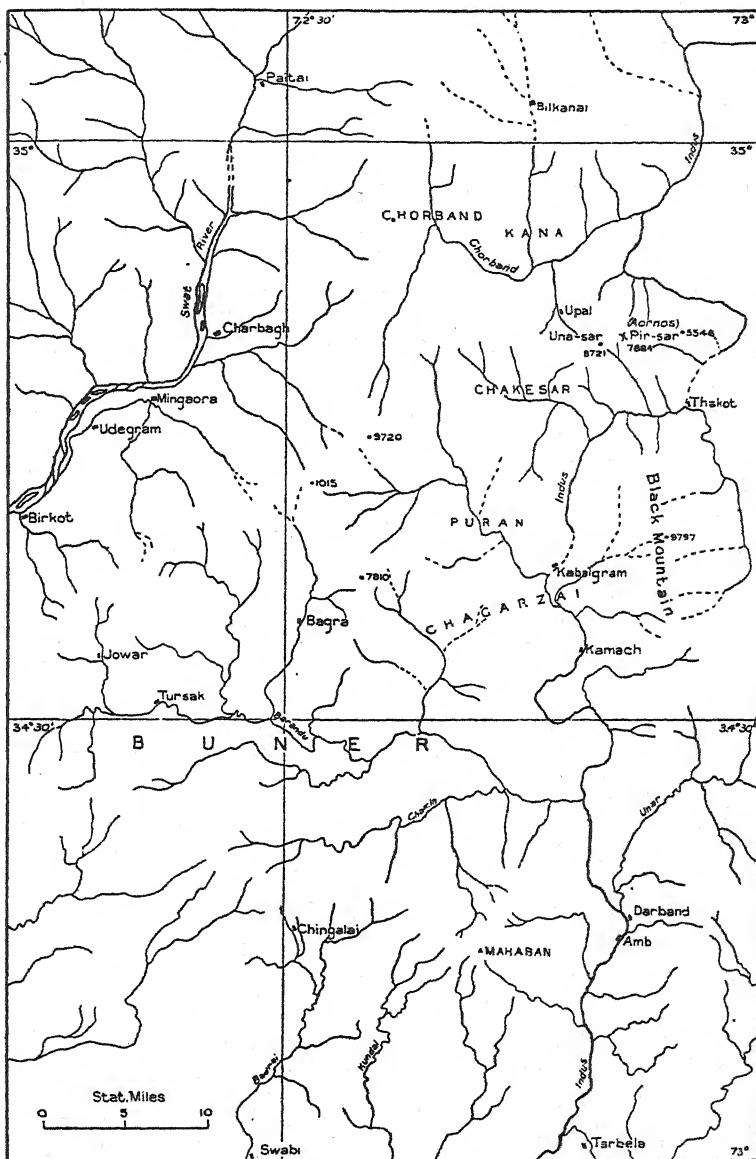
Indus Kohistān, forming the latest addition of tribal territory to the Bādshāh's dominion. There were interesting observations to be made there, too. But I must hasten to bring you to what was the direct object of this move, the search for the 'Rock of Aornos.'

To trace the position of this great natural stronghold, the scene of one of the most famous of Alexander's exploits, was an aim of outstanding interest. Ever since my visit of 1904 to Mount Mahāban had proved the long-accepted but wholly conjectural location of Aornos there to be untenable, I had been anxious to look for it higher up on the Indus. Arrian's narrative tells us that after the fall of Ora all the Assakēnoi left their towns and fled to the 'Rock of Aornos.' Thereupon Alexander, instead of pursuing the fugitives to their mountain retreat, reputed to be impregnable, moved from Swāt into the Peshawar valley, where the major portion of his army had already preceded him down the Kābul river. There he organized the Macedonian control over this important district and then proceeded eastwards to the Indus.

Arrian states that a story current about Herakles himself having been baffled by that mighty mass of rock had particularly stimulated Alexander's ambition to effect its capture. However this may be, it seems safe to assume that his decision was due quite as much, if not more, to the strategic principle invariably kept in view by Alexander of never leaving an enemy behind him until he had been completely crushed. Arrian does not explicitly tell us that Aornos was situated on the right bank of the Indus. But the narratives of Diodorus and Curtius agree in distinctly indicating this position, and there are strong reasons independently pointing the same way. A look at the map shows that a mountain fastness by the Indus was bound to offer special advantages to the Assakēnoi as a safe place to retreat to.

The main Swāt valley was occupied by Macedonian posts, and thus the routes leading south and west were closed to the fugitive population. No safe refuge from invasion could be sought in the north, for, quite apart from the rigours of the winter prevailing at the time on such high ground, the local resources of Tōrwāl and the other heads of valleys draining into the Swāt and Panjkōra would have been too limited for a great host of fugitives. Conditions were far more favourable for a retreat to the east. Here large and for the most part fertile tracts stretching down to the east could be reached across several easy passes. The Swāt-Indus watershed range would serve as a natural barrier against pursuit by the invaders of Swāt. And, finally, access to the Indus would enable the retreating host, as yet partly undefeated, to draw help from the side of Hazāra across the river or else to seek safety in that direction.

Thus it is easy to explain why the retreat of the inhabitants of Upper Swāt had led them eastwards to the Indus. In the same way



we can understand the sound strategic reasons which caused Alexander before attacking Aornos first to turn south to the Peshawar valley. Once he had consolidated his hold there he could safely move up the Indus on its right bank and attack the mountain retreat of the Swat fugitives from the south. He could thus command all the resources which the valley of the Indus and the broad plains of the Peshawar district could offer. And besides there was the advantage that the defenders could be cut off from retreat to the east of the Indus, and from such assistance as Abisares, the ruler of what is now Hazāra, on that side might offer.

So much for the reasons which justified the assumption that the site of Aornos was to be sought for near the right bank of the Indus. But where was a likely position actually to be found for the famous rock fastness? The tribal territory on the right bank of the Indus had remained closed to Europeans, just as it was when I looked longingly towards it from the height of Mahāban in 1904. Yet in the course of the last Black Mountain expedition, directed in 1892 against the Pathān tribes on the Hazāra border, some of the hilly ground on the opposite side of the Indus had been observed from a distance and roughly sketched by survey parties.

It was on the strength of impressions then gained that my lamented friend, Colonel Wauhope, of the Survey of India, had in 1919, when we discussed the problem of Aornos, directed my attention to the end of the long range that stretches from the head of the Ghōrband valley due east to where the Indus flows in a big bend round its foot above Thāköt. Enquiries subsequently made on my behalf by Colonel James, then Political Agent on the Malakand, pointed to the high ridge of Pir-sar, an eastern outlier of that range, as a position that might correspond to the Greek descriptions of Aornos. But not much reliance could be placed on the reports of native informants, and only by actual examination on the spot could the question be cleared up.

It was with this object in view that I had made my way by the evening of April 25 to the small village of Upal, situated at an elevation of about 5,000 feet on the way to the pass by which a mule track from the Ghōrband valley to Chakēsar crosses that range. On the following morning we set out on foot for what proved a long and tiring day's climb. The ascent to the crest brought me first past the little cultivated plateau of Chāt, where a small ruined circumvallation, by its masonry and pottery debris, clearly indicated ancient occupation.

But there was more encouragement for me when I first heard the name of Mount *Ūṇa* mentioned by our Gujar guide. It was the name applied to what was believed to be the highest peak of the range; and immediately below Mount *Ūṇa*, in the direction of the Indus, he told us, there lay the big alp of Pir-sar, cherished by the local Gujars both

for grazing and cultivation. It did not take me long to realize that *Ūṇa*, pronounced with that cerebral *n* which in Pashtu represents a nasal affected by a preceding or following *r* sound, would be the direct phonetic derivative from the Dardic or Sanskrit name that Greek tongues had endeavoured to reproduce by Aornos. But, of course, this philological indication could carry weight only if the actual topographical conditions at Pir-sar were found to agree with reliable details recorded about the siege of Aornos.

After the crest of the wooded range had been gained at a height of about 8,000 feet, our progress lay in delightful alpine scenery. But it was distinctly trying, for the track led along the rocky and precipitous southern face of the range, and kept close to its crest, with all its ups and downs. I was glad when at last the first view of the Indus was caught through the forest. But not until after much further scrambling we had reached the open top of a spur descending from Mount *Ūṇa*, did we come in sight of the bare rocky summit, rising to 8,720 feet, according to the triangulation effected on the last Black Mountain expedition.

The long and flat-topped ridge of Pir-sar was seen stretching away from it southward. It presented a very striking view as it rose there, girt all round with cliffs, above the steep ravines which were seen to run down to the Indus, over 5,000 feet below. Pir-sar seemed near enough across the deep valley separating us from it, but in the end it took us fully three hours more to reach it. First we had to get past the steep central summit. It is known as *Ūṇa-sar*, "the head of *Ūṇa*," while the simple name *Ūṇa* is applied to the whole of the massif, and its highest spurs including also Pir-sar. The southern face of *Ūṇa-sar* falls away lower down in sheer cliffs. So we had first to ascend to some 200 feet below the actual summit before crossing to the northern well-wooded side of the mountain. Thence we made our way along steep gullies, where the snow still lay thick, to the small tree-girt alp of Būrimār.

From a distance it had seemed as if Būrimār linked up with the wooded conical height marking the northern end of the long ridge of Pir-sar. But on passing down the gentle slope of the grassy alp to its lower edge I discovered that a deep and precipitous ravine still separated us from that height. It was a surprise far from pleasant for tired men, now that dusk was rapidly coming on. But as we stumbled down among rocks and pines to the bottom of the narrow ravine, some 600 feet below, a thought soon struck me. Was this not the deep gap on Aornos which at first baffled the Macedonian attack, after Alexander had joined the detachment sent ahead under Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, near the top of the mountain? When we arrived at last at the bottom of the gully it proved a very confined saddle less than 40 yards long and only 10 yards across. Fallen trees encumbered it and also lay

thick in the narrow ravines descending on either side. Then my thoughts naturally turned to the mound which Alexander is said to have had constructed across the gap with cut trees and stakes in order to render an assault possible.

We had now arrived below the high northern end of Pir-sar itself. The climb past the precipitous cliffs lining the slopes of the Bar-sar, the 'top hill,' as this height is known, was fatiguing. Fortunately, towards the end the moon rose sufficiently high to give a surer footing. But it was a relief when at last open ground was reached where the flat portion of the ridge adjoins Bar-sar. We passed next over nearly a mile of practically level ground before arriving at our camping-place near the centre of the long flat plateau. The full moon showed it all along covered with verdant fields of young wheat and barley. It was a sight well adapted to impress me with the remarkable natural advantages this ridge could offer in ancient times as a mountain refuge.

It was the search for Aornos that had led me to Pir-sar, and the careful survey which kept me for three days on that remarkable plateau convinced me that there I had found Aornos. The topographical evidence upon which this opinion is based has been fully set forth by me elsewhere.* Here I can indicate it only in briefest outline. But before doing this it will be convenient to sum up however succinctly the main facts recorded as to Alexander's operations which led to the capture of the rock fastness. We may best take them from Arrian's account which is clear and instructive in its topographical details. Here it may claim special confidence: for Ptolemy, son of Lagos, one of Alexander's trusted generals and the first of the Ptolemies of Egypt, whose narrative Arrian claims as his chief authority, had played a very important part in the conquest of Aornos.

Alexander after reducing some towns situated on the Indus arrived at Embolima. This place, mainly on the strength of the similarity of the names, has been supposed to be identical with the present Amb on the right bank of the Indus, well beyond the border of the Peshawar district. There he established a base of supplies in case Aornos necessitated prolonged investment, and left behind a portion of his force. He himself with selected light-armed troops moved towards the 'Rock.' It was said that it had an elevation of eleven stadia, corresponding to about 6,600 feet, and that on its summit there was timber and much good arable land, besides plenty of water from a spring. It was ascended by a single path, and that difficult.

Having reached the neighbourhood of the 'Rock' after two marches, Alexander sent Ptolemy under local guidance to occupy a high

* See "On Alexander's Track to the Indus" (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1929), pp. 128 sqq.

position suited for an attack. Ptolemy "following a route which was trying and difficult" secured this position without being perceived by the defenders, and having fortified it signalled to Alexander from a high part of the mountain by a beacon. Alexander next day moved forward with his force, but owing to the difficult ground and the valiant resistance offered was baffled in a direct attack. Ptolemy was then in turn attacked by the barbarians, but maintained his position. Alexander overnight informed Ptolemy of his change of plan, and next morning led his troops by the track previously followed by Ptolemy. After much hard fighting on the steep ascent lasting from daybreak till the afternoon, he gained the pass over which a junction with Ptolemy was secured.

A move was then made towards the Rock itself, but an assault upon it was still impracticable. A deep ravine separated the height on which the Macedonians were encamped from the 'Rock.' So Alexander directed a mound to be constructed with cut timber across the ravine in order to make it possible for arrows and for missiles from engines to reach the defenders. On the first day the mound was extended the length of a stadion. On the following day . . . "the bolts shot from the engines drove back the sallies made by the Indians on those engaged upon the mound. The work of piling it up went on for three days without interruption. On the fourth day a few Macedonians had forced their way to and secured a small hillock level with the Rock. Alexander without ever resting drove the mound forward intending to join it with that hillock."

But when this was achieved (according to Curtius after seven days' and nights' toil) the Indians, terror-struck by the audacity of the Macedonians, abandoned resistance and started negotiating for the surrender of the fastness. Their real intention was to disperse by night. Alexander perceiving this gave them time to start their retreat. Then with seven hundred selected men he scaled the rock where it had been abandoned. "At a preconcerted signal they turned upon the retreating barbarians and slew many of them in the flight. Some others retreating in terror flung themselves down the precipices and died. Alexander thus became master of the Rock."

With this clear and sober record of Arrian the accounts of the other historians of Alexander, Diodorus and Curtius, agree in all essential points. So I may turn at once to a rapid survey of the actual topographical features of and around Pir-sar and then show how closely they fit those which are implied by the above details of Alexander's siege of Aornos. Pir-sar is the greatest and most conspicuous of a series of narrow spurs which the massif of Una throws out to the south before it drops rapidly towards the low plateau of Maira, washed at its foot by the Indus. Of these spurs Pir-sar preserves its height for the longest

distance, the practically level portion extending for over a mile and a half at an average elevation of about 7,100 feet. Owing to the uniform level and the very fertile soil its summit affords most scope both for cultivation and grazing. Owing to its greater height and the depth of the valleys on either side Pir-sar forms a dominating position. As it overlooks all other spurs the panoramic views I enjoyed during my stay there were wonderfully extensive, ranging from the great ice-crowned peaks above Kandia and the Swāt river's headwaters down to the Indus plain above Attock.

The name *Pir-sar*, "the holy man's height," applies properly to the level top of the spur, and is derived from the supposed resting-place of a saint, marked by a small shrine near the middle. Some two dozen rude wooden habitations scattered along the top are regularly occupied during the spring and summer by Gujar families cultivating the fields and grazing the northward slopes. On the east and west the spur falls away with very steep rocky slopes. In places these form sheer cliffs, while in others pines and firs have secured a footing. The southern end of Pir-sar rises into a small but conspicuous hillock, known as *Kuz-sar*, 'the lower height.' Below it the spur throws out three rocky branches all flanked by precipices. It is by skirting the western one which juts out like a bastion that a difficult path winds up to the plateau top.

The western slope of Pir-sar descends very steeply for some 2,000 feet into a very confined valley. The bottom of this forms in parts an impracticable ravine. On the opposite side of the valley rises the small spur of Balai, flanked by formidable bare cliffs. A deep ravine divides this spur from a much longer one, known as Danda-Nürdai. Its narrow serrated crest is crossed by two passes. The lower one, called Pézal-kandao, with an elevation of about 4,000 feet, gives access to a portion of the valley from which the southern end of Pir-sar can be gained by the difficult path I have mentioned. Across the other pass, at a height of about 6,500 feet, a somewhat easier route leads behind the Danda-Nürdai spur to glassy slopes of an alp, known as Little Una, and thence to the track passing along the top of the main range.

The slopes of Pir-sar facing east also descend very steeply. But the ground beyond is more open, as the main range after throwing off the commanding spur of Pir-sar very soon falls off in height and resolves itself into a succession of short knolls and ridges, all bare and devoid of trees and water.

At its northern extremity the Pir-sar plateau is very effectively guarded by the bold conical hill of Bar-sar, the 'upper height.' This rises to about 800 feet higher than the plateau and on its top portion is very steep and rocky. This is the case throughout along the west side where Bar-sar approaches the Una massif in the axial line of the main

range. But just here the continuity of the range is broken by the deep and precipitous ravine that we encountered on our first approach to Pir-sar. I have already described our troublesome descent from Büri-mār to the bottom of this ravine. But the angle at which the narrow rocky arête from the top of Bar-sar runs down to it is still steeper. The succession of crags in places, almost vertical, is broken only at one point where a small projecting shoulder known as Māshlun, quite flat at the top, juts out at a height of about 450 feet above the bottom of the ravine. Behind it precipitous cliffs, very difficult to climb, rise for another 350 feet to the summit of Bar-sar. On this summit I found the remains of an ancient fort, and to the antiquarian interest afforded by this and by the shoulder of Māshlun I shall presently recur.

This rapid survey will suffice to bring home the exceptional advantages presented by Pir-sar as a place of safety and natural stronghold for the ancient inhabitants of this region. Its great elevation, more than 5,000 feet above the Indus, would alone make attack difficult. The extent of level space on the top would permit of the assembly of large numbers. The great height and steepness of the slopes was bound to make defence here easy in times when those fighting from a superior height had every advantage on their side. Finally, we must remember the great strength of the general position, protected as more than two-thirds of it is by the great bend of the Indus.

The acquaintance now gained with the local features of Pir-sar and its environs makes it easy to recognize there all the topographical details of Aornos as the account of Alexander's siege presents them. The position by the Indus and the great height of Pir-sar above it fully agree with them. The commanding height which Ptolemy's light-armed detachment was sent ahead to occupy could most conveniently be gained on the small plateaus on either flank of Ūṇa-sar. Various considerations point to the gently sloping alp of 'Little Ūṇa' immediately below the western flank of Ūṇa-sar as the most likely site for Ptolemy's fortified encampment. The route leading up to it from the Indus is regularly used by the local Gujars when moving to the pastures on the main range. As it lies up the valley west of the Danda-Nūrdai ridge, Ptolemy's move would well at first remain hidden from the defenders.

At the same time we can realize how easy it was for the enemy collected on Pir-sar to obstruct Alexander's march up that same valley once Ptolemy's preceding move had been discovered and Alexander's first attempt at a direct attack, probably across the Pézal-kandao pass, was brought to a standstill by those in possession of the higher ground. Not until the pass at the head of that valley had been taken could the junction with Ptolemy's force be effected, and considering its elevation and the steepness of the Danda-Nūrdai spur, Arrian's description of the severe struggle required to take it cannot have been exaggerated.

Once the Macedonian forces were united on the commanding height of Una-sar the further advance towards the rock which Arrian mentions as having been made during the remainder of that hard-fought day could present no great difficulty. That it then stopped is fully explained by the great natural obstacle met, the Bürimär-ravine. The general character of this ravine, its great depth and the precipitous nature of its slopes, fully account for Alexander's resort to the construction of a mound. The very steep rocky slopes stretching down from the Bar-sar hill into the ravine could not be attacked with any chance of success unless they were brought within the range of missiles. This range was only some 300 yards for the *ballistai* and *katapeltai* of the Greek artillery of that period, while the distance between the Mäshlun shoulder of Bar-sar and the opposite slope below Bürimär is certainly not less than 500 yards. The use made of timber for the construction of the mound fully agrees with the abundance of tree growth that we still found on the slopes above and below the Bürimär plateau.

The small hillock to which a few Macedonians on the fourth day had forced their way may safely be identified with the shoulder of Mäshlun. That there still rose a steep height above this 'small hillock' is shown by Arrian's description of the stiff climb which finally brought Alexander and his seven hundred to the top of the rock. This fully agrees with the fact that Mäshlun lies some 350 feet below the summit of the Bar-sar. I myself retain a very vivid recollection of the trying scramble over steep rocks by which I gained the summit of Bar-sar after visiting Mäshlun. That the height of Bar-sar was a very convenient place for the Macedonians to assemble and then at a preconcerted signal to fall upon the retreating barbarians, as related by Arrian, is obvious. So is also that some of the latter in their panic-stricken flight during the night lost their lives by falling down precipices below Pir-sar.

We have seen how closely all the topographical details of Pir-sar agree with what our classical records tell us of Aornos and Alexander's operations. But this identification is supported also by antiquarian and philological evidence. There is no suggestion whatsoever in our texts of the natural defences of Aornos having been strengthened by the hand of man. That it is ordinarily designated simply as *petra*, the 'rock,' is a significant indication of Aornos having been a purely natural stronghold. But Arrian tells us that Alexander after the capture built there a fortified post and entrusted its charge to Sisikottos, an Indian who had joined him in Baktra. In view of this statement it is of distinct interest that I found the much-decayed remains of a small fort deeply buried in earth and overgrown by forest on the summit of Bar-sar. Its walls occupy all the level space there is on the top, and in the light of what excavation was possible proved undoubtedly of considerable antiquity.

Whether these remains mark the spot where the fortified post erected under Alexander's orders stood is a question which cannot be answered without further investigation. But it is certainly noteworthy that the ruined fort protects just that height on which Alexander's final attack was delivered.

The old Gujars who had been summoned from the hamlets below as depositaries of local lore, knew of no tradition attaching to these ruined walls. Nor had they, of course, ever heard of the great Sikandar having visited these parts. But they had been told by their elders that Pir-sar had served as the summer residence of a Rāja called Sirkap, and this name of 'Rāja Sirkap' is widely attached to other ancient sites on both sides of the Indus.

The philological evidence to which I have referred is supplied by the name *Ūṇa*, also spelt *Ūṇra* in Pashtu, applied to the peak rising immediately above Pir-sar and also to the whole massif. In this name *Ūṇa* we may safely recognize the direct phonetic derivative of an earlier form **Avarna* such as the Greek name Aornos was most probably intended to reproduce. The changes involved are exactly in keeping with the phonetic development of both Dardic and Indo-Aryan languages.

During those strenuous but happy days I spent on the wind-swept height of Pir-sar, my thoughts became filled more and more with admiration for the unmeasured energy and ambition which had led Alexander to undertake and achieve the conquest of so inaccessible a mountain fastness. Equally impressed I was by the proof here afforded of the devotion and unremitting endurance of his Macedonians. The mere thought of the vast distances they had covered since they set out to follow their young king from the shores of the Ægean would have sufficed to cast glamour over the actual scene of one of their most arduous feats. Face to face with the tremendous difficulties that nature itself had here opposed to the invaders, I could only wonder that the story of Aornos should have escaped being treated altogether as a mythos.

It was hard for me to say farewell to this historical scene and to the grand mountain views it had offered. My onward way to Bunēr lay through hill tracts which also had remained unexplored and where there were more of Buddhist remains to survey. There is good reason to believe that parts of this country had seen Alexander and his hardy Macedonians in the course of the operations following the fall of Aornos. But the record preserved of them is too vague to permit of any definite identifications. We are told that after the sixteenth encampment Alexander arrived at the point lower down on the Indus where a bridge had long before been prepared by another portion of his army for the crossing.

Here, at the starting-point of his invasion of India proper, we must leave the great conqueror, and here I may bring to a close this account of how I traced the scenes of his campaign on the Indian Northwest Frontier. It was the invasion of the Panjab which has at all times exercised special fascination upon popular imagination. But if the greatness of the physical obstacles overcome is considered we must recognize that the success of the preceding operations afforded even more striking proof of Alexander's genius as a leader.

PLANT-HUNTING ON THE EDGE OF THE WORLD

ON January 16, Captain Kingdon Ward gave one of the best lectures of the session on Plant-hunting in the Mishmi Hills. In the absence of Lord Allenby in India, the Chair was taken by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Captain Kingdon Ward made two expeditions, the first to the Seinhu Valley, where he reached Diphuk La at the head of the valley, and went down on the other side, finding that the different climates on the two sides of the Pass—the one very rainy and moist, and the other dry and temperate—gave an extraordinarily interesting variety of plants which greatly delighted the botanists. He stayed up to see the flowers of the plants and marked them, and collected the seeds during the fine October, coming back down the Lohit Valley and then across to Sadaya with the intention of striking the same district from the Assam quarter the next season. All went well with him until he was 150 miles from Sadaya, when in the forest his servants bolted, leaving him alone with a boy. However, by hard marching they reached Sadaya safely. There he met Mr. Clutterbuck, and it was of this second expedition that he spoke most fully. They found the survey maps of India of this region inadequate, but it seemed feasible to attempt to reach the Lohit watershed by the Delei Valley. For two days all went well, and it seemed to them that they could get there. On the third day, however, they found the valley closing in to a ravine—there was no path. The sides were overgrown, and were impassable. No more could be done. It therefore became necessary to make for their base camp, and to explore the hillsides near at hand. They decided on a near peak, and in contrast to the fine weather in the Seingku Valley at this season in the previous year, they were now drenched for several weeks in mists, storms, and rains. In the steamy heat the trees were covered with moss, and in the tree-tops many small plants found their home. Mr. Clutterbuck was badly lamed by leech bites, and Captain Kingdon Ward had to press on alone through the tropical forest with its almost impassable undergrowth to the Alps above.

Beautiful slides illustrated the rhododendrons found on the journey up hill. The great tree-rhododendrons with their huge leaves gradually gave way to the smaller flowers, and then to the small bush plants. The seeds of some new species were found and were brought home. The story of the seed-collecting of these plants was not told to the Society

at this lecture, but was given later at a lecture to the Royal Geographical Society, and all members will look forward to reading it in the *Geographical Journal* and later on in Mr. Kingdon Ward's next book.

In this work they encountered great difficulties in getting porters among the Mishmis, who, although they were not actively hostile, were getting very tired of these strangers who wanted coolie labour.

Among other photographs some were shown of the only bridges by which they had to cross the ravines. In the more civilized parts these bridges were made of cane; in the wilder parts the bridges were made of rope or of creepers twined together.

Throughout his lecture Captain Kingdon Ward emphasized the fact that the survey of India, which was so complete on the north-west side of the Himalayas, had done comparatively little on this north-east part of the frontier. There were hundreds of unknown snow-peaks, and no maps could be got showing the exact lie of the country and the courses of the rivers. These hills and valleys were the botanist's paradise. From thence had been brought home the seeds of *Meconopsis betonicifolia Baileyi*. It now grew almost like a weed in many gardens, more especially in Scotland. Rhododendrons and all sorts of other plants from these hills were now acclimatized in England.

Colonel Bailey, after whom one species of Blue Poppy is named, spoke shortly, emphasizing the fact that although Captain Kingdon Ward had spoken so little of his own discomforts, it was difficult for the audience to realize what it meant to make this expedition among the Mishmis of whom little was known, and when a man depended entirely on the strength of his own personality to carry him through. (Applause.)

Sir George Barnes, Major F. C. Stern, and others asked questions about the plants, which Captain Kingdon Ward answered.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, in thanking the lecturer, said how very much the members of the Society appreciated Captain Kingdon Ward's kindness in lecturing on his extraordinarily interesting expedition, and congratulated him on his safe return and on the seeds he had brought home from those unexplored and almost unmapped hills.

THE FRONTIER OF BURMA*

BY J. T. O. BARNARD, C.I.E., C.B.E.

In the absence of Lord Allenby in India, the chair was taken by Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.M.G. In introducing the lecturer, Sir HARCOURT BUTLER said he had long known Mr. Barnard as one of the men whom the Frontier tribes most trusted and respected. In the expedition to what was known as the Triangle, the piece of land not under British administration, on that Burma Frontier where Mr. Barnard was his right-hand man, they had released 8,000 slaves without very much difficulty, although unfortunately Captain West had lost his life through the treachery of some of the tribesmen. No act of his had given him so much pleasure the chairman said as this, when he had brought the great gift of freedom to 8,000 men and women. Many talked lightly of slavery, but only those who were far away from it. There were some cases he had known where men stayed on with their old masters as servants, after they were freemen. But there were many terrible cases of cruelty, and all Englishmen who valued freedom should give their help to this work.

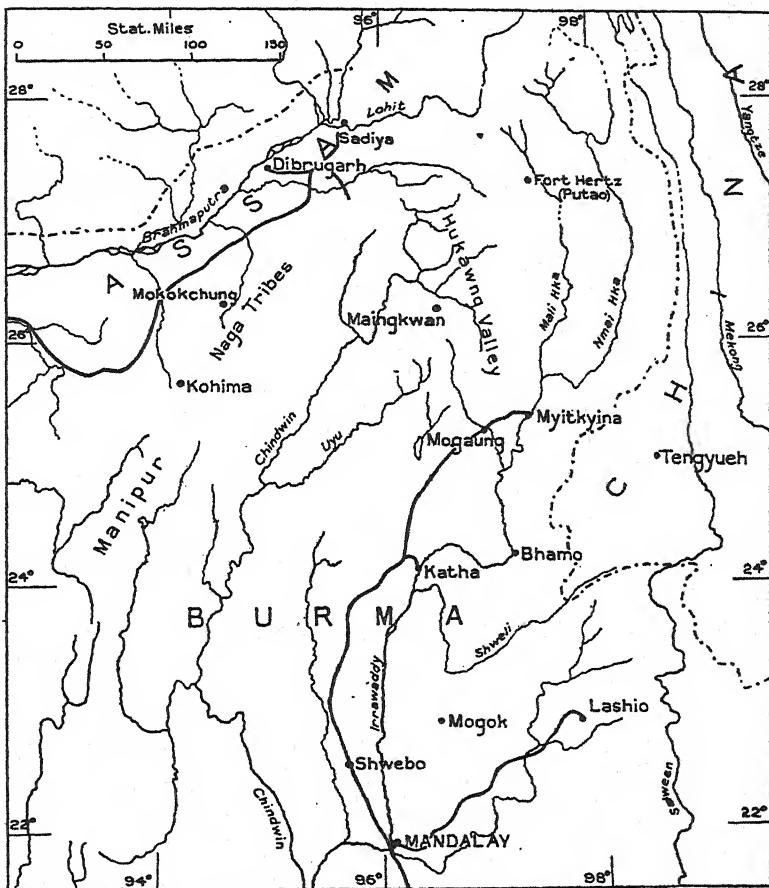
The Chairman then recalled cases where a slave had been sent to settle a blood feud, or as a marriage gift; when children were taken from their parents and sold; husband and wife sold separately. Tonight they had Lady Simon with them; she had devoted a great deal of time and energy to the suppression of slavery throughout the world. They all hoped her efforts would be completely successful. Slavery was the worst thing in the world. Mr. Barnard he knew, would give them a good lecture, and he hoped the audience would give him a great reception. (Applause)

IT is only in quite recent years that our geographical knowledge of the country surrounding the source of the Irrawaddy has so greatly enlarged. The same may be said too with regard to the savage tribes inhabiting these areas. With one or two small exceptions all the wild and mountainous tract of country lying to the north of Myitkyina has been mapped, and there is hardly a village there that has not been visited by a Government officer. I remember the time, not many years ago, when a day's ride from Myitkyina would bring one to the point where the administrative boundary of this district in the north terminated. Now, a long month's journey over mountain and down valley, across pleasant stream and turbulent torrent, would hardly suffice to reach the last Tibetan hut in the Seinhku-wang valley which pays its yearly tribute of one rupee to the Political Officer as he does his round of tax-collector, police officer and magistrate—all three offices rolled into one. In adding so extensively to our geographical knowledge of this part of the North-

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on February 12, 1930, Sir Harcourt Butler in the chair.

East Frontier of Burma, most excellent work has been accomplished by the Survey of India, under the guidance of Colonel E. T. Rich, C.I.E., R.E. His surveyors have laboured indefatigably in difficult country and under trying conditions. They deserve the highest praise, and I am pleased to have this opportunity of paying a tribute to them. In this newly acquired tract of country also are the graves of officers who have died in the cause of exploration: Pickthall, Hope-Jones, Pritchard, Darney, Farrar and West. May they all rest in peace!

My talk this evening will centre mostly round Myitkyina. It is the hub, as it were, of this part of the Frontier. To it come all the wild tribes bartering their sesamum and paddy for salt, yarn and trinkets for their women; and from it start the roads to the various Frontier outposts. Some of you may have been there, others no doubt have seen it on the map. It is the terminus of the railway, 724 miles north of Rangoon. Here resides a Deputy Commissioner under whose control the Frontier is; and here are the headquarters of two battalions of Military Police, consisting mostly of Gurkhas, very excellent soldiers, as we all know, with a special knack of getting on well with the wild tribesmen. Myitkyina is also accessible by river, but the Bhamo-Myitkyina section of the Irrawaddy, which holds the Third Defile, is open only during the cold season. There is no regular steamer service beyond Bhamo, and arrangements for travel by Government launch have to be made with the district authorities. During the rains the Irrawaddy brings down a large volume of water through this narrow defile where it is turned into a seething mass of deep whirlpools and relentless backwaters which no launch can face. Beyond Myitkyina the river goes on for many miles. From Rangoon to Myitkyina it is 1,110 miles long, and I estimate that it is another 700 miles or so to its source in Tibet. Twenty-six miles north of Myitkyina is the confluence beyond which no steamers can go. Here the river forks into two, the west branch being known as the Malihka and the east one the N'Maihka. Between the two lies the area called the Triangle, recently visited by the expeditions for the release of slaves about which we will hear later. The confluence is well known to the fishermen of Burma, for in its pools lie some mighty mahseer which afford most excellent spoon-fishing and may run to over a hundred pounds in weight. In north latitude $27^{\circ} 45''$ the N'Maihka is joined by the Taron, which is now, I think, admitted as the chief branch and therefore the true source of the Irrawaddy river. J. Bacot claims to have discovered the source on November 12, 1909, and according to him it rises in a glacier at north latitude $28^{\circ} 44''$ and east longitude $97^{\circ} 50''$. Captain, now Colonel, Bailey crossed this river on his journey from China to India, in 1911, where it was then about 20 yards wide. Both the N'Mai and Taron are not navigable except for small stretches here and there, and are very wild boisterous rivers,



running for the most part in deep V-shaped boulder-filled troughs. It was the Taron that claimed poor Pritchard as its victim on May 6, 1913. He and Waterfield had reached this point in their explorations. The natives turned nasty and loosened the single cane-rope bridge spanning the river. Pritchard as leader of the party decided to swim and connect the bridge. He was fastened by a rope by which Waterfield tried to rescue him when he got into difficulties in a rapid, but the rope broke and away went Pritchard never to be seen again by his party. Not long after this sad occurrence a white man's head with red hair and preserved in lime was brought into Weishi Tin in China. Was it Pritchard's? Who knows? But the arrival of the head was reported by the Chinese to Rangoon and instructions asked for its disposal. The Malihka is a more pleasant river than the other two mentioned above, running for the most part through a wide valley and receiving some very pretty tributaries. On its right bank lies Hkamti Long, or "The Place of Gold," as its name means, and the home of the Hkamti Shans, who though surrounded on all sides by wild tribes still retain their national character, their religion (Buddhism), and the remnants of the once proud state in which their ancestors lived in the old Shan kingdom of Nanchao. Till the British occupation of Hkamti they lived entirely at the mercy of the blackmailing Kachin, for with large villages and plenty of cattle they were an easy prey for the savages, who could swoop down on them from the hills, loot, and be away in no time. These Shans, so a Kachin told me, were the fire that kept the Kachins warm! When the Malihka is in flood, many bamboo rafts come floating down to Myitkyina with sometimes as many as a hundred passengers on board. But there is one defile, "Tinghpang," below Putao that cannot be negotiated, and at the head of which the raft has to be abandoned and another one made at its tail. This river journey from Putao to Myitkyina, about 300 miles, has been done in eight days. No continuous journey can be made upstream, but here and there are some nice long stretches of river navigable for dug-outs and rafts. Travelling by land in the Mali valley is much easier than in the valleys of the Upper N'Mai and Taron. Here in some places one must be goat-like to get along, and the swinging cane suspension bridges with their narrow footways require a head for heights to cross. I remember the first one I struck. I was unnerved by watching a Shan, laden with my gramophone, crossing. I had gone a few yards on the bridge and stuck, fascinated by the water swirling below, and had just enough self-control to turn and get back. I felt very foolish, especially as Strettell had crossed. Fortunately I could climb down to the water and swim the slack that lay above a rapid. I can assure you I swam, for if I did not reach a certain point on the other bank I would undoubtedly go down the rapid like Pritchard. I arrived on the other

side like an icicle, for it was in February and snow water. The natives' dread of water made me a hero to them. A couple of hours later I had to cross a similar bridge and managed it all right, for I took care to be the first to cross, and from that day on I experienced no trouble with these bridges.

Now we must turn to consider some of the frontier roads. The one leading north to Putao in Hkamti Long is 214 miles long, and starts from Myitkyina, and from Myitkyina, too, the launch takes one across and down the river to Waingmaw where roads lead to Forts Hpimaw, Harrison, and Morton. The Sumprabum section of the Putao road —*i.e.*, the first 135 miles—is being converted into a fair weather motor track. The work was sanctioned while Sir Harcourt Butler, our Chairman here tonight, was Governor of Burma, and he will no doubt be pleased to hear that it was nearing completion when I left Burma early last year. This road will not only be useful strategically, but will come as a boon to those stationed at this distant outpost. Beyond Putao the road continues to the foot of Salween Divide in one direction and to the boundaries of Tibet in another. The savages are excellent road-makers, and have done much under the guidance of Political Officers to improve communications in their hills. The suspension bridge at Ridam Gorge, over the N'Mai river, with a span of 354 feet and a height of 50 feet above low-water level, was designed and built by my Kachin Kayaingok and Lisus without any outside technical help at all. The roads to Forts Morton and Harrison have been in existence a long time, and the history of both these places belongs to that of the British occupation of Upper Burma. Hpimaw, in the N'Mai valley, claims our attention, for it has been a sore point with the Chinese since our occupation in 1910-11, when Mr. W. A. Hertz, C.S.I., led an expedition there. It was in this vicinity, too, that the Black Marus attacked Lieutenant Pottinger's party in 1897 while it was attempting to trace the N'Mai river to its source. In 1899, Mr. H. F. Hertz, of the Burma Police, with a force under Captains Holloway and Taylor, followed in Pottinger's footsteps, and meeting with resistance had a fight at Hpare. So Hpimaw has quite a history of its own, and has lately again come into prominence by the refusal of the Tengyueh Chinese officials to allow mules hired in China to work in this area and the Triangle. It appears that the students of Tengyueh started a Society for Studying Burma-Yunnan Frontier Affairs in 1927, when the British Government sent its first expedition into the Triangle. The Kachins then applied to Tengyueh for help, and now the Chinese claim that they occupied the Triangle in 1400 (?) and that its inhabitants are of Chinese descent! Absurd as this claim may seem it has had the effect of stopping the supply of mules from China for work in the Triangle and Hpimaw this year. Our position in Hpimaw has always been unsatisfactory, and the

quicker therefore that we have our boundary with China clearly defined the better. At present it ends at Manangbum (north latitude, $25^{\circ} 35''$). Beyond this point there has been no delimitation, though boundary pillars have been erected by us at the main passes on the Salween Divide to show that we claim as far as that. North of the Bhamo hill-tracts the whole of the Kachin hills now come within the jurisdiction of Myitkyina, but this was not always so, and one time a fairly big tract in the south came under Katha which adjoins Myitkyina. It was while serving in this district in 1898 that I came in contact for the first time with the Kachin and took part in the punitive operations against the Kara Lahpai tribe to the east of the railway line, which had turned hostile to Browne who was carrying out disarming operations there. His interpreter and four sepoys had been treacherously killed and his own party attacked. The rebel chief's son and family were hiding in a hut, and I was sent with forty rifles to capture them. Our arrival was a surprise, and the son dashed out of the hut with dead sepoy's *kulla* on his head, and was dropped dead with buckshot, and beheaded. When the sepoys had stopped pouring lead into the hut, we got out of it the chief's wife, his child, a very old woman, and a little monkey, all without a scratch on them, for, on finding themselves under fire they had torn open the bamboo flooring of the hut, which was on piles, and flattened themselves on the ground beneath while the bullets whizzed harmlessly over their heads. The old woman refused to walk, and had to be strapped on the back of one of our followers. If released she would certainly have given warning to the rebels and brought snipers after us. I had champagne that night for dinner at the Deputy Commissioner's expense, and later on the head was on view, by candle-light, in the village. Gruesome though this may sound, yet it had the effect of shortening the rebellion, and not long afterwards the ringleaders were caught and suitably punished. I kept the little monkey with me till I was transferred in 1899 to Fort Harrison in the Myitkyina district and close to China. Those were rough-and-ready days chasing raiders, with little time left for office work and files. The Kachin calls all writing *laika*, and is entirely ignorant of it, and this, no doubt, accounts for some officers, at one time, taking advantage of the Kachin's ignorance and getting rid of their old tailor's bills as summonses! The story—quite a true one, by the way—of the Kachin raider who used a page out of an illustrated catalogue as his authority for wiping out his enemy, is, I think, worth remembering. He is said to have pointed out a picture of a European gentleman resting in a deck chair as the very officer who had given him the order to raid.

It was about ten years after I had arrived in the Myitkyina district that reports began to come in of Chinese activity in the Hpimaw area and Hkamti Long. The Burma Government, in consequence, despatched

expeditions to both these places. Mr. W. A. Hertz was in charge of the one to Hpimaw, and I of the one to Hkamti Long. This was in the season 1910-11. One of the objects of my expedition was to appoint the Sawbwa, or Rajah of Lohkun, head of the Shans living in that plain. But the other seven Sawbwas, each thinking himself as good as the other, refused to have one head Sawbwa, so that intention had to be abandoned. It took us thirty-five days to get to Hkamti Long from Kamaing by way of the Hükaung Valley and Kamon Range. A great portion of the road had to be cut, and on some days we did hardly five miles. Some Kachin headmen en route refused our presents, saying: "Tell us you will not interfere with our slaves; that's all we want from you. Your presents you can keep; in fact, we can give you some." Quite outspoken they were. The Matayang headman who planted two spears—one bamboo and the other iron—with their points upwards, in front of my tent, and refused to take them away, was perhaps the boldest man we met. He wanted to let us know, so he said, that the Kachins did not want us and would like to fight, but they were like the bamboo spear, weak, and the British like the iron one, strong. After a lot of persuasion and in the early hours of the morning, the headman staggered back to his home with the two spears and a little too much rum, I fear, in him. Then there was Ngalang La, the Big Voice of the Triangle, who claimed that certain of the Shans were in his keeping, and wanted to know why I had come up without his permission. He got a Shan to write and ask me this while he remained hidden in Langnu village. I sent word to him to come and get his answer in person, but nothing could persuade him to make an appearance. All this had to be taken in good spirit, for it was essential for the success of our survey work to have the Kachins friendly. It is strange to find these Shan principalities in Hkamti Long surrounded on all sides by wild tribes. Theirs is a long history of constant internal strife. The contending parties invariably requisitioned Kachin help, and had to pay well for it. So in course of time the Kachins came to look upon the Shans as living under their protection, always taking from them more than they gave. Hence Ngalang La's claim.

The Hkamti Plain was formerly subject to Tibet, but about the thirteenth century the Shans, under the leadership of their Sawbwa, Sao Hsam Long, spread their conquests over it and across into Assam. Traces of the wild tribes who occupied the plain at that time and their language may still be found in Hkamti, but they have been practically all absorbed by the Shans, whose religion and customs they now follow. Who they were and whence they came is lost in the years that have gone, but they appear to have been closely allied to the Kachins and Nungs now found in the surrounding hills. Up to the time of the British occupation of Hkamti these tribes had to render service to the

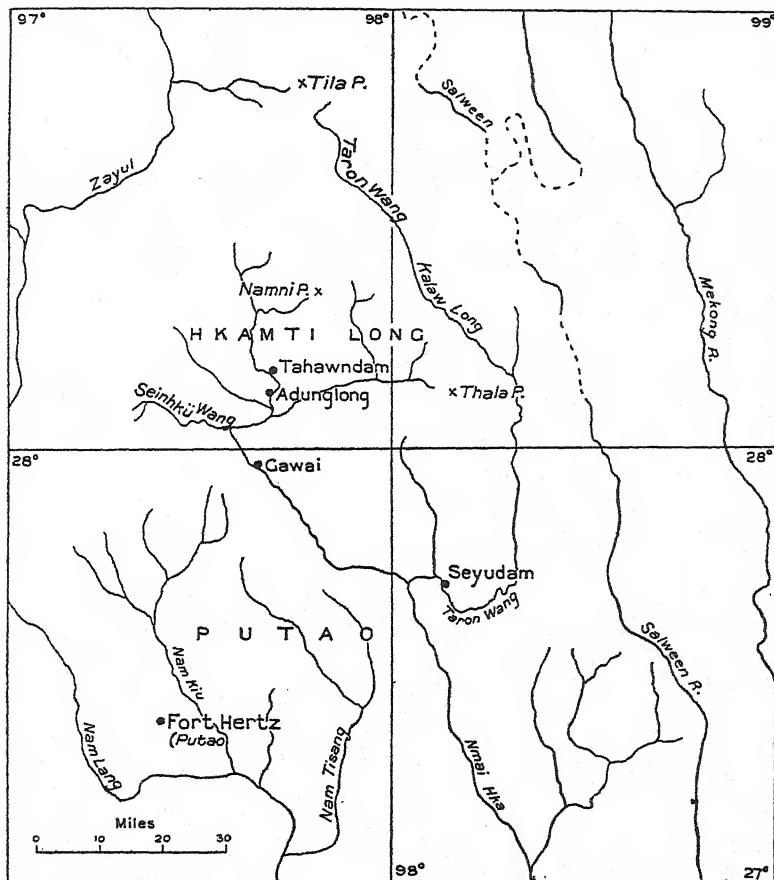
Sawbwas. They have now, of course, to pay a small money tribute to us, and therefore refuse to render the customary service to their Shan overlords, quoting the Shan proverb: "One shoulder cannot bear two yokes." The Longkyein clan seems to have been originally the most powerful of the Shans in the Plain, but it was disrupted and scattered by internal strife, and large numbers moved into Assam. It was with Assam, too, that the remaining Shans had their dealings, for in those days the way to Burma was barred by Kachin blackmailers, and only the more pious and daring Shans went that way to worship at the Pagodas in Mandalay and Rangoon. But all this has changed now, and the Shans go freely to Burma, while the paths to Assam are overgrown for want of traffic. In Burmese times Hkamti Long was part of Burma and paid tribute and homage to its king, being directly administered from Mogaung. But since it passed, with the occupation of Upper Burma, to the British, nothing had been done from the Burma side till 1910-11, though now and then a Sawbwa used to come to Myitkyina to pay his respects to the Deputy Commissioner there. The explorers Wilcox, Woodthorpe and Erol Gray had come by way of Assam, and when Young, in 1905, entered Hkamti from China, he also wended his way to Assam over the Chaukhan Pass. The expedition, under my leadership of 1910-11, was the first to be sent up from Burma. Hkamti Long itself is a plain about 200 square miles in area. The staple crop is rice, and opium used to be cultivated, and many of the people are addicted to the habit. Being only 1,200 feet high the plain is well within the malaria zone, and in the past has proved most unhealthy for the British garrison there.

Two other expeditions to Hkamti Long followed in 1911-12 and 1912-13, both of which I conducted, and in the season 1913-14 the whole of the country lying north of Myitkyina up to the confines of Tibet, leaving out the Triangle, and approximately 8,000 square miles in area came under British administration. By this time, too, the Hpimaw tract to the east of the N'Mai river had been brought under administration. All these square miles of wild country had been taken over without a shot being fired, except in the Ahkyang valley, where in 1913 a party of Chinese explorers offered resistance to and attempted to turn the Lisus against my party. In this encounter a military police havildar was killed and I slightly wounded. Previous to this encounter Captain, now Colonel, Strettel and I succeeded, in a night march, in capturing six of another Chinese party who were armed and had been touring the valley distributing tokens, headmen's orders, and Chinese flags amongst the Lisus and Nungs. From the Chinese documents which came into our hands that night it was proved beyond doubt that the Chinese were trying to establish themselves in the Hkamti Long district, and had in fact actually discussed the subject of an allotment

of land for this purpose with the local Sawbwas. In Hpimaw, too, evidence was not lacking of their activity there. It would have considerably weakened our position on the Frontier and been a constant menace to its peace if the Chinese had succeeded in carrying out their political intentions in these areas.

Unlike the hill-tracts lying to the north of Myitkyina just referred to above, the Hukaung valley was comparatively well known, and as far back as 1892 was brought under a railway survey. It is through this valley that one of the proposed railway routes between Burma and India lies. The Hukaung plain is about 200 square miles and inhabited by Chinghpaws (Kachins), while in the hills to the north and west are the Nagas. Through it meanders the Tānai or Chindwin river, with its innumerable tributaries, flooding the country in the rains. Walawpum, the first big Chinghpaw village in the Hukaung, is about seventy miles from the Mogaung railway station. The big Chief of 'Ndup 'Ntsa is no more. This old man lived in a cage in his house because he had a big blood feud and dare not take any risks. The Survey of India carried out a detailed survey of this country during 1918-23, and it was in the course of this survey that the question of slavery in the Hukaung and human sacrifice in the Naga hills came again into prominence. Slaves and persons doomed for human sacrifice appealed to the Survey officers for protection. This and the general movement throughout the world for the abolition of slavery in all its forms led the Government of Burma to decide that the time was ripe for action. That humans were being seized and sacrificed in places a few days' march from a British railway was a state of affairs that could not be tolerated any longer. Many of the slaves of the Hukaung had already bolted, and in some cases their owners had followed and killed and recaptured them in administered territory. In accordance with the policy decided on by the British Government, Sir Harcourt Butler visited the Hukaung valley—a long and arduous journey—and on January 27, 1925, convened a big Manao, to which came the Kachin and Naga chiefs from far and near. It was a big pow-wow and there was much palaver, but in the end it was agreed that all the slaves should be released and their owners compensated. Human sacrifice was a more knotty problem. The Nagas declared that they could never abandon this custom, for if they did not propitiate the big Nats or Spirits with the blood of humans they would rain sickness on them and blight on their crops. They were told that an officer would be sent to enquire into all these matters, but that human sacrifice would have to cease once and for all. Some of the slaves took immediate advantage of the Governor's announcement, and Sir Harcourt no doubt will remember the incident of Mrs. Walawpum's slave-cook who joined his party and refused to work for her mistress any longer. In March, 1925, I visited the Hukaung to formulate proposals for giving effect to

the Government's policy. The slaves were counted and a scale of compensation to be paid their owners fixed. This ranged from Rs. 15, or roughly £1, for children aged one to four years, to Rs. 120, or about £8, for slaves between twenty-one and forty-five. The other rates varied between these two age periods. Slaves over sixty were to be freed for nothing. The redemption money would be given as a loan recoverable in easy instalments to those slaves who decided to leave the valley, otherwise it would be given free by Government. This was to prevent a big exodus of slaves from the Hukaung, which would lead to an economic disturbance. These proposals were approved, and in 1925-26 I led an expedition to the Hukaung to carry out the release of the slaves. In all 3,466 slaves were released out of an estimated population of 7,903, and Rs. 171,858, or roughly £12,000, were paid to the slave owners, and the work of emancipation was completed by the end of March, 1926, without a hitch, thanks to the able assistance of my officers, Porter, Dewar, Frazer and Bowerman. Of the slaves released 2,051 were of Assamese origin. It is said that about two hundred years ago there was a big political upheaval in Assam, and many fled from there to the Hukaung, where some married slave women. When things were peaceful in Assam they wished to return there, but the Kachins refused permission, and they sank to the status of slaves, they and their children, and so the slaves multiplied, for all the offspring of a man slave are slaves. Here and there a few Assamese fugitives from the coal mines and tea gardens were found in slavery. The dark skins prominent in the Hukaung are due to this Assamese blood, even some Chiefs having this taint. The slaves had no idea of their ages and much amusement was caused in estimating these. From the Hukaung I returned to Burma via Assam in order to visit the human-sacrificing Nagas and meet Mr. O'Callaghan, Political Officer at Sadaya. We left Mainghkwan on March 31, 1926, and following the proposed railway route to India, crossed the Patkai Range at the Pangsoo pass (4,124 feet) and reached Ledo railway station in Assam on April 19, 1926. This path has since been improved for mule transport, but when we went it was hardly traceable in places and lay through damp and leech-infested forest. From Sadaya we went to Shillong for an interview with the Governor, Sir John Kerr, and thence continued our journey to Calcutta. I had a couple of Kachin Chiefs with me and they were so wonder-struck at all they saw as to be almost speechless at the end of their journey. What remains most indelibly marked on my memory of that trip is the potent odour of the Naga. I once dissected a decomposing cobra; that was bad enough, but the Nagas, I think, were worse. I saw the stocks both for the feet and the hands in which prisoners doomed for human sacrifice were kept. I saw skulls and shin bones hanging up in houses, and listened frequently to the gruesome details of how the victims were



pushed into eternity. Prior to a sacrifice there was great feasting and drinking. The victim was given all he wanted in the way of food and drink. He used to beg for a quick killing and got it, but if obstreperous he was knocked into insensibility, care being taken, however, not to fracture the skull, otherwise the offering would not be acceptable. The actual killing varied; sometimes a spear was driven through the back or the victim's head was cut off as he was being dragged out of the house. The head was then boiled and the skull cut in two, the front portion going to the victim's owner and the back to the executioner. These victims were generally brought from further west, where the big Naga villages are said to be constantly raiding one another. Intermediaries bought the victims and resold them in the sacrificing area, where sometimes as much as Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 was paid for one. Persons of any age or sex were sacrificed. The proposal of these Nagas that Government should supply the victims and hold one big final sacrifice for propitiating the Nats and abolishing this custom gives some idea of what little value human life is to these savages. The whole thing is very gruesome, but I am pleased to be able to say that from the latest reports I have seen this custom has now practically ceased both on the Upper Chindwin side and on the Myitkyina side. When it is remembered that it is only five years since Sir Harcourt Butler held his big Manao at Mainghkwan for the abolition of slavery and human sacrifice in these parts, I think the results achieved most satisfactory.

After the Hukaung Expedition the Government of Burma decided to release the slaves in the Triangle and in other administered areas where the practice still lingered. To this end an expedition was despatched to the Triangle to release the slaves there on the same terms as had been done in the Hukaung. But very little was known of the Triangle, and the people were less friendly, so the task there was to be a harder one. It was the last piece of Kachin land where the Chiefs held independent sway, and was looked upon as the homeland of all the Kachins. In January, 1927, before the first expedition left for the Triangle, Sir Harcourt Butler held a big Manao at Myitkyina, similar to the one he held in the Hukaung. To this came all the Triangle Chiefs. But their attitude was not submissive, and they asked that their country, which they described as being no bigger than a man's hand and filled with dirt, might be left alone. They were told that the expedition must go and the slaves be released. During this expedition, on March 26, 1927, the Lahpai tribe in the south of the Triangle attacked Porter's party, and Captain West and two others were killed and two were wounded, the enemy losing one killed by our Lewis gun fire when the ambuscade was discovered. Porter himself had a narrow shave. The path where the attack was made was most favourable to the enemy, and surrounded on all sides by jungle. The Lahpai tribe are the most virile of the Kachins,

and have all along been unfriendly to us. For this attack they were promptly and severely punished. Some of their villages were destroyed, fines imposed, and their firearms confiscated. Thirteen of the ring-leaders are now suffering deportation in Mogok. No resistance was put up during the punitive operations, and most of those implicated in the attack surrendered. It is said that the Kachins wanted one white man's head for the loss of their independence and British intrusion into their country. The punitive operations referred to above interfered with the slave releasing, which could not be completed, and the following year I led another expedition to the Triangle, with Mr. P. M. R. Leonard, O.B.E., B.F.S., as my assistant, to finish this work, which was accomplished without any further trouble from the people. The estimated population of the Triangle is 46,000, and the number of slaves released there was 4,017, and in other areas of the Myitkyina hill-tracts 1,360 slaves were given their freedom. The grand total of slaves released as the result of the action taken by the Government of Burma in this matter is 8,853, and the total cost of redemption Rs. 516,518, or approximately £37,000. The question of the occupation or administration in some form of the Hukaung and Triangle is under consideration. Meanwhile, both these places are being visited yearly by expeditions to look after the welfare of the released slaves and see them started in life. The latest reports as regards the condition of these released slaves are quite satisfactory. Though the slavery in these areas was not like that one reads of in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," yet it was a life of extreme hardship and disgrace. I have seen cases of great cruelty. Infants and young children were torn from their mothers and sold elsewhere for petty faults. Slave men and women were mated so that they could breed like cattle, but their children were not their own but belonged to their masters to do with as they willed. A slave had no rights and no appeal against the wrongs done him. In the abolition of this slavery a great and noble work has been done, and many thankful hearts have been left behind in these wild places. It is hoped that these areas will soon come under administration, for it is only in this way that the released slaves can be really cared for and peace and order kept amongst these turbulent people. Expeditions are expensive and the work achieved by them limited. Both free men and ex-slaves anxiously await our coming.

The name "Kachin" which I have been using is really a Burmese generic term for the Chinghpaws and other cognate tribes found round Myitkyina and Bhamo, and is said to be derived from the Chinese "Yejen," meaning "wild man." The Chingpaw is the same as the Singhpo of Assam. Then there are the Marus, Lishis, Szis, Lisus, Nungs, and Darus. In religion they are all animists, with here and there a trace of phallic worship. The villages are surrounded by

sacrificial altars, some of which reach a great height. Before these altars the *Dumsas*, or high priests, officiate. Their flow of language is marvellous, and points to remarkable memory power. There are no true medicine men. All sickness and disasters are put down to the Nats, who have to be propitiated, and in these Nats, or spirits, these wild tribes have an extraordinary faith. On marriage a woman leaves her parents' Nats and takes those of her husband's. For this reason divorce is, strictly speaking, against the custom of the people. A woman, though married to one man, really belongs to the clan, and passes on to her husband's nearest male relation on his death. Young men and women mix freely before marriage, believing in the proverb, which says: "As the hand-rail is to the bridge, so is a maid to a young man." A man burdening a woman with a child out of wedlock must compensate the mother, and refusal to do so will bring a debt on himself, and if the woman dies in pregnancy or childbirth he has to meet a blood feud. No stigma attaches to such children except when the mother cannot name the father, then the situation becomes difficult and involved, and the child remains nameless. Kachins burn or bury their dead, and hold a good old wake, with much feasting and drinking. They do not believe in a hell, the souls of the dead being sent to join their ancestors. A Kachin never forgives an injury, hence the innumerable and complicated feuds we find amongst them. They live in long, low houses thatched with grass, very dark inside, and generally filled with vermin. On the whole they are a healthy lot, but goitre is very rife in the south end of the Triangle. European medicines are very popular, and much useful work has been and is being done by the doctors attached to the expeditions. It is hoped that when the country is more peaceful itinerant hospitals, without armed escorts, will be able to tour the country and minister to the sick. The staple crop of the people is rice, and when this gives out jungle roots and leaves, supplemented with the flour of the sago-palm, are eaten. The Nungs' customs are somewhat similar to the Kachins'. Both Nung men and women wear the hair mop fashion, cut round the ears, and the dress of both sexes is a kilt worn down to the knees. Blankets are used when it is cold. As a race they are very dirty and great liars. Away from Shan and Kachin influence they are found hardy and strong and free from the opium habit. Those enlisted in the Burma Rifles are shaping well as soldiers, but how they will stand under fire remains yet to be seen. Prior to our occupation of their country they were subservient to the Lisus, who levied a sort of blackmail blood-money on them. Hence the Shan name for them, "Hkanung," "Hka" meaning "slave." The Darus in the Upper N'Mai and Taron valleys are similar to the Nungs, but smaller in stature, uglier, and less clothed. The faces of the women are tattooed. Not many years ago some of this

tribe lived in shelters built in trees for fear of their enemies. A rough estimate of the population gives the Nungs at 8,000 and the Darus at 6,000. The Nung language has been classed by Grierson as belonging to the Lolo-Moso group of Tibeto-Burman languages. There are numerous dialects, and the people in one valley sometimes do not understand those in an adjoining one.

The Lisus in the N'Mai valley are a truculent lot of fellows armed with a double-handed sword. They are free from the opium habit, but drink freely of locally brewed beer and whisky. The women are well made and fine-looking. The men wear shorts and a tail-coat; the women a double-breasted jacket and a pleated skirt of homespun hemp. In 1913, when I visited the N'Mai valley, I performed a blood ceremony with Tawtadi, a bloodthirsty-looking Lisu Chief. The ceremony consisted of planting Kumbang grass in the ground, sprinkling it with the blood of a sacrificed fowl and exchanging presents. They had at that time no use for our rupees, and we had to barter our clothes for provisions. They fight regular battles with banners flying, and use bows and arrows poisoned with aconite. On a casualty occurring the women intervene, and a truce is called for a further discussion of the *casus belli*. They wash for gold and know the use of mercury, which they get from China to make the amalgam. Once a young Lisu woman was accused of poisoning her husband with mercury because she loved a younger man, and it was said that the mercury oozed out of her husband's fingers and toe-nails just before he died. The case had to be dismissed for want of evidence, and the Lisus were very disappointed because they were not allowed to experiment with mercury on the unfaithful wife !

There are a few Tibetan hamlets tucked away on the Seinhkuwang, a tributary of the N'Mai river. They are peaceful folk and give us no trouble. The Tibetan authorities have tried to get them to move and not to pay tribute to us, but they are very happy where they are. Some of them have done the journey to Mandalay to worship at the Arakan pagoda.

The country we have been considering is practically unexplored. In the Hukaung valley there is amber and gold; in the N'mai valley there are the silver mines worked by the Darus which, however, are of small commercial value according to Dr. Murray-Stewart who visited them in 1918. Iron is found in the Mali valley and in the Triangle, and the natives extract the ore for making their swords, axes, spear-heads, etc. There is some wonderful timber on these hills, but difficult of extraction owing to the nature of the country and lack of communications. Oil is reported in the Naga hills, and there are acres of paddy land in the Hukaung valley, but the population to work them is wanting. There is no surplus of this in Assam or Burma, so even if the Hukaung was

opened up by a railway it is difficult to say from whence we could colonize this large area.

I fear I have somewhat trespassed on your time, but my subject is large and the period covered long, so I have been unable to make my talk any shorter.

The CHAIRMAN asked for a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Barnard for his amusing and most interesting lecture. He had told the audience to expect great things and they had not been disappointed.
(Applause.)

MANCHURIA : ITS PROBLEMS AND ITS POSSIBILITIES

BY DR. DUGALD CHRISTIE, C.M.G.

Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on February 26. In the absence of Lord Allenby, who had not returned from India, the Chair was taken by Sir Francis Aglen.

Dr. Christie went to Manchuria in 1882 as pioneer medical missionary, and lived and worked in Mukden for over forty years. In introducing him, the Chairman said his name was well known all over Northern China ; he had done a great work in fighting the terrible outbreak of pneumonic plague in 1910-11, one of the most severe outbreaks known ; men were dying in thousands, and the Chinese Government had no organization for dealing with the situation. The medical missionaries in China went very literally to the front and many of them lost their lives, and when it was over, Dr. Christie, as Adviser to the Government, had much to do with organizing the North Manchurian Bureau for the prevention of plague, by means of which such a terrible epidemic could be dealt with or prevented.

In 1911 Dr. Christie was made a C.M.G., and the Chinese Government recognized the value of his work on four separate occasions. He also received a Russian decoration and gold watch from the Czar in recognition of his services to the Russian Army in the retreat.

The Chairman went on to say that a very remarkable development had taken place in Manchuria ; owing to railways and the increase in communications coolie labour had flowed into the country ; the state of law and internal security in contrast to the brigandage of the south had encouraged these people to settle on the land, and the population had doubled within a decade. Dr. Christie had been a personal friend of Chang Tso Lin, and he hoped tonight that they would hear something about that great man. (Applause.)

Introduction.—The possibilities and problems of Manchuria are important, not to that country alone, but are the concern of all the nations, for world peace may depend to a large extent on the happenings in that region. The geographical position of Manchuria has made it the "cockpit of the Far East," for it lies between Russia and Japan, each looking hungrily on its rich resources, and striving for supremacy in Eastern Asia. Already two great wars have swept over it, the Chino-Japanese in 1894, and the Russo-Japanese in 1904, and the aftermath of these conflicts still unsettles Manchuria. The equivocal position of Japan in her midst presents a knotty problem, and the question of Russia's rights in the north has recently brought China to the verge of war.

The importance of Manchuria, however, is not merely political. Its interest for us lies also in its great fertility and agricultural possibilities, in the rapid growth of its industries and commerce, and in the pheno-

menal increase of its population. These are the main lines on which I mean to address you today.

The Country.—The name "Manchuria" is not known in China. It is called *Tung San Sheng*, the three Eastern Provinces : *Heilungkiang* in the north, *Kirin* in the centre, and *Fengtien*, or *Liaoning*, as it is now named, in the south. Its area is about 383,000 square miles, nearly four and a half times the size of England, Scotland and Wales.

Time does not permit me to dwell on the physical features of the country, the most important of which are its great plains with their rich fertile soil, its mighty rivers, forming extensive waterways, navigable for thousands of miles, and its vast forests. But I must mention the long white mountains, part of a volcanic range rising to a height of 8,000 feet, and extending from Korea far into the north, made famous by the explorations and writings of Sir Evan James and Sir Francis Younghusband, who were among our earliest visitors in Mukden nearly forty-four years ago—a very delightful memory.

As the main traffic through Manchuria is on the plains, the ordinary traveller gains the impression that it is a flat, monotonous, uninteresting country. But in truth the scenery of some parts is magnificent, with forest-clad and rocky mountains, deep glens, and turbulent rivers. I have a vivid memory of one beautiful autumn morning among the mountains not far from the Yalu river. The glen through which we were passing reminded one in a startling way of our own Highlands—high hills on every side, abrupt crags variegated with brushwood and trees in their loveliest autumn tints, torrents falling in cascades on the hillsides, and the river flowing deep and full below. Amid a profusion of wild flowers familiar in our own land, we greet the Scotch thistle or its milder brother, for it is without prickles. On the pools are geese, swans, and ducks of many kinds, on their journey south. From the neighbouring marshes rise cranes and innumerable snipe, and among the pines we hear the screech of the pheasant. A perfect scene for the lover of nature, and a paradise for the sportsman.

Climate.—The climate of Manchuria is markedly continental, with a very cold winter and hot summer, not unlike the interior of Canada. As the atmosphere is for the most part clear and dry, these extremes are not realized, and altogether the climate is healthy.

Manchus.—I find that it is commonly taken for granted that Manchuria is peopled by Manchus, but this is not so. The home of the Manchus and other kindred tribes was among the mountains of Manchuria, but even a thousand years ago the rich valleys and plains of the southern part were occupied by people of the Chinese stock. There was frequent strife between them, culminating in the struggle which overthrew the Ming Dynasty and placed the Manchu Emperors on the Dragon Throne of China, where they ruled for 268 years.

When the Manchus conquered China, great numbers followed their leaders in search of gain, and many were sent to garrison the large cities all over the country. Whether there or in their native glens, the Manchus were given pensions and special privileges, with the result that they deteriorated in character and physique. At the same time the Chinese flocked into Manchuria, bringing with them their language, literature, and customs, and as time went on the conquerors were civilized, developed, and absorbed, by the conquered.

Settlers.—For two hundred years, the northern and eastern part of Manchuria was considered sacred, as the home of the Dynasty, and no Chinese were allowed to settle there. Vast stretches were also reserved as an Imperial Hunting Ground. From time to time during the last century, parts of this Reserve have been thrown open, and settlers have come in increasing numbers from the overcrowded provinces within the Great Wall. Some twenty years ago restrictions were abolished, and the virgin soil of these vast untouched forests and deserts lies ready for the pioneer.

Immigration.—The civil wars of recent years have brought ruin to some of the most prosperous parts of China, and the famine-stricken millions turn to Manchuria as to a Land of Promise. In ever-increasing volume the stream of immigrants pours in—by steamer, by junk, by train, on foot, a movement of human beings unparalleled in the world's history. Over a million came in 1928, and in 1929 the number has been much greater; some say two millions. Government gives grants of land on easy terms, and an advance of money, but in spite of every help the suffering of these unfortunate immigrants must be extreme. Broken in health by war and famine, unaccustomed to the rigorous life of the wilds, faced with the bitter Manchurian winter, it is not surprising that the death-rate among them is appalling. But those who win through the first difficult winter soon find it possible to prosper, and the wastes are gradually being cultivated. The Government of Manchuria, faced with the double problem of dealing with the overwhelming stream of immigration and of developing the vast unoccupied territories under its rule, has wisely adopted the system of small holdings, to be owned by the farmer, and worked by himself and his family.

Population.—Exact figures as to population are impossible, but Manchuria must have about 30 millions of people—double what it had twenty years ago, and there is room for at least 30 millions more.

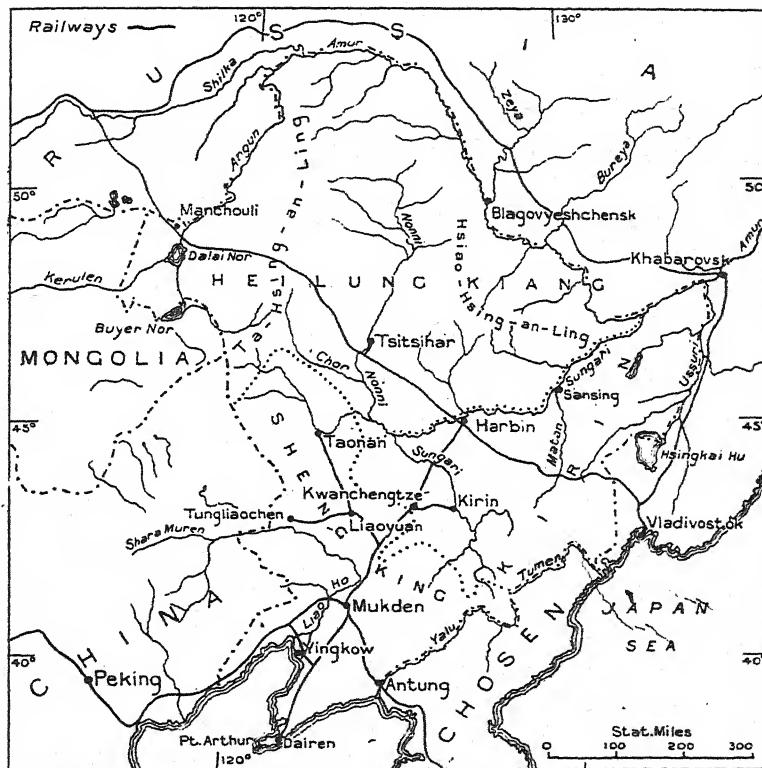
Agriculture.—Pioneering on virgin soil, under a rigorous climate, has produced a hardy, industrious race. By steady toil from sunrise to sundown, they have succeeded in turning jungle and wilderness into fields of grain, and have made Manchuria the Granary of Asia. The soil is extremely rich, and as the farmer is usually the owner, he cultivates every yard, and brings the best out of it. The amount of grain

produced is enormous. Large millet, or *kaoliang*, ranks first, for it is the staple food of the people. Its stalk, from 8 to 12, and even 15 feet in height, is indispensable for fuel, fencing, and a hundred and one household and farm purposes. Small millet, barley, rice, buckwheat, Indian corn, hemp, tobacco, sugar-beet, and all kinds of vegetables are grown in abundance, and from the northern regions wheat is largely exported. But beyond all these there is the cultivation of the Soya bean.

Soya Bean.—The story of the Soya bean reads like a romance. Thirty-five years ago it was unknown to the outer world. It had been cultivated from ancient times in Manchuria, where a favourite food of the people was a kind of bean curd; bean oil was in common use for food and light, and a compressed bean cake was used as food for animals and as a fertilizer. This bean cake was exported to Southern China, but nowhere else. After the Chino-Japanese War, it was eagerly adopted by Japan as a much-needed fertilizer for her rice-fields. Others began to enquire into it, and in 1908 a trial shipment of 100 tons was sent to this country. The total crop of Manchuria was then about 700,000 tons. So swiftly did its value prove itself, that twenty years later the crop was nearly 6 million tons, and the export 4½ million tons, equivalent to over £30 millions sterling.

All over Manchuria mills crush the bean to extract the oil, and prepare the various products for the market. It is extraordinarily rich in oil, containing 19 per cent., besides other valuable constituents. The uses made of it are almost innumerable and very various. It supplies material for sauces, soups, cheese, condensed milk, butter and lard substitutes, salad oil, confections, glycerine, lubricating oils, soap, varnish, paints, enamel, linoleum, celluloid, rubber substitutes, explosives, and many other articles. From what is left is made the bean cake, so valuable as cattle food and fertilizer. Though this bean has been cultivated elsewhere, and efforts have been made to grow it in this country, nowhere does it yield so large or valuable a crop as in its native soil.

Minerals.—The economic wealth of Manchuria is not confined to Agriculture. Its mineral resources also are said to be inexhaustible. Coal, iron, lead, copper, and the precious metals are there in large quantities, as well as oil-fields. Four years ago I visited the famous Fushun mines near Mukden, worked by the Japanese, and saw in full operation the latest scientific methods for extracting the by-products of the coal, much of which comes from the wonderful "open-cut" mine, the largest in the world. Only a small beginning has been made with other minerals. It must be remembered that even thirty years ago, not only was there a law forbidding any kind of mining, but popular opinion condemned any disturbance of the spirits of ancestors, by digging deep into the earth. In view of this, the advance already made is surprising.



Timber.—Timber is another important economic asset. One of the most accessible forests is on the banks of the Yalu river. In spring and summer, when the water is high, thousands of rafts, made of huge pines and other trees, float down the river to Antung. I have seen these rafts with little huts on them, in which whole families live. Often they are months on the water, and they even have little vegetable gardens on the rafts.

Furs.—There is a valuable trade in furs, for the mountains and forests are the home of the tiger, bear, wolf, fox, ermine, sable, marmot, squirrel, and many other wild animals. Forty-five years ago, I could buy for a few dollars a beautifully marked tiger skin, much handsomer than his Indian brother, sable skins for a few shillings, and sable tails for 4d. each.

Raw Materials.—An adequate account of the raw materials of Manchuria would take a paper to itself—cotton, hemp, indigo, silk, tobacco, etc., but I have said sufficient to show the unbounded riches of the country.

Commerce.—When I went to Mukden, there was but little commercial intercourse between Manchuria and other lands. One could buy nothing foreign, not even a pin or a box of matches, and it was but slowly that a change took place. Manchester cottons made their way first, and later the use of kerosene oil and cheap lamps became general. In 1903 Mukden and Antung were opened to international trade, and there was a great and rapid advance. In 1907 the total import and export trade of Manchuria was valued at £7½ millions sterling. Twenty years later, the exports alone mounted to £51 millions, and to imports to £27 millions, 30 per cent. of which came from Europe. Cottons form the most important item of import, and at one time Britain had practically a monopoly. But during the Great War the Japanese captured the market, and today China herself produces over 40 per cent. of the cottons used by her people.

Trade Outlook.—In spite of the great increase of Chinese production, the outlook for foreign trade in Manchuria was never so bright. The prosperity of the people and their increased output greatly enhance their purchasing power. The rapid development in industry creates a new demand for foreign goods. Factories need plant and machinery. New methods in agriculture require farm implements and mechanical appliances. Changed social customs mean a demand for cloth and many foreign commodities. If Britain would only study the market, adapt herself to its demands, and find some way of dealing direct with the Chinese purchaser, a great trade is possible. It would be well if we could adopt some of the German methods. Before the war, she sent to China young University men, and gave them two years to study the language and economic conditions, before they began work as direct salesmen.



GRAND MARSHAL CHANG TSO LIN



CHANG HSUEH LIANG



A STREET IN MUKDEN CITY



SOYA BEANS BEING UNLOADED AT THE RAILWAY YARD OF
CHANGCHUN STATION

Britain has the great advantage that the Chinese have a deep respect for the quality of our goods and the high standard of our commercial morality. A big merchant said to me once that in purchasing a good article, he would willingly pay 20 per cent. more if he was satisfied that it was of British manufacture.

Communications.—All this advance in agriculture and commerce would not be possible without development of the means of communication. Up to twenty-eight years ago, there were but two methods for the conveyance of goods—on the rivers, junks and flat-bottomed boats; and on land, carts drawn by six or more mules or horses. The boats could be used for little more than half the year, owing to the frost. The roads were unmade, and often impassable in summer, when they became ditches, in which mules and horses have been known to be drowned. In winter, however, when the fields are bare and everything is frozen, the country can be scoured in any direction, and this was always the special season for cart traffic. For personal travel there was also horseback, and the small, springless, uncomfortable cart, so often described by travellers.

Railways.—There is no doubt that it is the opening of railways that has made possible the remarkably rapid development in Manchuria, and changed it from perhaps the most backward into the most prosperous and enterprising part of China. The first railway concession was secured by the crafty diplomacy of Russia in 1896. Her primary object was to shorten the Siberian line to Vladivostok by cutting across Northern Manchuria. This meant 900 miles on Chinese soil, 500 less than if the line was entirely on Russian territory. To this was added, two years later, a line from the mushroom city of Harbin, which had suddenly sprung into existence on the banks of the Sungari, down the whole length of Manchuria to its southerly point; and also a "lease" for twenty-five years of the entire peninsula at that point, including the valuable harbours at Port Arthur and Dalny, or Dairen. In 1903 this wonderful trans-Siberian railway was completed, linking Europe with the Orient, and ultimately reducing the journey from Mukden to London to ten days.

The construction of this railway had one disastrous result, it brought about in 1904 that war between Russia and Japan, to which I have already alluded. At the end of the war Russia was compelled to transfer to Japan the entire southern section of the railway, with its coal-mines and other rights, and the lease of the peninsula with Port Arthur and Dairen. The northern section, with Harbin, remained in the hands of Russia. China had no alternative but to agree to this transference, and also to the extension of the Japanese section by a line from Mukden to Antung, connecting with the Japanese railways in Korea. In addition she had to undertake not to construct parallel lines, detrimental to the interests of the South Manchurian Railway.

Japan then planned the gradual construction of a network of railways in Manchuria, to act as feeders to her main line, and in this way it seemed as if she would exploit the wealth and rapidly expanding trade of these rich lands. Manchuria, however, awakened in time to this danger, and in spite of opposition from Japan, new railways have been constructed, financed, controlled and managed by the Chinese themselves, connecting the main centres, and opening up undeveloped country. At the present day there is a larger mileage of railways in Manchuria than in all the rest of China put together.

Roads.—A beginning has also been made in constructing proper roads, but these are as yet confined to the larger cities and their surroundings. A comprehensive scheme for road-making has been sanctioned by Government, and when peace is established it is intended to carry it out without delay. In the meantime, without waiting for good roads, motor traffic has developed in a remarkable way. In the city of Mukden ten years ago there were not more than a score of cars —now there are well over two thousand. All over Manchuria, even in the far north, hundreds of motor buses ply between the large towns during the winter and the dry season, a rough track being levelled, and strong rude bridges thrown across the streams. Hundreds of motor-boats and small steamers are also to be seen on the rivers.

Strange to say, postal development came before that of rail and road, and telegraphs before the organized post. There is now throughout China postal service of very creditable reliability and efficiency, and of a cheapness which makes us envy. A letter can be sent anywhere in China for $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and a paper for $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Public telephones are also established, and are much used, and the wireless is becoming popular.

Standard of Living.—Another great change that has taken place is in the standard of living, especially in the cities, and in the towns along the railways, although in the more isolated villages there is little difference from fifty years ago. There we find the same earth-built houses with earthen floors, open rafters, paper windows, and thatched roofs, and the same old superstition forbidding houses to be of more than one storey. Such ideas are quite abandoned in the cities, and in Mukden there are whole streets of shops, offices, and banks, built after the latest methods, from three to five storeys high, with automatic lifts. Many houses are models of comfort, with their water supply, baths, central heating, and electric light. The old brick bed, or kang, heated by flues underneath, is giving place to spring beds and comfortable easy chairs.

Foreign food, too, has become popular. When I arrived you could not get a glass of milk nor a piece of bread in all the city. Now there

are numerous up-to-date shops, with all kinds of supplies from abroad, and dozens of restaurants where an excellent dinner can be had, cooked after the best European style.

Education.—The advance in general education, both in its character and its extent, is phenomenal, and nowhere more than in the education of women. It seems but yesterday that the only schools were private ventures, and the teaching confined to the ancient classics, which a boy could not begin to understand till after years of study. The goal of the scholar was official life, open to the poorest if he gained a degree. Advancement depended largely on the standard attained. The highest degree, *Hanlin*, was gained by but few, and it opened the door to the highest offices in the State. This old system, both of teaching and of official advancement, is now abolished, and all schools are developed under Government on Western scientific lines. In recent years there has been a perfect thirst for knowledge among young men and women, so that they flock into the higher schools and colleges.

Medicine.—In this educational progress in Manchuria, this country has had an honourable share through its missionaries, who were the pioneers in Western education. They had also the honour of introducing modern medicine, opening the first hospitals, and establishing a large and successful medical college in Mukden, of high standard, from which goes forth annually a stream of well-trained and fully qualified medical men. Thus a beginning has been made in creating a medical profession for Manchuria. The importance of this can be realized when we consider the appalling amount of disease and suffering, the insanitary conditions under which the people live, the terrible epidemics which from time to time sweep the land, and the very high death-rate. In 1883, when I was the only doctor in inland Manchuria, malignant cholera carried off 20,000 in a few weeks from Mukden alone.

Twenty years ago there took place in Manchuria that deadly epidemic of pneumonic plague, which called forth the sympathy of the world, about 50,000 cases being recorded without a single recovery. So fatal was the disease, and so serious its bearing on commerce, that the Chinese Government called together a Conference in Mukden of experts from eleven nations to investigate its nature, origin, and spread. The success of that Conference was largely owing to His Excellency Sao Ke Alfred Sze, whom I am sure we all gladly welcome back as Chinese Minister to this country. He was appointed by the Chinese Government as Imperial Commissioner to the Conference, and rendered distinguished service, not only to his own country, but to the progress of international endeavour for the good of mankind. Another name I mention in this connection is that of Dr. Douglas Gray, formerly of the British Legation in Peking, who took an important part in the fight against plague, and as one of the British delegation at

the Conference gave splendid service to his own country as well as to China.

Governors.—I will now turn to the Governmental and political situation. It has been my privilege to know personally nearly every Viceroy and Governor who has ruled over the destinies of Manchuria during the past forty years. Much has been said of the incompetence and corruption of the old Chinese official, but, though there was truth in this, I have found among them men of ability, high ideals, and unimpeachable character, whom I considered it an honour to count among my friends.

There was the Manchu Viceroy, *Tseng Chi*, who at great risk to himself did his best to prevent the Boxers getting the upper hand in 1900, and by his timely warning to myself saved the lives of many foreigners in Manchuria. A story worth recording was told me by himself. When the Boxers were at the height of their fame in Mukden, he arranged with one of his officers a plan for their discredit. He invited their leaders to dinner, and proposed a public demonstration of their occult powers, and invulnerability to bullet or sword. In presence of a vast crowd, a dozen Boxers stood up to be shot at, and as their leaders had secretly arranged for blank cartridges, not a man fell. "That is most wonderful," said *Tseng Chi*, "but you have not the same rifles as the foreign devils. I have some brand new ones the same as theirs, let us show that these can do them no harm." In spite of protests, the new rifles were discharged, three men fell dead, and the rest fled in panic. This proved a dangerous experiment on the part of the Viceroy, for the Boxers spread the story that he was a traitor to China, an ally of the foreigners, and a secret Christian, and he had to flee for his life.

There was also *Chao-Er-Sun*, recognized even by his enemies as an honourable, clean-handed, able statesman, who put the welfare of his people before his own interests. He sought to put down corruption and bribery and ensure justice to the poor; and as a protest against official extravagance lived a simple life, with a small retinue and no pomp, and even travelled third class on the railway. Supported by imperial edict, he succeeded in abolishing for the time the cultivation of opium in Manchuria, and in putting down its use. Educational reform was begun by him, and he established the first Government school for girls.

Perhaps the best-known name of recent times is that of *Chang Tso Lin*, who became Grand Marshal and War Lord of Manchuria, and whom I knew personally for many years. He began life as a village boy, without education, and worked as herd-boy for his village, then as servant in a small inn, and when seventeen years old enlisted in the Manchurian Army, where his abilities soon gained him promotion. In

the war with Japan in 1894 he was by his General's side when he was killed. There is a Chinese saying, "When the General dies, the soldiers are orphans." They are left, not only without a leader but without pay, and it is not surprising that many take to brigandage. Young Chang was one of these, and as his gifts were known, he soon had a following.

During the war between Russia and Japan in 1904, he and his men came down from the hills to help the Russians against his old enemies the Japanese. But later on, seeing that the Russians were to be defeated, he offered his services to the Japanese, who gladly accepted the aid of a born soldier and leader who knew every inch of the country. After the war, the Chinese Government took him and many of his men into their army, giving him the rank of Colonel. He rose rapidly, and became Commander-in-Chief in Manchuria.

I had met him in his early days, but it was now I really came to know him. A man more unlike a brigand chief it was impossible to imagine—slightly built, delicate-looking, with a pale, refined, youthful face, a captivating smile, and a quiet low voice. But his eye was quick and watchful, and his firm mouth showed determination and decision. We soon became friends, and his visits were always interesting. What struck me most was his unbounded and relentless pursuit of power. "I am going soon to be Viceroy of Manchuria," he said to me one day.

At the time of the Chinese Revolution of 1911, when the Manchu Dynasty was overthrown, *Chang Tso Lin* was Commander-in-Chief in Manchuria, and *Chao-er-Sun*, of whom I have spoken, was again Viceroy. It was well that we had such a man as Chao at the helm during those critical months. At heart loyal to the Monarchy, he saw that the Manchu power was doomed, and sank his own opinions in order to prevent bloodshed. A "Committee for the Preservation of Peace" was formed by the leading citizens of Mukden, and the Viceroy was placed at its head. Those were anxious days, for the army was divided, one section, with General Chang, being imperialist in sympathy, while another, under several powerful Generals, was eager for revolution, and advocated the killing of the Viceroy; and it was quite uncertain which would carry the day.

One evening it was known that the Generals were meeting in council to decide on their action. Late that night two officers came to Government House with an armed escort, demanding to see the Viceroy. His devoted guard at the gate, fearing the worst, replied that he was not at home. "We must give him our message in person," they insisted, "where is he?" "At the Provincial Assembly Hall," they were told, and rode off in a hurry, while the guard in great alarm rushed to tell the Viceroy, hoping that he would make his escape. "I must follow them at once," he said, and he stopped his attendants, who prepared to

accompany him. "I go on this errand alone. It may be that I shall not return."

But when he reached the Assembly Hall, he was greeted with acclamation by the Peace Committee, and received from the army assurances of their support. Had he failed to meet them, it might well be that his enemies would have gained the day, and that there would have been much bloodshed.

As it was, the months went on quietly, so quietly that some extremists started a "Society of Progress," which decided that matters must be hastened by the assassination of some officials, the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief being chosen as the first victims. General Chang, however, had secret information, and a few days before the appointed revolt he struck, decisively and without warning, waiting for no formal arrests or trials. In the dead of night the leaders of the plot were seized one by one by the soldiers, on their way home from a secret meeting, and killed in the street, where their bodies were found at day-break. Suspected houses were at the same time forcibly entered, and several were killed in their homes. Documents were found, including the names of those marked for death, a note of moneys received, and a list of 1,500 names of supposed sympathizers. Every one on that list was in great danger, some without any real reason. Two of my own assistants were suspected, and but for my protection might have lost their lives. For some days the terror in the city was great, for no one knew who would be next.

Not long after the Revolution, military governors were set up over the provinces, instead of Civil Viceroys, and Chang's ambition was fulfilled by his appointment as Governor of Manchuria. He ruled with a rod of iron, but he was a good organizer and administrator, and the country prospered. Though always more feared than loved, he could show generosity and kindness. One day a bomb was thrown at his car in a main street in Mukden. The Governor was unhurt, and kept quite calm, and later the culprit, a revolutionary stranger from the south, was brought before him. Asked the reason for his deed, he boldly replied, "You are an enemy of the people, so I wanted to kill you." Every one expected that the order for the young man's execution would at once be given, but to the astonishment of all, Chang Tso Lin, after giving him some fatherly advice, told him to return home, and paid his travelling expenses. But from that day when the Governor went out the streets were cleared and the shops closed.

Civil War.—Chang's greatest interest was his army, which grew to be a very large and well-organized force, indeed the most efficient fighting machine that China had known, having behind it the Mukden Arsenal, which turned out unlimited quantities of military supplies of the latest kind. His restless, ambitious spirit was not content to remain quiet in

Mukden. One occupation only had its thrill, and that was war. Again and again he led his armies into other provinces, and took part in civil war, though he succeeded in keeping the fighting almost entirely outside Manchuria. He encountered much opposition, especially from the "Christain General" *Feng Yu Hsiang*, but overcame by indomitable pluck, and for a time seemed likely to be established in Peking as Dictator of China. When he met with reverses, he withdrew within Manchuria and awaited the next opportunity. In Mukden he built a magnificent palace, and maintained the style of a king, for he had amassed great wealth.

I well remember the last time I saw him, nearly four years ago, at a time when the revolt of one of his own Generals had just been quelled. He looked worn, though well under sixty, but the old fire still flashed in his eyes. He was pleased when I congratulated him on the peacefulness and prosperity of Manchuria. Then we talked of the political situation, and I besought him to give up fighting. "You have now a great opportunity," I said, "of making your name immortal by establishing peace." "That is what I intend," he said, "but first I must overcome my enemies." "You can use a more powerful instrument than the sword," I pled, "Speak the word of Peace, and all China will listen. Unite in establishing a clean and strong government." "That is exactly my aim," he insisted. "When the time comes I shall complete that service to my country, and then retire from public life." But the time never came.

In spite of his opposition, the Nationalist ideals of *Sun Yat Sen* were rapidly spreading throughout the land, and when the "People's Army" marched from the south, it carried everything before it without much fighting. Even the people of the north welcomed the change. Chang saw his power melting before him, and decided to return to Mukden. One June day, a year and half ago, he left Peking with his leading Generals, in a special train. As they neared Mukden, the long train passed a bridge, and just when his carriage was under it, there was a terrific explosion—the bomb had reached its mark with fatal accuracy. Mortally wounded, he was taken from the wreckage, and the nearest motor-car was commandeered, an old broken-down Ford, in which he was quickly taken to his palace. Special surgeons were sent for from our Medical College, but when they reached the palace they were told "Grand Marshal Chang is asleep," and were not asked to see him. Well they knew what that meant, but the fact of his death was wisely not made public for some weeks, to prevent any disturbance in the city.

Chang Hsueh Liang.—After the death of the Grand Marshal, his eldest son, *Chang Hsueh Liang*, was called on to succeed him in Mukden. It needed some courage for a young man of twenty-six, with but a little experience of governmental affairs, to undertake such a heavy responsibility, and he was immediately faced with difficult problems, the most

pressing being the relation of Manchuria to the new Nationalist Government. The young General himself had always sympathized with the National movement, and it is well known that only his high sense of filial duty compelled him to join his father in his campaigns. Around him were old officials of his father's regime, some of them seeking to undermine the young man's influence and prevent change, and Japan went the length of threats should he unite with the Nationalists. On the other hand, the vast bulk of the people of Manchuria were behind him, and it was amid great rejoicing that he boldly ordered the raising of the National flag, and proclaimed the adhesion of Manchuria to the National Government and the rest of China.

He has gathered round him young men of the modern type, most of whom were educated in Europe or America, giving them responsible positions, so that his has been called a Government of Youth. He has great schemes for the development of Manchuria, industrial, agricultural and educational. He has devoted a large part of his father's immense fortune to educational purposes, and out of his own private purse has erected a magnificent stadium for athletic contests, large enough to accommodate the Far Eastern Olympic meetings. Himself a keen tennis and golf player, he does his best to encourage games among students and others, as well as to raise the standard of education. His determination is to produce a well-educated and fully equipped civil service for Manchuria, and to this end he chooses from the Colleges the most promising students, and sends them abroad for special study. Five of his young men are now in Edinburgh, and more are likely to come.

Finance.—For the effective carrying out of his schemes, money is necessary, but the support of a large army, the upkeep of an arsenal, and the military expenses entailed by the recent troubles with Russia, have drained the Treasury, and the reduced value of the local paper currency, the "feng-piao," forms a financial problem which must be solved before real prosperity can be permanently established.

Foreign Relations.—The government and development of Manchuria would in themselves be a sufficiently arduous task, but in addition the young General has the still more difficult problems of relationship with Russia and Japan.

After the Russian Revolution, the Soviet Republics were in a generous mood, at least on paper, and in 1924 a very liberal treaty with China was concluded. Russia renounced extra-territoriality, gave back her concessions in Tientsin and elsewhere, gave up all claim to her share of the Boxer Indemnity, and made a new agreement about the "Chinese Eastern Railway" across Manchuria. China was to have full sovereignty in the railway zone, to share with Russia the management, control, and profits of the railway, and in 1956 the whole railway was to revert

to China. Since then the Russians have made use of their position for purposes of Bolshevik propaganda, although Communism is now anathema in China, and both powers had formally agreed to abandon political agitation against each other. Protest on the part of China proved useless, and, perhaps without sufficient reflection, she seized the railway and arrested Russian employees, a method of action for which she has paid dearly. The trouble seems now to be over, and the railway is running as before, but I fear that that chapter is not yet finally closed.

The difficulties with Japan are even greater and more intricate, and it is impossible in a lecture like this to deal adequately with them, but I will indicate the main points.

Japan has committed herself to great financial stakes in Manchuria. She has organized a railway as efficient as any in the world; coal-mines, electric plant, and many industries have been developed with wonderful rapidity; in her laboratories and agricultural experimental stations, and in the afforestation of bare hillside, she has done good work for the country; and without doubt she is right in claiming that her presence has helped to promote prosperity and hasten progress. Were this all, every fair-minded Chinese would acknowledge her assistance with gratitude.

But at the same time Japan has been pushing her own interests, and has antagonized the Chinese at every turn. Manchuria not unnaturally resents the size and prominence of the Japanese force guarding the railway, the interference of Japanese police on Chinese soil, the persistence of Japanese post-offices throughout the country, the demand for special privileges for the Japanese, the flooding of the country with morphia, cocaine, and other harmful drugs from Japan, and many constant petty irritations.

The most prominent example of aggression was during the Great War, when Japan took the opportunity to present to China those twenty-one demands which have become notorious, though few in this country know much about them. These included the extension of the South Manchuria lease to ninety-nine years, without compensation, and various concessions and privileges, which would deliver Manchuria bound into the power of Japan. In spite of what was practically an ultimatum, China refused to sign all, and protested against those parts to which she had reluctantly to agree.

In the Institute of Pacific Relations, which met recently in Kyoto, these conflicting views were emphasized. Japan magnified her own sacrifices and efforts in Manchuria, ignoring the Chinese share in the progress made; while the Chinese delegates expressed indignation at the domineering attitude of the Japanese in Manchuria, and what they considered her illegal claims, subverting those sovereign rights which China has never surrendered.

It is obvious that this anomalous position, creating an *Imperium in Imperio*, cannot continue permanently, and it forms a problem which may easily lead to international complications, and endanger the peace of the whole world. It is doubtful if it can ever be amicably settled by the two nations concerned, but should rather be dealt with impartially by some form of International tribunal. My own personal conviction is that there can be no permanent peace in Manchuria till China is again in full possession and control of the country.

Apart from these complicated and perplexing political questions, the outlook for Manchuria is full of promise. When we consider the magnitude of its territory, its wealth in natural resources as yet hardly touched, the richness of its soil, the rapid increase of its population, the character of its people, the steady improvement in methods of cultivation, the unrivalled opportunities for industrial and agricultural development —one may safely prophesy that if peace and sound government are secured, there is before it a great future, and Manchuria will in days to come make an important contribution towards the industrial and commercial prosperity of the world. (Applause.)

In thanking Dr. Christie for his valuable lecture Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND said: Dr. Christie has spoken of the great wealth of Manchuria, of the intelligence and industry of its people and the fertility of the soil. He has made clear the important place this country must hold in the future. I was there in 1885, at a time when the Russian railway was projected but not yet built. The development of the country has been exceedingly rapid, for at that time it was practically unknown; the people of Mukden called all Europeans "foreign devils" and threw mud at them in the streets. Sir Francis then went on to describe the journey he took with Sir Evan James into the mountains to discover the sources of the Sungari river, said to arise in a lake. For two months they had travelled through forests, and eventually found the lake in a crater of an extinct volcano; the eastern branch of the Sungari river had its source there. The results of that expedition were published by Sir Evan James in his book "The Long White Mountain," which for many years remained the standard work of reference on Manchuria.

Sir Francis said he had the greatest respect and admiration for the work of the Scotch Mission Hospital; the workers there had won the hearts of the people, and their work had been one of the chief factors in establishing good relationships and goodwill. He had great pleasure in seeing Dr. Christie in such good health and in thanking him for his very interesting lecture. (Applause.)

Dr. RUSTON PARKER asked Dr. Christie if there was much leprosy in Manchuria, and whether it was known there that a cure had been

found for it. The lecturer replied that there were very few cases, and all of them came in from the South; there was no leprosy amongst the people of the country. A question was also asked as to the new registration of schools, etc.; to which Dr. Christie replied that there had been no difficulty about it, though he knew some schools in other parts of China had had trouble. Their schools and college were registered at once.

Mr. H. GEARY GARDNER said he wished to thank his old friend Dr. Christie for his delightful lecture. He had many recollections of days spent in Mukden and a very vivid recollection of hearing many years ago from Dr. Christie a description of the retreat of the Russian army from Mukden, when the granaries were set on fire and were blazing behind them. It was a wonderful description of a terrible sight.

Sir FRANCIS AGLEN, while thanking Dr. Christie for his very valuable lecture, said there was one question which he wished to ask him; a story had been circulated that Chang Tso Lin had a brother whom he left in Mukden while he was away fighting in the South. Dr. Christie said there was not the slightest foundation for this story; anyone who knew Chang Tso Lin as he himself did could deny it as absurd.

Sir Francis then asked for a vote of thanks for the kindness of the lecturer in coming from Edinburgh to speak to the Society and giving them the opportunity of hearing at first hand of a most remarkable country and development. (Applause.)

TRAVELS IN BHUTAN.*

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL F. M. BAILEY, C.I.E.

BHUTAN stretches for about 200 miles from west to east along the eastern portion of the Himalayas. It thus forms about 200 miles of our Indian frontier. The northern boundary is formed by the main range of the Himalayas, and contains many peaks of over 20,000 feet, culminating in Kulha Kangri, 24,740 feet. North of this lies the plateau of Tibet. As happens in other parts of the Himalayas, some of the rivers of Bhutan rise north of the range and break through.

The southern boundary follows the foothills of the Himalayas at an altitude of less than 1,000 feet. It will thus be seen that Bhutan lies entirely in the mountains, and indeed the people will not live below an elevation of about 4,000 feet, and, like Tibetans, they consider it a most dangerous adventure to go below this elevation.

The inhabitants are as hardy a race of mountaineers as can be found anywhere, and the magnificent physique of the Bhutanese for some reason exceeds that of any other dwellers in the Himalayas.

On the west, Bhutan marches with the British district of Darjeeling, Sikkim, and the Chumbi valley.

On the eastern side, a portion of Tibet bounds Bhutan, and this peninsula of Tibetan territory comes right down to the plains. This low elevation is quite unsuitable for Tibetan habitation, and the country is consequently empty except for wild animals. It will perhaps occasion surprise that a portion of Tibet contains such animals as elephant, rhinoceros, and tiger.

Little is known of the original inhabitants of the country, but they probably resembled their neighbours to the east and west—the Lepchas of Sikkim and the various tribes of the Assam Himalayas; but the influx of Tibetan races modified and improved the type until we obtain the magnificent man we find in Central Bhutan.

The first event of importance that emerges from the history of the country is the conversion of the people to Buddhism by Padma

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on March 12, 1930, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair.

In introducing the Lecturer, Lord Allenby said: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Colonel Bailey, who is lecturing to us this afternoon, is already well known to you. He has recently been to Bhutan, where he was able to take a film, the first ever made of that country, which he is showing this afternoon. (Applause.)

Sambhava in the eighth century of our era. This saint is known in Bhutan as Lopen Rimboche, or Ugyen Rimpoche.

The country was a prey to intertribal disturbances until, in the sixteenth century, a lama known as Shapdrung Rimpoche came from Tibet and united the country and gave a settled administration, not forgetting the organization of the Church.

His image with a short white fringe of beard can be seen in most Bhutanese temples.

On his death it seemed inconceivable that a man who had done so much good could have left the country permanently; so his spirit was found to have been incarnate in a child, and the succession of incarnation has continued up to the present day.

Gradually the successive Shapdrung Rimpoches devoted themselves more and more to religion and less and less to the administration of the country, until they became purely religious entities, and had no say in the government of the country. The Shapdrung Rimpoche was known in India as the Dharma Raja. Alongside this religious chief sprang up a powerful minister, an arrangement which allowed the Shapdrung Rimpoche to devote all his time to religion. He was called De-si Chandzo, or later, as he became more powerful, Druk Gyalpo, which means King of Bhutan. He was known as the Deb Raja in India. Already in 1783 Turner found that the Deb Raja was all-powerful. These expressions "Dharma Raja" and "Deb Raja" occur in most English books on Bhutan. They are purely Indian expressions, and are unknown in Bhutan.

From time to time local chiefs sprang up with great power who paid little heed to the orders and desires of the Shapdrung Rimpoche and the Deb Raja. These chiefs exercised a great degree of independence, and our troubles with Bhutan in the first half of the last century were to a great extent due to these, and also due to the fact that we did not realize that these Dharma and Deb Rajas to whom we addressed ourselves were men without real power. This was the fundamental cause of our war with Bhutan in 1864, and of the consequent loss of territory to Bhutan. One of the local chiefs, the Trongsa Penlop, was able to wreck Pemberton's treaty in 1837, when both the Deb and Dharma Rajas were ready to sign.

British Relations with Bhutan.

Our relations with Bhutan commenced in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Bhutanese at that time had been giving trouble by committing slave raids into the plains and invading the state of Cooch Behar. They were driven out of the territory they had occupied, and steps were being taken to follow them into the hills, when they appealed to the Tashi Lama of Tibet to intercede for them. The

Tashi Lama wrote to Warren Hastings, who at once appreciated the advantage of this opening to establish trade with Tibet. Warren Hastings despatched George Bogle in 1774 on a mission to the Tashi Lama at Tashi Lhunpo. Bogle entered the country at Buxa and travelled up via Chuka to Trashigchö Dzong, which was the winter capital. From here he went to Paro, Drukgye, and Phari in Tibet, and finally Shigatse. Under Warren Hastings' orders Bogle introduced the potato into the country, and he describes how he planted a few at each halting place.

In 1775 and 1777 Dr. Hamilton, who had been Bogle's companion, visited Bhutan.

In 1783 Warren Hastings despatched another officer to the Tashi Lama. This was Captain Samuel Turner. He followed the same route as Bogle and Hamilton had done before him and spent some time in Bhutan. These two early travellers were most favourably impressed with all they saw—Turner especially at the English vegetation and birds, Bogle at the magnificent people.

It is as well to remember these early impressions, which have certainly been confirmed by later travellers, for there was a period in the middle of last century when our relations with Bhutan were such as to colour unfavourably the opinion held of the people.

Gradually the excellent friendly intercourse initiated by the far-sighted wisdom of Warren Hastings was allowed to drop, and the result of this loss of influence was a repetition of the raiding into the plains which had been the original cause of the earlier missions to the country.

In 1837 Captain Pemberton visited the country; he after some difficulty managed to enter at Dewangiri and to travel thence to Pumakha, but he was obliged to return by the more direct route via Buxa which had been used by his predecessors.

Further raiding led to the despatch of Mr. Eden in 1863; this mission was forced on the country at a time of internal disturbance when the Deb Raja had been turned out by the Trongsa Penlop. The result was that the mission was insulted and Eden forced to sign a treaty which was repudiated by the Government of India as soon as he was able to extricate himself from the country.

As a reprisal for this treatment of our envoy we occupied the strip of Bhutan running along the plains below the foothills. There was small opposition, but just as the troops were being withdrawn the Bhutanese attacked all the posts which had been established, capturing two with some guns and wounded. The wounded were well cared for. A larger force was sent up in 1864 to recapture these posts. The Bhutanese proved themselves brave, resourceful and good fighters; they were helped by the difficult nature of the country. Sickness was rife, chiefly malaria. Our knowledge of medicine was not what it is now,

and precautions which would be taken in a similar case now were not known then. Transport difficulties were immense. One column lost 13 elephants and 180 ponies the first day's march. After these early disasters the affair was tackled in a more business-like way, and in the end the Bhutanese were deprived of the terai land in the plains and confined to the hills.

We had very little intercourse with Bhutan from this time until Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission to Tibet in 1903-4. The attitude of Bhutan towards the mission was a question of the greatest importance, as the line of communications up the Chumbi valley ran through difficult country within a few miles of the frontier of Bhutan. Again we find that the Deb and Dharma Rajas had small power, and that the most important man was the Trongsa Penlop, Ugyen Wangchuk, who proved a true friend both to Tibet and to ourselves and a wise leader for his own country. He himself accompanied Sir Francis Younghusband to Lhasa and, being a devout Buddhist, was in a position to visit the high Tibetan officers and personally to explain our most reasonable desires and objects. In recognition of his services he was appointed a K.C.I.E., and Mr. Claude White, the first Political Officer in Sikkim, took the insignia to Sir Ugyen in 1905.

Mr. White entered Bhutan by the Chumbi valley and travelled to Punaka via Ha and Paro. He was received and entertained in the most lavish manner, and this has been the experience of subsequent visitors. He returned via Trashi-chö Dzong and the Lingshi La and Phari in Tibet.

In 1906 Sir Ugyen for the first time left his hills and visited the Prince of Wales, now H.M. King George V., in India.

Mr. Claude White, who had acquired the personal friendship of Sir Ugyen and great influence in the country, took the opportunity to travel extensively in the country, and in 1906 he again made a journey into Tibet, up the valley of the Kuro Chu, the upper waters of the Manas which rises in Tibet and breaks through the Himalayan range.

Bhutan has always suffered from internal disorders; the subordinate chiefs were apt to take on themselves more than was right, and the Dharma and Deb Rajas were unable to enforce their authority. This situation was ended in 1907, when Sir Ugyen was elected the first hereditary Maharaja of the country. No doubt the prestige he had acquired from the position he held on the Lhasa Mission, his visit to India, and the honours he received from our King, all helped to this most desirable end, but his unanimous election was due principally to his strong personality and sense of patriotism.

Mr. White was deputed to represent the Government of India at Sir Ugyen's election as Maharaja. In his book "Sikkim and Bhutan" he has given a picturesque description of the ceremony. Since that time

Bhutan has steadily progressed in peace and unity. An important event in the history of the country was the signing of a Treaty in 1910 by Sir Ugyen and Sir Charles Bell placing the foreign relations of Bhutan exclusively under the Government of India.

Bhutanese Characteristics.

The Bhutanese, like most mountaineers, are imbued with an intense desire for independence, and in 1774 Bogle found the country rebelling against a Deb Raja who was endeavouring to place the country under Chinese domination. One result of our liberal treatment of Tibet at the time of Younghusband's Mission in 1904 was to make it clear that the Bhutanese need have no fear that we will in any way infringe on their rights.

Bhutan, like Tibet and Nepal, follows a policy of exclusion—that is to say, they have a dislike of strangers who have no business there, travelling about in their country. At the same time they are not unreasonable in this matter, as can be seen from the reception accorded to the various official travellers who have visited the country. Moreover, when necessity arises they will invite Europeans to visit the country, as was done when a dentist was sent for to treat Sir Ugyen, or when two gallant missionary ladies from Kalimpong visited western Bhutan at the time of an outbreak of cholera.

The policy of Bhutan is to develop the country with their own people and not to utilize outsiders of any kind. To this end about forty boys were sent to Kalimpong to be educated some years ago. These boys are now being employed in their own country as doctors, veterinary surgeons, teachers, forest officers, engineers, etc. The moving spirit in this matter is Raja S. T. Dorji, the son of a distinguished father, Raja Ugyen Dorji, known in his younger days as Ugyen Kazi. The movement has been encouraged and assisted by Dr. Graham and others of the Scottish Mission at Kalimpong. Schools have been opened at Ha and Bumtang, and at Ha, Raja Dorji showed us a very creditable exhibition of boxing by the schoolboys there.

The Three Zones.

Mr. White has described the country as being divided into three zones—the southern zone runs along the plains of India. The climate here is too hot for Bhutanese to live, and this part of the country was uninhabited until a few years ago some settlers from Nepal entered it. The country is full of game. Numbers of wild elephants are caught each year and are a source of some profit to the state; other animals include the rhinoceros, tiger, leopard, buffalo, bison, and various kinds of deer. The land would be valuable for growing tea, and there are many tea gardens on the British side of the border. His Highness the

Maharaja contemplates opening tea gardens, but in accordance with his policy this will be done by Bhutanese specially trained for the purpose. The country also contains valuable timber, notably sal (*Shorea robusta*), which is exported to India, chiefly for railway sleepers. The rivers which emerge into the plains of India teem with fish—mahseer and katni or boka—and the traveller can enjoy many good days spent at the right time of year.

The middle zone from about 4,000 to 10,000 feet is the really inhabited part of the country. In the valley of each large river as it passes this zone is built a dzong or fort which is the official residence of the Governor of the district. A journey from west to east, the chief road in the country, involves a climb of transverse ridges, crossing them at altitudes of from 9,000 to 14,000 feet, with a descent to the valley, where we find the dzong or castle which commands the surrounding country.

We next come to the northern zone, which goes up to the eternal snows and is occupied by graziers who keep yaks, cattle and sheep, and who descend to the lower elevations when snow drives them down. In many places these graziers cross the Tibetan frontier at certain times of the year; Tibetan graziers in return being allowed into Bhutan when these migrations are beneficial to their cattle.

Their Characteristics and Trade.

One thing that strikes a traveller in any part of Bhutan is that not only do the people not live in towns, but they do not even live in villages. They live in scattered farms. Shops are unknown—I have recently seen a few traders sitting and selling trumpery articles of European manufacture on the bridge at Punaka, but this is an innovation.

The peasants are self-supporting. They weave woollen garments from the wool of their sheep. All household utensils are made in the country. These, mostly of wood and bamboo, are made by the people themselves. Such internal trade as there is is mostly by barter. Up to last year the only Bhutanese coins were lumps of copper roughly stamped, and Tibetan and Indian money were used. The Tibetans have now debased their currency, using notes without backing and copper in place of silver, and this has led Bhutan to issue an experimental coin of the value of half an Indian rupee. This was designed in Bhutan and beautifully made at the Calcutta Mint.

Although I had served for some years in Tibet and on the borders of Bhutan, it was not until 1913, when I was returning from the Tsangpo Falls with my companion, Major Morshead, that I paid my first visit to Bhutan. No permission had been obtained. We entered the country quite unexpectedly from the north-east. Their policy of exclusion did not apparently apply to travellers who were obviously only passing

through the country as quickly as possible on their return to India from Tibet, and we were most hospitably received and entertained. Captain Kingdon Ward and Lord Cawdor had the same experience under similar circumstances some years later.

As we approached the scattered villages, consisting of farmhouses prettily situated among orange, lemon and pomegranate trees, the headmen would meet us, burning incense of wormwood and other fragrant shrubs; some of this would be carried before us, and while we waited for transport coopies to be changed we would be given food and strong drink, and finally were seen off with the same ceremonies.

The first small official we met was an old man who had fought against us in the war of 1864. He had been captured and was impressed by the good treatment he received. Our officers, he said, spent their time looking at the fight through field-glasses instead of fighting!

In this part of the country we found the people cultivating lac. Forked twigs on which the insect is fixed are hooked on to trees, and in course of time they spread over the tree. The twigs are then cut off and boiled to extract the lac. This demands a high price in Calcutta.

The only important dzong we passed on this occasion was Trashigang. Here we were especially well received. The official had accompanied the Maharaja (then Trongsa Penlop) to Lhasa with the Younghusband Mission in 1904. The Bhutanese have a pretty custom of sending mules or ponies to meet the traveller the last few miles (or even few days) of his journey. These mules are covered with beautiful appliqué-work saddle-cloths. At Trashigang we were met not by one mule each, but by two, so that we could change them when tired.

Here also we came in for a masked lama dance in which a monk in the dress and mask of Lopen Rimboche blessed and named all the babies from the surrounding country. Nothing could have exceeded the kindness we experienced throughout on this journey which, it must be remembered, was a surprise one and undertaken without permission of the Bhutanese.

In 1922 I was deputed by the Government of India to take the insignia of the G.C.I.E. to Sir Ugyen Wangchuk. We entered Bhutan from the Chumbi valley and travelled eastwards to Bumtang, where His Highness was living.

We travelled along the road used by Mr. White in 1905. Leaving the Chumbi valley on June 20, we crossed a 14,150 feet pass, the Kyu La, and in three days we reached the first of the dzongs, which, as has been explained, are situated in each large valley at a suitable altitude for habitation by a hill people. This was Ha Dzong (9,100 feet altitude). On this part of the road we found wonderful Alpine flowers, primulas of many kinds—deep crimson, red and yellow; blue and yellow poppies. On another occasion earlier in the year we found a beautiful primula in

flower which has proved to be a new species. I am making efforts this year to obtain seed of this plant. We also found growing the beautiful large white poppy, *Meconopsis superba*.

In the fir forests were numbers of pheasants, blood pheasants (*Ithagernes cruentus*) being the most common, but also the crimson tragopan and the monal. Last year I sent specimens of all of these birds to the Edinburgh Zoo, where they are now happily acclimatized.

The thick forest was the home of the Sikkim stag (*Cervus affinis*), of which I saw three; but since then this beautiful animal has probably been exterminated by poachers, at least in this part of the country. The almost artificially preserved herd in the holy valley of Tsari in Tibet will, I hope, preserve this animal from total extinction.

Above the tree-level are numbers of bharal, the wild blue sheep (*Ovis nahura*).

We spent three days at Ha as the guests of Raja S. T. Dorji, and amused ourselves by fishing, archery, and visits to the fine buildings and the lovely valleys in the neighbourhood.

Bhutanese are very fond of, and excel at, archery. The range at Ha was 130 yards. The bows are of bamboo and very hard to draw.

Raja Dorji, our host, is a very remarkable man. Brought up in Kalimpong, he has received a first-class education and is entirely patriotic, placing his country's welfare before all else. Largely at his own expense he has educated a number of boys with a view to their carrying on the development of their country without the necessity of employing Europeans or Indians. He is a thorough sportsman, playing all games and being well known as a successful owner of racing ponies at Darjeeling. He was entirely in the confidence of his late Highness Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, and his advice and assistance are even more appreciated by the present Maharaja.

Two days' march from Ha, crossing the Chi Lai La (12,400 feet), brought us to Paro, another large dzong.

Entry into Paro was like a dream of the Middle Ages.

Some miles away we were met by the picturesque soldiers of the Paro Penlop's body-guard, some indefatigable dancers and the usual gaily decorated mules for us to ride.

As you ride the mule the servant runs along addressing the animal by name at all difficult places—such warnings as: "Tashima! Mind the stones!" "Be careful of the mud!" "Go slowly!" "Look out!" etc.

The life of one of these Bhutanese chiefs is reminiscent of our own country in Norman times. The baron lives in his castle with soldiers dressed in gay silks and steel helmets, while they carry a shield made of rhinoceros hide, painted black and red, and wear two swords, one in a silk bag in reserve.

The dancers are wonderful men, and I have known them dance con-

tinuously five miles along a rough road. In our camps they would sit on the ground outside our tents, and dance in front of us if we went out for a walk. The Paro Penlop even kept a jester whose jokes kept his retainers in roars of laughter.

The Paro Penlop lives in an enormous room with spotlessly clean walls and floors of beautifully polished pine. Round the walls are hung fire-arms of various makes. Tower muskets, matchlocks, Chinese rifles, and modern sporting weapons; the bolt or hammer of each is sealed down. There are also numbers of swords, shields, bows and arrows.

The altitude of Paro is about 7,750 feet. The climate must be drier than that of Ha. I noticed butterflies and plants of species that must have come up from the plains—rice is the chief crop. Fine walnuts are grown here, and in this part of Bhutan temperate fruits would probably thrive.

The forest contains bears and gooral. We spent two happy days at Paro playing football and cricket, and visiting the dzong and the fine temples which it contains.

Our next step was to Trashi-Chö Dzong. The journey took us two days to our camp at Tsa-li-ma-pe, about four miles from Trashi-Chö Dzong. The pass we crossed between these valleys was the Bela La (11,600 feet). In the forests we shot a bear and a barking deer and some Kalij pheasants. We also caught a young bear, which we sent as a present to the Dalai Lama at Lhasa.

From Tsa-li-ma-pe we took two days to Punaka, crossing the dividing ridge at the Dokyong La (10,400 feet).

Punaka is only 5,150 feet above sea-level, and in summer is apt to be uncomfortably hot. It is for this reason that the Deb Rajas used to move to Trashi-Chö Dzong (7,800 feet) for the hot summer months, where Bogle and Turner found them in the eighteenth century. The climate at Punaka is comparatively dry. The most conspicuous tree is the long-needed pine (*Pinus longifolia*).

Punaka Dzong is strongly situated on a spit of land at the junction of two rivers.

Up one of these rivers is the home of the takin. This curious animal extends from Western China to the hills north of Assam ; then there is a break in its habitat, and there are these isolated herds in Bhutan. The late Maharaja gave me two, one of which is at present in the Zoo here.

Eight miles downstream from Punaka is the dzong of Wangdü Potrang, called by Turner "the castle of Wandipore." There were large numbers of gooral here, and we saw about a dozen in the afternoon.

Our next dzong was that of Trongsa, which we reached in five days from Wangdü Potrang, crossing the divide at the Pele La (10,950 feet).

On our second day out from Wangdü Potrang we were travelling

along through lovely forest when we suddenly came on the most magnificent sight I had ever seen. The road was cut out of the hillside, and on the slopes we were amazed to come on acres of the most beautiful lily (*Lilium nepalense burmanicum*). The wonderful plant had a very open bell, the centre of which was deep crimson, with the outer half of the petals a greenish-white.

We had this lily along our road in patches for the next two days. So struck were we by the flower that we sent men some 200 miles from Sikkim to collect bulbs in the autumn, and some of these are now growing in this country. There were also many orchids on the trees.

Trongsa used to be the headquarters of the eastern part of Bhutan, and was occupied by a high official called a "Penlop." He was frequently independent of the Deb Rajas, and a cause of great trouble to them and to us. Sir Ugyen Wangchuk was Penlop of Trongsa when he was elected Maharaja of the country. He kept the position of Trongsa Penlop in his own hands, and the young Maharaja has done the same, so that at present there is no Trongsa Penlop, the office being merged into that of Maharaja. This arrangement, if maintained, should eliminate what has in the past been a source of trouble. Trongsa Dzong is very strongly situated, and the highroad passes right through the dzong. So, there being no easy way round, the castle maintains an excellent control over the country.

Two days' march from Trongsa, during which we crossed the dividing spur at the Yo-To La (11,200 feet), brought us to Bumtang (9,725 feet) where the Maharaja was living. The dzong of this valley is called Byaka, and is a few miles from Bumtang.

We spent a very happy fortnight with His Highness, visiting interesting places in the neighbourhood. One temple at Ku-je has been built against a rock under which Guru Rimpoche had sat in meditation for so long that his body impressed itself on the very rock, while his staff which he had stuck in the ground sprouted and is now a large tree. This is the holiest spot in Bhutan.

On the day on which the insignia of the G.C.I.E. was presented to His Highness, all the chiefs and important officials bowed down to him and gave him presents. After the ceremony all the population of the locality were fed and given money.

We played games with the Bhutanese in the large open meadow at Ku-je—football, cricket, rounders, and also fired rifles and practised archery.

From Bumtang we travelled north and crossed the main axis of the Himalayas at a pass—the Monlakarchung—17,400 feet above sea-level. This road thus took us through the northernmost zone. Soon the vegetation changed, pines gave way to firs, larches, birch and rhododendron. Villages were left behind, and in parts even the hardy mules

of the country had difficulty in travelling, and yaks were ridden. These animals, though slow and uncomfortable to ride, are very sure-footed and will go over almost any ground. In the forest were musk deer, bears, gooral, tragopan and monal pheasants, and a rare form of the blood pheasant (*Ithagenes tibetanus*). Alpine flowers were wonderful, and included several kinds of orchids.

On another occasion we travelled through the upper zone of Bhutan, coming from Phari in Tibet to Paro. The road is very steep, among magnificent scenery, and passed the beautifully situated dzong of Drukgye. This means "Bhutanese Victory," and is the site of a victory over the Tibetans. Bogle in 1774 stayed here, and described it as "a castle, romantically enough situated on the top of a mount."

A journey through the Terai or foothills is a great contrast to travel in the interior of Bhutan. After the war of 1864 the frontier was demarcated along the foothills and marked out by pillars. These were usually made of brick. Now, for some reason the wild elephant abhors a brick pillar, and those in the thick forest were all destroyed, but traces of them remained. Later these were rebuilt of triangles of railway rails. These proved to be too much for the elephants and are practically indestructible. In the course of my duties I took the opportunity to inspect these pillars, which necessitated a journey along the southern frontiers of Bhutan.

Except for a few recent Nepalese settlers, the country is for large stretches uninhabited. In other places there are tea gardens on the Indian side of the frontier.

We would travel occasionally by motor-car on the Indian side, and then, on crossing the frontier, we would ourselves travel either on elephants or ponies, having Bhutanese or Nepalese coolies to take our baggage.

The Bhutanese made us the most delightful camps. Jungle was cleared and huts built of grass and bamboo and decorated with orchids, bright-coloured jungle plants and oranges. Wild plantain trees would be put along the paths in the camp, and the entrance would be marked by a decorated archway of bamboo trellis-work. Conspicuous in the camp is the camp fire, made of huge logs which will burn for days. Round this we would sit in the evening, watching the Bhutanese dancers and listening to their songs.

The only roads in the thick forest are those made by the wild elephants which travel along the plains, following the contour of the foothills. We ourselves would usually ride an elephant through the forest or tall grass, which was full of game—elephant, buffalo, bison, tiger, deer, etc. Several rivers had to be crossed, which teemed with large fish. We usually managed to get some dug-out canoes up from India for fishing and for crossing these rivers, or we would cross on

elephants. An elephant is a most useful animal on a fishing expedition. You can cross quite large rivers, and if hung up he will go into deep water and pull out your line for you.

On one occasion when visiting Punaka early in the year the passes in the west of Bhutan were impassable on account of snow, so we were obliged to enter the country from the south, passing through the Terai belt and ascending the lower hills. The actual river valleys were deep gorges, so our road lay up and down over hills. One spur we crossed, the Sela La, was 11,800 feet high, and under deep snow in early March.

The Bhutanese are a very artistic people; their appliquéd saddle-cloths in coloured broadcloth are marvels of fine work in bold designs. Bags for carrying food and other articles are also made of cloth of the brightest colours most beautifully combined. They weave the most brilliant materials from silk, which they import from India. The religious pictures are very often made of embroidery, and most artistically worked. But it is in metal-work that the Bhutanese excel. The ornamental work on the altars cannot be matched in Tibet. The people chew a great deal of betel nut, and this, perhaps not very pleasant, habit has given us the most artistically worked silver boxes, usually with a gold wash in parts, and sometimes set with turquoises. Their swords are particularly fine; the hilts and buckles are of open-work silver, while the sword itself is of steel most beautifully polished. Each man takes the greatest pride in the polish he can get on the blade of his sword.

The Bhutanese have a very pretty custom of receiving a guest. At some point a few miles from the end of the stage a bower of branches is put up, inside of which are bamboo mats on which are cushions. The traveller rests here and is refreshed with fruit and drink; another place is prepared for all his servants and retainers. A similar custom prevails in Sikkim and Tibet.

Their table decorations are more often fruit than flowers. This is artistically arranged on silver or copper and silver stands. The food usually served on ceremonial occasions is rice cooked in saffron and butter. They also more ordinarily eat very hot curries. A man serving tea or wine will always pour a little in the palm of his hand and drink it before filling your cup—a relic of the days when precautions had to be taken against poisoning. They drink a large amount of China tea, but tea-drinking is not so universal as among the Tibetans. They also drink spirits and fermented liquors.

They write the Tibetan character, but in manuscript there is a distinct difference between the Tibetan and Bhutanese characters. In Tibet each letter must be wrapped in a white silk scarf, and this white scarf takes a prominent place in all ceremonials. In Bhutan the custom is altered in that the scarf may be of various colours, and often scarves of three different colours are given. In saying good-bye,

scarves are exchanged, and the parties wave to each other and give a peculiar call until out of sight. Even the Maharaja himself parted from us in this way.

There is a very great difference between the houses of the high officials and those of peasantry. The former are enormous blocks of masonry of great strength with high walls. One peculiarity, which is shared with Tibet, is that walls are not perpendicular, but slope inwards. Roofs are invariably of wooden shingles held down by stones.

The poorer people live in houses of wood with the walls filled in with planks or mud.

The religion is the red cap, or old form of lamaism. Numbers of Bhutanese go to Lhasa on pilgrimage, and a Bhutanese Consul is maintained in Lhasa. Near Kailas a holy snow peak in western Tibet is a curious Bhutanese religious foundation over which the Maharaja of Bhutan claims administrative control.

In south-eastern Tibet near the great bend in the Tsangpo, Major Morshead and I came on some colonies of Bhutanese who had migrated from Bhutan about a hundred years ago in response to a prophecy of a land flowing with milk and honey. These people retained their own dress, language and some of their arts, notably that of basket-making.

Roads according to our ideas are very bad, stony, muddy and with steep rock steps in places, but this is all that is required by the hardy people and animals of the country.

Bridges are very well built on the cantilever principle. Most important bridges have a guard-house at either end which enables the bridge to be closed easily and effectually in case of need. The dress of the people is something similar to that of Tibetans, but the skirt is quite short, almost like a kilt. The officials and their retainers wear costumes or brilliantly coloured silks woven in the country. They carry a ceremonial scarf or shawl of various colours according to rank. The Maharaja alone wears a scarlet one; the uses and flourishes of this shawl are important matters of ceremonial. Both men and women wear their hair short; occasionally a woman may be seen with long hair bound with a pretty wreath of silver set with turquoise, but this is the old fashion which is fast dying out.

Bhutan is a country of various dialects, mostly variations of Tibetan. The people of some parts cannot converse with those of other places; but they have the religious bond of Lhasa, and Lhasa Tibetan will take the traveller through most places.

My pleasantest recollections will always be of travel in this delightful country; of the feudal customs of this hospitable people; of the magnificent buildings, the glorious scenery of pine, green turf and flowers and river gorges, from the steaming foothills up to the snow; but above all, of the great and lasting friendships made among people of whom Bogle

in 1774 wrote : "They are strangers to falsehood and ingratitude : theft and every other species of dishonesty to which the love of money gives birth are little known." All combine to make this country unique in the twentieth century. May it long remain unspoilt.

Lord ZETLAND: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to bear witness to the realistic nature of Colonel Bailey's description of the country, and also to the excellent idea of the country which he has given with his slides. I should also like to congratulate him, and may I also include Mrs. Bailey who accompanied him, upon the successful nature of his journey. The same G.C.I.E. of which Colonel Bailey spoke has a history attached. I took it into Bhutan myself the previous year, but I was not so successful as Colonel Bailey. The Maharajah was taken ill—I think it was influenza, which was very prevalent just then—and he was therefore unable to meet me at Paro. Nevertheless I had an opportunity of seeing much of the country Colonel Bailey has described.

One of the things which struck me about the country was the solidity of the buildings. The feudal castles are often of huge proportions, and one of the dzongs, of which Colonel Bailey showed us a picture, housed about three hundred people when I was there.

The Bhutanese have a strongly developed engineering and architectural skill, for the bridges which I saw were built strictly on the cantilever principle. This skill came to them from their Tibetan ancestors, I believe, but Sir Charles Bell—who I see is here this afternoon—will correct me if I am wrong.

Colonel Bailey told us about the saintly gentleman who left his imprint on the rock for future generations to worship, by leaning back upon the rock. During a tour of one of the monasteries I noticed a small groove marked out on the floor, said to have been made by a certain lama constantly kneeling before the altar in prayer. Another example of a saintly imprint is the mark on Adam's Peak in India. It is called Adam's or Buddha's footprint according to the religious belief of the person referring to it.

Colonel Bailey has mentioned the evolution of the Government of Bhutan, and he has described how long ago Bhutan was governed by a priestly autocrat. The Prime Minister gradually usurped the temporal power of the priestly governor. Soon there was a spiritual and temporal head of the country. Much the same thing happened in Tibet and Nepal.

I am glad to have this opportunity of congratulating Colonel Bailey on the success of his journey, more especially as I know what great work he has done, not only in that particular part of the world, but in many parts of Asia. The service he has rendered his country has been

done unobtrusively, but nevertheless is of great importance. May I express to him personally my great pleasure in hearing the lecture we have had this afternoon.

Sir CHARLES BELL: I should like to join my congratulations to those of Lord Zetland and thank Colonel Bailey for the specially interesting lecture he has given us this afternoon. I found it specially interesting because it brought back my two journeys in that country, the first through western Bhutan, which was then hostile, and the second when the country had become friendly, my reception being very like that which Colonel Bailey has described this afternoon.

Of architecture I do not pretend to know very much, but the architecture of Tibet is very like that of Bhutan, except that in Bhutan everything is bigger. In some places in Bhutan there are very few houses, most people living in the forts. I think the architecture must be indigenous, for we know that in the thirteenth century, Khublai, the great Mongol Emperor of China, invited the Grand Lama of Sa-kya, who brought masons and other craftsmen to Peking, where they designed and built, painted and carved.

Another thing that strikes one is the great physical strength of these people. They are descended from the eastern Tibetans, who are one of the finest races of the world.

The Bhutanese have a wonderful artistic power. Among other things they do silk needlework—appliqué work of very fine quality. In 1910 I went to Punaka to make a treaty, by which Bhutan agreed to place her external relations under the British Government, provided that we agreed not to interfere in her internal affairs. During this visit, Colonel Kennedy and I had opportunities of seeing what a high standard of artistry was maintained. (Applause.)

After a few words from General Beynon, Lord ALLENBY in conclusion said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I would like to move now a vote of thanks to our lecturer this evening, and I should like also to express to Mrs. Bailey the admiration I have for her gallant and energetic husband.

May I ask you to express your agreement in the usual way. (Applause.)

THE NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA

BY SIR CHARLES BELL, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.

THE northern and north-eastern frontier of India does not receive the attention that it deserves. The Indian Government, remembering the turmoils of the past, naturally devotes a preponderating attention to the north-west. But the two thousand miles that separate India and Nepal from Tibet—the longest of all the Indian frontiers—are often neglected by the Government, while the military and diplomatic officers in Indian service are apt to talk of the "Frontier" as though the north-western part were the whole. It is not so. Behind the Himalaya, throughout the vast tablelands and valleys of Tibet, there are forces at work, unseen and almost unknown, that closely concern the welfare of India.

The purpose of this article is to consider briefly the relations between India and this area of a million square miles to the north that is inhabited by the Tibetans.

What does India need from Tibet? As I read the position, she wants external influences kept out of that country. Buffer states are often useless, but Tibet, as a buffer, is ideal. Its huge area, lying high and cold and largely uninhabited behind the ramparts of the Himalaya, affords India a barrier of unparalleled strength. The Tibetans of themselves, even if they should become hostile, can be no menace to India; their few millions of peace-loving people are scattered over too wide a territory. But India does not want China established in power over Tibet; still less does she desire the U.S.S.R. In fact, it is in India's interest that Tibet should be mistress in her own house, and strong enough to keep the control over it.

This is naturally just what Tibet herself desires. She has the desire for self-government general throughout the world, and doubly strong in the mountain-born. She has lived her own life in the past, and wishes to do so in the future. Threats against her independence have come in the main from China. To this country Tibet is serviceable as a barrier on the west, and doubly serviceable when the Dalai Lama's dominant influence in religious matters can be used to control Tibetan, Mongol, and Manchu. The Lama's Government is probably strong enough at present to ward off minor attacks from China. In 1917 the Chinese general in the south-eastern territory of Tibet launched an attack, but was defeated and captured by his Tibetan opponent. The latter followed up his victory by reconquering several Tibetan districts which had been

taken by China during those years of Tibetan weakness that followed the British Expedition to Lhasa in 1904. Yes, Tibet is strong enough now to keep off enemies on a moderate scale, but not to resist large bodies of troops. She wishes, therefore, to feel that in a supreme necessity she has the goodwill of Britain and India behind her, with such support as can reasonably be given.

One limitation must be admitted. India is advancing towards the goal of self-government. Should this involve the withdrawal of British troops from India, the latter country would be unable to help Tibet ; it would not be strong enough. The Tibetan Government would then, of necessity, fall under the influence of either China or Russia, and turn away from India. Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim would follow in due course, and probably Burma also. But on this hypothesis the whole Indian frontier from Baluchistan to Burma stands or falls together ; all would be changed. We must assume that British military power will be maintained, and, as a natural corollary, a British control in foreign relations.

This, then, is our basis, India and Tibet helping each other according to their means for the benefit of both. As a rule, what suits the one suits the other. On such a firm ground a good understanding can be well established.

In 1921, and for several years previously, such a good understanding had been established. In October, 1921, when I left Lhasa, after an eleven months' visit, the last words which the Dalai Lama—who rules Tibet in fact as well as in name—addressed to me were : "I have complete confidence in you, for we two are men of like mind. I pray continually that you may return to Lhasa." Shortly afterwards the Dalai Lama wrote to the Viceroy : "All the people of Tibet and myself have become of one mind, and the British and Tibetans have become one family."

The permission granted to the Mount Everest party to establish themselves on Tibetan territory during three separate years when attacking the mountain—a permission which Nepal, our ally, consistently refused—was but one of many signs. All who travelled in Tibet at that time noticed the goodwill evinced by Tibetans towards us. General Bruce, the leader of the Mount Everest Expedition, referred to the Tibetan attitude towards British travellers in Tibet as "almost startlingly friendly," or words to that effect.*

My reason for mentioning these details, which could be multiplied indefinitely, is to show that we have a solid basis for an excellent relationship with Tibet, and such a relationship was in full force eight years ago.

Is it still in force ? That is the question. I am not in the confidence of the Government, but such information as reaches me makes me feel that it is not.

Take one instance, the flight of the Tashi Lama to China. It is a great pity that it took place. No doubt there were difficulties. Nobody can be more aware of these than I am, as I had to face them for many years. But I am confident that they might have been surmounted.

The Tashi Lama's presence in China gives the Chinese a powerful lever for regaining her authority in Tibet, for Tashi Lhünpo has always had ambitions towards independence. A feudal state in Asia is constantly liable to fall back under the rule of independent princelets. And the past history of China shows that in her dealings with Tibet and Mongolia she has always proceeded on the principle of "divide and rule."

There is strong reason to believe that the Tibetan Government have to some extent turned their face from India and come closer to China. If China should establish herself again in Lhasa, as she did in 1910 and 1911, the result would be constant pressure on India's north-eastern frontier and on Burma also. The hundreds of miles of tea estates from Darjeeling to Dibrugarh would find themselves in unaccustomed difficulties.

Nepal at present enjoys in Tibet, under a treaty concluded in 1856, the valuable rights of extra-territoriality and free trade. She does not accord these to Tibetans in Nepal. If Chinese control is built up at Lhassa, it may threaten the withdrawal of these privileges—for China was no party to the 1856 treaty—unless Nepal withdraws or restricts the supply of the twenty thousand Gurkha soldiers, whom she now permits to enlist in the Indian Army. In fact, China may create difficulties for the British in many ways, for she would like to weaken us in India, and, if possible, to move us out altogether. She would find it easier to deal with an India unprotected by the British. When the Chinese won through to Lhasa in 1910, we saw the beginnings of all this. Should their control be re-established, the completion would follow.

China has for many years been Tibet's chief enemy, for it is she who has stood in the way of Tibet obtaining self-government. After the Chinese Revolution of 1911 the Tibetans fought the disorganized Chinese garrisons in Tibet and drove them out. Tibet, as a whole, does not want those garrisons back again. She used to look towards India for support—diplomatic support, at any rate—in maintaining her independence. If she looks no longer, there is but one Power to which she can look, and that is the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Now Tibetans, and especially the heads of the Tibetan Government, do certainly dislike Soviet methods. The leading men in a thoroughly feudal country have no use for "the dictatorship of the proletariat." When they come to understand them, the entire nation, priests and laymen, must view with abhorrence the Soviet attitude towards religion,

for no people on this earth are more devoted to their religion than the people of Tibet.

But the U.S.S.R. are astute at concealing their aims in Oriental countries. And they are not without their own advantages. In the first place the Tibetans like Russians, qua Russians, apart from their Soviet tinge. Often have they told me in Lhasa and elsewhere, "The British have fought against us, the Chinese have often fought against us, but the Russians have never fought against us." They are aware of the huge mass of Russian territory stretching the whole length of northern Asia and covering also more than half of Europe.

Secondly, one must consider the Soviet position in Mongolia. North of this country in the Trans-Baikal area is the land of the Buriats, with an area of about one hundred and sixty thousand square miles and a population of half a million souls. The people are Mongols, but the land was annexed by Russia two hundred years ago, and for the last six years they have been formed into a Socialist Soviet Republic. By their long connection with Russia they are regarded as somewhat higher, more cultured, than their primitive Mongol kinsmen, and therefore as well equipped to spread influence among the latter. It was through these Buriats that Tsarist Russia gained its strong position in Mongolia. It is through them that the U.S.S.R. maintains and seeks to extend that position. And, of course, the Red Army is always at the gates.

But we must look further. The connection between Mongolia and Tibet is as strong as that between any two countries can be. These two neighbours have the same nomadic instincts, their races are closely akin, and their civilization similar. Most important of all, their religion is identical, for Mongolia took its Buddhism from Tibet, and from Tibet alone. Their destinies have been indissolubly linked in the past, and are likely to be so linked in the future. Thousands of Mongol monks, including a proportion of Buriats are to be found in Tibet, and many of these study in the large religious houses that carry so much influence with the Government at Lhasa.

It follows from all this that the Soviet authorities have ample means at their disposal for pushing their influence in Tibet, both at headquarters and in the out-lying districts. Again, the Dalai Lama obtains a large income from the offerings of the Mongol pilgrims who came to Lhasa to do him obeisance. He obtains an income also from the funds which he placed in Mongolia during his exile after the British Expedition to Lhasa in 1904. This income and these funds are largely at the mercy of the Soviet, and the fact that it is so must cause the ruler of Tibet to hesitate before quarrelling with the Soviet authorities.

The above is not mere theory ; it has been translated into hard fact. The information that has come my way, either through the public press

or through private acquaintances, shows only too clearly that Soviet Agents have been active in Tibet during the last four or five years. In 1903 Tsarist Russia announced that, even if the British intervened, they would not desire to interfere in the affairs of Tibet, as their policy "ne viserait le Thibet en aucun cas."* But the Soviet Union knows no such limitations.

One other country must be brought within this purview, and that is Nepal. For some time past there has been a dispute which became highly acrimonious and showed unmistakable signs of leading to a Gurkha invasion of Tibet. The press has recently informed us that this has been settled. But there is, as I have explained more fully elsewhere,[†] constant friction between these two neighbours. If such friction ever comes to a head and culminates in a Gurkha invasion of Tibetan territory, Tibet could hardly fail to call in either China or the Russian Soviet to her assistance against this British ally, operating from the Indian borderland with arms obtained through India. The ultimate result would be to bring on India and on Nepal also the grave injury which I have endeavoured to outline in the preceding pages.

Four or five years ago we were informed that the Tibetan Government refused to allow the Mount Everest expedition to continue. Chinese Agents, kept out by the Tibetans since about 1913, appear, during the last five years or so, to have come again to the fore, with the result that overtures have been made by Tibet to the Nanking Government. This is supplemented by the report that the Tibetan Government refused to receive the British Agent in Lhasa. The latter had only recently joined the post; a popular officer who, during his previous service in Tibet, had always got on well with all classes of Tibetans.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have indicated the principles that, in my view, govern our position on the north-eastern frontier of India. It would be out of the question for us, who do not share the information with which we hope our Government is plentifully equipped, to make detailed suggestions. But in laying these few thoughts before the readers of our Journal I may help towards an appreciation of the importance of the issues that are involved. It is necessary that those who are responsible, for British-Indian policy should visualize not only the barren highlands of Tibet, but also the strong and sleepless forces that are working behind them.

* Tibet Blue Book, 1904-05, No. 83, despatch from the Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir C. Scott, dated April 8, 1903.

[†] "Tibet Past and Present" (Oxford University Press), p. 234.

TRIBAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY

ONLY a few months ago, General Smuts, as reported in *The Times* of November 18, in his Rhodes Memorial Lecture at Oxford on the vital problem of "Native Policy in Africa," attributed the present crisis there in native affairs to the fact that "the African system was disintegrating everywhere over the whole continent. . . . In the interests of the natives as well as those of the European administrators responsible for their welfare," declared General Smuts in a weighty and far-seeing pronouncement, "we are called upon to retrace our steps, to take all proper measures which are still possible to restore or preserve the authority of the chiefs, and to maintain the bonds of solidarity and discipline which have in the past supported the tribal organization of the natives."

Nearly forty years ago Sir Robert Sandeman, Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan, died in the province which he had added to the Indian Empire, and which for fifteen years he had ruled, by methods which could not be better summed up than in General Smuts's pronouncement, and which were so much the creation of the man himself that they are generally known as the "Sandeman system." His system, moreover, did not die with Sandeman, and since it is applicable to tribal organizations of every kind, whether Baluch, Pathan, Burmese, Arab, Kurd or African, and since never before have tribal problems impinged with greater force on the British Empire, both it and its creator are of very present and practical interest.

In the year 1866 the North-West Frontier of India, from Peshawar in the north to Karachi in the south, was administered on the "close border" policy. This has been defined as a "system of non-intervention tempered by punitive expeditions," and meant that while up to our administrative border British rule was enforced, the tribal territory beyond it up to the Afghan frontier was left completely untouched. There was, however, at that epoch a young District Commissioner in charge of the Dera Ghazi Khan district, at the southern end of the Punjab frontier, who had quite other ideas of tribal policy, which ideas he was, against the most strenuous official opposition, to put into practice with consummate daring, and thereby in time—perhaps his greatest achievement, greater than the occupation of Baluchistan—to revolutionize the attitude of the Government of India towards the whole of the frontier problem.

Lieutenant Robert Groves Sandeman, a Scotsman following in the footsteps of many famous Scotsmen, had come out to India some years

previously on a "direct infantry appointment," had seen service in the Mutiny, had attracted the attention of Sir John Lawrence, then Governor of the Punjab, by a venturesome ride with important dispatches through an enemy infested countryside, had been given a post in the Punjab Commission, had gained valuable experience in various other frontier districts, and now found himself at Dera Ghazi Khan. (The details of his career are to be found in an interesting biography, "Sir Robert Sandeman," by T. H. Thornton, published in 1895.) The methods which the young District Commissioner began experimenting with in his district, and which he afterwards matured with such important results, have been defined as "a system of conciliatory intervention tempered by lucrative employment and light taxation." The keystones of the "Sandeman system" were (and are) the *jirgah*—or tribal council—whereby the tribe was made responsible for law and order in its area, tribal service whereby the tribe was given the means to carry out its responsibilities by enlisting its men in local levies, and (whenever possible) employment for the penurious tribesman on road-making and other forms of public works, all this tribal activity being under the control of experienced Political Officers. This "system" Sandeman applied first to the Baluch tribes within his area, whose tribal organization—then in a state of rapid decay—he built up under competent chiefs and headmen, to such good effect that, when raided by a noted freebooter from across the border at the head of 1,500 men, inspired by their Deputy Commissioner they took the field under their leaders, pursued the raiders, killed 120 of them, and captured 200 prisoners. Such were the brilliant first-fruits of Sandeman's policy of tribal "self-government," which is worthless unless it can include the important duty of tribal self-defence. Sandeman next proceeded to extend his methods to tribal territory *beyond* his border, and with equal success. The tribesmen entered into a compact to cease raiding, to keep open and guard the trade routes leading from their respective areas into British territory, and to supply a small number of tribal horsemen for local service. The "system" had taken firm root in Dera Ghazi Khan, and to prove its efficacy Sandeman, disobeying a strict order prohibiting Political Officers to cross the border without special permission, made a tour in independent territory without military protection of any kind. Nobody was less of a "swashbuckler" than Sandeman; caution and patience were two of his characteristics. He had nevertheless that cool, calculating, two-o'clock-in-the-morning courage, moral as well as physical, which can on occasions deliberately take considerable risks provided the end in view is adequate. "The bad traveller carries his adventures with him," but Sandeman's, and he had his share of them, came from no bad travelling, and on this occasion when he hazarded not only his own life but his career, his audacity was crowned with success.

For three weeks he visited chief after chief, guarded only by tribal escorts, and returned across the border, where his offence was officially condoned, while its successful issue did more, as Sandeman had shrewdly suspected, to found faith in his methods than a multitude of official despatches.

His handling of the external affairs of his district brought Sandeman into touch with the State of Khelat, by treaty under our suzerainty, and the most important unit in the territory which later was to come under his rule. Khelat at this period was plunged in anarchy, and rent by civil war between its ruler—the Khan—and his rebellious chiefs, a state of affairs which closely affected our cisborder districts, both commercially and politically. There were two official views as to how to deal with the situation. That of the "close-borderers," headed by Sir Charles Merewether, K.C.S.I., C.B., Commissioner of Sind, who held that no intervention was practicable, except perhaps by force, and that of the opposition headed by plain Captain Sandeman, who boldly stated that a friendly settlement between the Khan and his chiefs was feasible by personal and pacific intervention across the border.

Each side sincerely believed their views to be correct, and into the hot controversy which followed, and which lasted some six years, it is unnecessary to enter. Suffice to say that slowly, but surely, Sandeman's views prevailed with the Government of India, and this mainly because he enforced them not only with words but by deeds. His activities during this period it is impossible to detail. In order to induce a marauding tribe to tender submission, he visits them without military escort, reasons with them, and while their chiefs proceed to headquarters to discuss terms, remains as a hostage for their safe return. He is sent by Government on a mission to the Khan of Khelat; while on his way receives peremptory orders from the Commissioner of Sind—who is still in charge of Khelat affairs—to refrain from proceeding further, puts them in his pocket, and quietly carries on. A change of Viceroys brings to India a "Pharaoh who knows not Joseph," and who, though later converted to the "system," at first views his activities with not a little distrust, and this while Sandeman is in the crux of a second mission to Khelat. But neither official opposition, nor discouragement, nor physical fatigue—long hours in the saddle in days when cars and aeroplanes were undreamt of—nor that dreaded scourge, cholera on the march, nor the obstinacy, suspicions, and intrigues of the Khan and his rebellious chiefs (the making of peace between whom was the main object of his intervention), could seriously disturb or deter the indomitable Sandeman. As ambassador between the British and the Baluchis, amongst both of whom were divided counsels, he had the inestimable advantage of the man who knows his own mind. In July, 1876, he held a big *jirgah* at Khelat, on

which both the Khan and the chiefs were represented by arbitrators, with himself less as judge than as impartial adviser to both sides—a rôle he always filled *con amore*, and at which he persuaded both parties to meet each other halfway in a rational and amiable spirit. The arrangements thus come to were confirmed by the Government of India, a new treaty was made with the Khan, the policy of non-intervention in Khelat affairs was finally abandoned, and in February, 1877, Major Sandeman—as he had then become—was made a C.S.I. and appointed Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, which he had added to the Indian Empire *without the firing of a shot*.

But striking as was Sandeman's "occupation" of Baluchistan, his administration of it is even more pregnant with lessons for the present day. In his lecture General Smuts showed how in South Africa both the administrator and the missionary, with the best intentions in the world, had suppressed the tribal organizations, failing to differentiate between what was bad in them, which should be eradicated, and what was good, which not only should be preserved, but encouraged and strengthened. The white man also, General Smuts pointed out, did a grave injury to the native by doing everything for him in the way of government, and thereby deprive his life of public interest. Sandeman, as might be expected, committed none of these cardinal errors. He had neither the "office mind" of a certain type of headquarter official, who looks out on the world and sees men as files walking, nor the misplaced zeal of a certain type of local administrator, who insists on doing for his people what they should gradually learn, inevitably at the cost of making mistakes, to do for themselves. He did not seek, what is comparatively easy, to impose a "spick and span" Western administration on a primitive community, but—a far more difficult task—to build up an indigenous government, in essentials conforming to Western standards, in structure admitting of participation by the people themselves. His implement towards this end was the *jirgah*, which he had inherited from a previous generation of notable Political Officers as a means of settling frontier quarrels, and which—much amplified—he now employed for ruling a province. District administration was largely carried on through local assemblies of chiefs and headmen under the general control of the Political Officers who were his assistants; while inter-district and other more important questions and quarrels were composed at the bi-annual big *jirgahs*, over which he himself presided. Side by side with the *jirgah* went the other two keystones of the "Sandeman system": tribal service in local levies, and employment for the tribesman on public works. Baluchistan is essentially a tribal country, but under settled British rule more complicated conditions of life naturally developed, and areas were added to it in regard to which the duties of Sir Robert Sandeman (he had been

made a K.C.S.I. for his services in the Afghan War), in his capacity of Chief Commissioner (as well as Agent to the Governor-General), were administrative rather than "political." Nevertheless, he continued to preserve the general principles of his system, and the Baluchistan Code of Laws, which was finally evolved, still preserved the *jirgah* system for the tribes, while giving regular courts of justice to the more urban elements.

Such were the lines on which Sir Robert Sandeman ruled Baluchistan for fifteen years until his death from influenza on January 29, 1892, while on tour in Las Beyla, a small state near the Sind frontier. The details of his administration must be passed over with the brief comment that it was eminently successful, bringing law, order, and prosperity where previously there had been only bloodshed and anarchy, and not only amongst the Baluchis. Critics of his system said that while applicable to the "aristocratic" Baluch tribal organizations, in which the clansman obeys his chief, it would not work with the "democratic" Pathan, who often has little respect for his nominal headman. Yet when Pathan districts were incorporated in Baluchistan, Sir Robert applied his system to them with excellent results.

Of the man himself and his qualities some idea has been given. He had a fine physique, a manner imperturbably genial alike to Asiatics and Europeans, whatever might be his secret anxieties or his responsibilities, and a big heart. He saved the life of a dying friend, when all hope had been given up, by riding forty miles to fetch his own doctor, and—to redress the grievance of a subordinate—postponed his leave home to travel three thousand miles at his own expense, from Bombay to Calcutta and back, for a personal interview with the Viceroy. He was a humanist. "To be successful on this frontier," he wrote, "a man has to deal with the hearts and minds of the people, and not only with their fears."

There is virtue in that "only," since when occasion arose he was prepared to employ force, but as a last resort and with the minimum required for the object in view. Moreover, an operation which might otherwise have grown to a full-fledged punitive expedition, in his skilful hands became little more than a triumphal procession, as in his famous opening of the Gumal Pass. To say that he was just is merely to give him an attribute common to the services in India, but he had that rarer gift of a sympathetic insight into the Asiatic view of justice as well as the Western. His death, though widely and deeply regretted in the official world of India which knew his worth, and regarded as a personal loss by all in Baluchistan, whether English, Baluch, or Pathan, except for an article in *The Times*, received little attention in England. Yet to him, as much as to any who have earned that title in the Indian field, can be applied the term "great." He was not only a man of

action but a man of vision, with ideas far ahead of his period, and because of this his work has stood the searching test of time. Baluchistan is to this day administered on the lines which he laid down, and his success with the Pathan tribes—already alluded to—has led to the slow but sure infiltration of his views into the neighbouring North-West Frontier Province, thus affecting appreciably our policy on the whole of the Indian border. But his influence has extended even further. It is not without significance that Iraq, a country in which tribal elements bulk largely, out of its four High Commissioners, has had two, including the present incumbent of that important post, who have held positions on the North-West Frontier, or that a third official from that frontier is Governor-General of the Sudan, where in the last few years he has taken measures to revive the local tribal organizations as an instrument of government. Sir Robert Sandeman may indeed justly be included amongst those whose "story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

THE PEOPLES OF SINKIANG.

(Kindly communicated by the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society at the author's request.)

THE modern province of Sinkiang comprises Chinese Turkestan proper, the old province of Ili or Kulja, the Khanate of Kumul or Hami, and part of the former province of Outer Mongolia.

So great a region, situated in Central Asia, necessarily comprises a number of different races, which may be grouped under three heads : (1) The settled indigenous population ; (2) the nomads ; (3) the immigrants.

The settled indigenous population consists of the TURKIS, who are found in the south of the province between the Tian Shan and the Kuen Lun, and in the Khanate of Kumul in the extreme east.

It is quite true that the Turki is found elsewhere throughout the province, but he is there as an immigrant, and cannot claim any other districts as his own.

The Turki is the original settler, as distinguished from the nomads, in Central Asia. He is the man who has remained behind whilst other invasions have swept by him, and protected by his geographical situation and isolated by his remoteness, he has remained singularly unchanged throughout the centuries.

The word Turki, as applied to him, is purely of European origin. The man himself gives the name of his town as his description, and is a Kashgari or Aqsulik to the enquirer. The only general term he knows is SART, a word which Vambéry says is an old Uigur word for merchant.

The Turkis who live in Chinese Turkestan, or the Land of the Six Cities, as they describe it, are all Sunni Mohamedans, and appear to have embraced Islam about the year 1376. Although independent in earlier times, they have always acknowledged a vague Chinese suzerainty, which has finally developed into a stricter control, varying as events at home interfered with the power of the Central Government.

The Land of the Six Cities presents the only homogeneous part of the province. In the various oases it is possible to travel without seeing any other people than Sarts, and even the bazaars are free from alien faces. A few Chinese or stray Tungans are the sole strangers.

The Sart, however, shows in his features many traces of foreign blood, and in certain places Chinese ancestry is very marked. In the remoter places, Kelpin for example, the features are of a more regular type, and approximate closely to the Osmanli.

The distinguishing features of the Turki are the small nose, large mouth, broad face, and heavy beard. Their general appearance is not at all unpleasant; but after seeing many Sarts it is remarkable how they resemble one another, and how successfully they have absorbed alien strains.

The Turki is easy-going but not very interesting, and he is above all things a trader, not a merchant of great enterprise, but a petty dealer. Nothing he likes better than to load up a donkey with a few shillings' worth of goods, and wander slowly on, making a little profit with little exertion. His morals are indifferent, his pleasures are few, gambling and eating being the chief, yet there is hardly a Turki who knows what it means to be hungry.

They are wonderfully hardy, easily contented, and often very ingenious, with a marked taste for music, song, dancing, and embroidery.

The inhabitants of Kumul are of the same stock as their brethren in the south, and, thanks to their Khan, are devout Moslems. Owing to the greater influence of China, for the Kumul court has always kept in close touch with Peking, the people have adopted several Chinese customs, but owing to the care of the Wang, opium and drink are not amongst these.

At Turfan, on the other hand, where there is no indigenous ruler to check them, these vices are very prevalent amongst the people.

Besides the Turki, the DOULANS have a claim to be reckoned amongst the settled dwellers in Sinkiang. They are not very numerous, and live along the Yarkand River, with their chief town at Merket, about forty miles north of Yarkand city. They appear to be Mongols who have comparatively recently embraced Islam, although some men claim origin from an ancestor in Darel, on the Indus. Their customs and habits show several typically Mongol tendencies—their dirt, for instance, and their graves marked by poles with no stones or mounds—but they are rapidly losing their characteristics, intermarrying with the Sarts, and will soon be indistinguishable.

There are no really settled peoples in Zungaria, the region north of the Tian Shan, which, though now cultivated in places, has always been a preserve of the nomads. It is therefore more suitable to consider the settlers there as originally immigrants.

The nomads of Sinkiang may be divided into two classes—viz., the Mongols and the Moslems.

The Mongols are all KALMUCKS—now regarded as a term of contempt, and little used by these people in consequence—and are lamaistic Buddhists. There appears to be no Shamanism amongst them, and the Uriankhai who are found on the south of the Great Altai are Lamaists.

The Mongols are not found anywhere, except as travellers to or from Tibet, between the Tian Shan and the Kuen Lun, and consequently the Tarim basin is purely Mohamedan, in contrast to the north, where every race and every language are intermingled.

The Mongols generally are divided into two groups: the KHALKA or Eastern Mongols, who use a different script, and the Western Mongols. The term is a Russian one.

The connecting tribe between these two groups of Mongols is that of the URIANKHAI, itself divided into two: the YENISEI, who differ in speech and type (and are often shamanistic) from the Kobdo, and Altai Uriankhai, who are more allied with the Torguts.

The TORGUTS are certainly the most numerous of all the Kalmucks in Sinkiang, and are divided into three groups—at Yulduz, Khobuk Saur, and Shikho. The richest, most influential, and most numerous group is the first. The head is PÖNTSÖK GEGEN, who is also regent for his young nephew. The Gegen is an extremely intelligent man, courteous, well informed, and of great wealth. The chief of the KHOBUK SAUR as well as the chief of SHIKHO owe him allegiance.

His summer headquarters in the Yulduz is a pretentious place, but the greater part of the year is spent lower down the valley, and the evil-smelling town of Qarashahr is to the Torgut the acme of fashion and the mirror of gay life.

Near the Torguts live the KHOSHUT Mongols, who obey PÖNTSÖK, and who intermarry with their neighbours. They are also found at Kokonor in Kansu.

The Torguts are remarkable people, in that the generality of them pass

their lives in an amazing state of filth, discomfort, and degradation, gambling drinking, and opium smoking, and this unidyllic existence is not due to poverty but to inclination. On the other hand, their leading men are often strangely, even disconcertingly, modern—speak Turki, Chinese, Russian, sometimes even English and French; have a pretty taste in suit-cases, Homberg hats, gramophones, cameras, and boots; and possess beautiful furs, porcelain, and silver. They are imperialist by inclination, are good soldiers, and important politically.

Besides the Torguts the other Kalmucks are :

1. The ZUNGURS, who live in the Kash valley. They are much pleasanter than the Torguts, live in greater comfort, and are now but the remnants of a race which defied, with some success, the Imperial power, and who were only finally defeated by the Chinese in the eighteenth century.

2. The CHARKHAES, who were settled in the west of the province by the Chinese, who feared their virility near Peking. The Rev. G. W. Hunter of Urumchi says that they are really allied to the Koreans. They live in the Borotala and about the Sairam Nor, and are prosperous, agreeable, and cultured.

There are two small groups of Mongols who deserve mention. These are the ÖLÖR Mongols, who are found near Ili and also near Tahcheng (Chuguchak). There are also the SHIN or New Mongols, really Torguts, who have come in from the north, driven by Bolshevik pressure, and have settled near Santai.

The Mohamedan nomads fall into three clear divisions as :

The KIREI KASAKS, found from the Borotala to the ALTAI; the KASAI KASAKS, found in the ILI valley, throughout the mountains of Zungaria, and in parts of the Tian Shan; and the KIRGHIZ.

Of these, the Kirei is conspicuously the superior. He is well bred, truly hospitable, prosperous, and quick-witted. The Kasai, on the other hand, is less pleasant; he is a born thief, he is taught to steal from infancy upwards, and the two pastimes of his life are horse coping and horse stealing. He is a poor Mohamedan, an arrant bully, and consequently a coward as well; his hospitality often appears forced—a not unusual symptom in Sinkiang. Yet if taken the right way, the Kasai is not a bad fellow, but it must be realized that if he can he will steal and lie. The writer has spent many a pleasant day amongst these nomads, with a weather eye on the horses the whole time. There are a few NAIMAN Kasaks, about 4,000, found in the Chuguchak district.

It is curious how uncomfortably the Kasaks live compared with the Kirghiz, yet the latter are comparatively poor, and do not possess the horses, pastures, and forests that the Kasaks do.

The Kirghiz are found throughout the southern Tian Shan from Korla to the Pamirs, and again along the northern side of the K'un Lun. They are also met with in the Pamirs as far as Tash Kurghan, and a few families are settled in the Ili valley and near Turfan.

The Kirghiz are generally pleasant, passably clean, less addicted to thieving than the Kasaks, and considerably more cowardly. Perhaps they are even bigger liars, a trait which may not endear them to Europeans, but a very ordinary weakness in Central Asia, if not in other places too.

There are two small tribes found amongst the nomad Mohamedans: the Sarigolis or Tajiks in the extreme south of the Pamirs—who are Moulais or Ismailis by creed and Iranian by race—and a few Kipchaks, near Bostan Terek, and about Kashgar.

The differences, however, amongst the Mohamedan nomads are almost endless and always slight. For instance, between Vierni (Alniata) and

Chuguchak there are no less than a dozen Kasak tribes, including the KIRKAGHALLI, or tribe of the lost plait or pigtail. If a distinction, other than that of creed, be drawn between the Kasak Mohamedan and Buddhist nomads it would be one of cleanliness. After all, it is possible and usually pleasant to enter a Kasak or Kirghiz Aoul, have a good meal and a pleasant chat, whereas the filth of the average Mongol dwelling repels one. This means much to the traveller, so no wonder that one's men are always asking if the next tents are Kasak or Kirghiz.

There are some travellers hypnotized by the trash and vulgarisms of the modern world, who deplore the life of the nomads, and who cannot conceive how a people can live without cinemas, newspapers, banks, ballot-boxes, and patent medicines. Yet the life of the Kasak or Mongol is almost care-free. His greatest trouble is an occasional heavy snowstorm, which kills off some of his flocks. He wanders about a country admirably suited for pasture and wholly useless for agriculture. His taxes are light; he is plagued neither by police, schoolmaster, nor politician. Personal exertion is of the slightest—the meanest man rides. His belly is full, his wives well dressed, his house is warm, his amusements cost him nothing, and he is unfettered by childish restrictions or futile laws.

What more can man ask for?

It is noticeable that in some part of the country the Sarts have given up their business of agriculture and have taken to the free life of the tents, just as if a merchant became a respectable pirate or a Chicago gunman a Sicilian bandit.

The immigrants into Chinese Turkestan are very varied, but pride of place must be given to the Tungan or Hwi-hwi, the Chinese Moslem, who have dwelt there so long that they may perhaps be regarded as settlers.

The Tungan—the word is said to be derived from the Uigur word Töngmek, to convert, and the Chinese term from the word "return," the legend being that they entered China from Arabia, were ordered to return, but remained in Kansu and Chinese Turkestan—is the most conspicuous figure in the country. He is certainly disliked by all, though the writer has received constant kindness from these people. He is the brains of the province, for it is not to be wondered that a mixture of Chinese and Arab blood should produce great business aptitude, a restless, ill-disciplined disposition, and shrewd political insight, with ruthlessness and determination.

The Tungans are Shiahs, with perhaps some tinctures of Hanbalism. They are divided into the DA FANG, the orthodox, and SHAO FANG, or modernists, who do not go to Mecca, and are a small minority. In Broomhall's "Islam in China" the whole subject is treated.

The Tungans are found chiefly between Manas and Urumchi, and this area is disfigured by the grim ruins of their past rebellions against the Chinese.

There are also in the Ili district a number of MANCHUS, both of the Soton and SHIPO (Sheppeh) clans. They are nearly all farmers, are prosperous, but do not get on very well with the Turki cultivators. The fault is probably the latter's.

The Manchus strike a traveller as intelligent and practical. They usually speak several languages, and have the attributes of a ruling race.

Since the Russian revolution large numbers of Russians have entered the province, and have become either farmers or traders. In the Altai, the Tahcheng, and Ili districts there are many Russian settlers who have become quite assimilated with their surroundings. They are treated by the other folk as one of themselves, and certainly the difference is not discernible.

The Chinese have colonized Zungaria for many generations, but there is always a tendency amongst them to return to China proper. Both as merchants, usually from Tientsin, and as officials, for the most part from Kansu, Sze-Chuen, or Yunnan, the Chinaman is found throughout the province, which he dislikes as a land of exile and as a place where the local foodstuffs are singularly inadequate. He lives remote from the rest of the races which he governs, and regards his sojourn as a boring method of making money.

It is difficult to give an idea of the population of the province, but the late Governor put it down as about six millions. Of this figure the greater part is found south of the Tian Shan, and must necessarily be Moslem and largely Turki.

It is almost impossible to give the numbers of the nomads with any accuracy. The Chinese take a rough estimate as five persons a tent, but even then the result must be very vague.

In conclusion I wish to say that I am indebted to the Rev. G. W. Hunter and the Rev. P. M. Mather, of the China Inland Mission at Urumchi, for much help in compiling this paper.

A PROBLEM OF CENTRAL ASIA

AT the afternoon meeting on March 25 at the Central Asian Society, Dr. Trinkler spoke about the so much discussed problem of the "Desiccation of Central Asia."

At first the lecturer referred to those facts which are speaking for a desiccation having gone on in this part of Central Asia (shortage of rivers and lakes; old river beds; dead vegetation). He then laid special stress upon the fact that before we believe in desiccation we have to see whether we cannot explain the shrinkage in lakes and rivers by local circumstances (changes of river beds; extension of cultivated ground in the upper part of the river). But these explanations alone cannot explain all the facts we have in the Tarim Basin and in Tibet, and therefore the lecturer believes that the amount of water in the rivers has really decreased, as has already been agreed by Sir Aurel Stein, Rickmers, Huntington, Kropotkin, Blanford and others.

The lecturer pointed out that formerly probably the high mountain ranges of Central Asia, especially the Western K'un-lun, the Karakorams and Tibet, got more rainfall. The air currents bringing the rain and snow during the winter months are wandering from the west, probably being small depressions coming from the Mediterranean and Caspian region, and wandering across Afghanistan, thence to Central Asia; but also the monsoon clouds penetrate during the summer into the heart of Asia (Karakorams, eventually to Kashgar). Formerly the Caspian and Aral Lake had a much larger surface, and more water could evaporate than nowadays; the moisture-laden clouds could bring much more rain to the mountain regions in the east than they can now (see Rickmers, "Duab of Turkestan," Appendix, *Desiccation*, p. 508).

Geologists also believe that the Himalayan ranges have risen since the Glacial Period and that by this elevation not as many monsoon clouds can enter the interior of Central Asia as formerly. Tibet also formerly had more rainfall. The lakes on the plateau once covered a much larger area, and much more water could evaporate, so that also the moisture of the air was more considerable there.

The larger area of the lakes in Central Asia formerly was caused by the melting of the extensive glacier and ice-masses of the last glacial period; the more these ice-masses melted, the less became the volume of water running into these lakes. The question is whether this process really is going on on the Tibetan plateau and in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. Certainly, the lakes of the Tibetan plateau are still shrinking; for instance, the Kala-tso was standing 200 feet higher when Bogle visited it in 1776. The side of the big glaciers on the

Tibetan plateau (for instance, the ranges in North-Western and North-Eastern Tibet, the Arka tagh) can scarcely be explained by the amount of rain and snowfall of today. So it is perhaps possible that we see in several of these big glaciers remnants of the last glacial period, and two thousand years ago there may have been much more ice left, which has melted considerably today. This working hypothesis, which has been postulated by Rickmers, Ficker, and Burrard, and which has been accepted by Sir Aurel Stein, is certainly worth further consideration. Exact measurements should regularly be taken at the ends of the glaciers, on the interior plateaus, and in the K'un-lun, in order to see whether the glaciers are retreating, and special attention should be paid to find out whether there are any dead ice-masses to be discovered detached from the present glacier ends. Furthermore, there should be a control of the level of the lakes on the Tibetan plateau, in order that we may get an idea about the rate of shrinkage. If such observations are carefully carried out for a long time—say, fifty to a hundred years—we may perhaps be in a position to state whether a desiccation of Central Asia is really going on or not.

The late Director of the Geological Survey of India, Sir Henry Hayden, has already pointed out how important it is to arrange such a study of the lakes in the interior of Central Asia. One or two meteorological observation posts in the Karakorums and in the Western K'un-lun could also enable us to get an idea of what the real annual rainfall in these regions really is.

E. T.

REVIEWS

MUSULMAN PAINTING: XIIth-XVIIth CENTURY. By E. Blochet.

Translated from the French by Cicely M. Binyon. With an introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. With 12 plates in colour and 188 in collotype. Pp. xi + 124. Methuen. £3 3s. net.

To those members of the Central Asian Society already acquainted with the writings of M. Blochet, he is probably best known by his edition of that portion of Rashīd-ud-Dīn's *Jāmī' ut-Tawārikh* which deals with the Mongol princes who succeeded to the empire founded by Chingiz Khan, and by the erudite introduction which he brought out in 1910, some years before the appearance of this text (both of them published in the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series). Such persons will find much material in the present volume relating to the rise of the Mongols and the part they played in the history of Central Asia. For, despite its title, this book deals, in the greater part of its text, with almost any other subject than that of painting. The first chapter is taken up with an account of the political relations between the Arab tribes and the empires of Rome and Persia that disputed the sovereignty over Asia, and with an explanation of the origins of Islam, which is described as a "lower aspect of Manicheism and Montanism." The second chapter expounds the strange theory that the prohibition contained in the Tradition ascribed to the Prophet, which forbids the representation of animate objects, is based on his recognition of the fact that such pictorial art was a thing above the powers of his fellow-countrymen, and that the Arabs obeyed this prohibition because "they realized that it was useless for them to try and force their talent, and that a life confined to material cares fitted them much better than the occupations of the mind." The author follows this up with an onslaught upon Islam and its theological exponents, which is calculated, in these sensitive days, to lead to the exclusion of the book from Muslim countries. In his literary judgements, too, M. Blochet is a sturdy hater; to him Sasanian civilization is mediocre, and its literature is "contemptible, shapeless, and without any literary value"; the Assemblies of Hariri are "written in an unintelligible fustian"; both they and the romance of Barlaam and Josaphat are "insipid." When he comes to deal with pictures, his judgements can be equally harsh; e.g., the paintings of the Mesopotamian school "are simply imitations, clumsy and enfeebled copies of the pictures in Greek books"—yet M. Blochet reproduces nearly thirty of them in plates to this volume!—and Persian drawing, under the reign of Shah Abbas, is, with rare exceptions,

declared to be "bad and slovenly." But these criticisms are unlikely to arouse so much opposition as his contention that "only one art has ever existed, and that is Classic Art"; "civilization, so far as it is concerned with ideas and forms, does nothing but offer new embodiments for Hellenic conceptions." He appears to make an exception for China, "who knew how to frame her independent life on the concepts which she had created," but even the domes of Chinese temples copy a Roman formula—in fact, the conception of the dome everywhere in the East, whether Assyrian, Armenian, or even Hindu (the India Society may do well to note this), is based on Western technique. M. Blochet lays down the principle that when we wish to decide which of two civilizations has borrowed from the other, we must take into account the relative value, moral, intellectual and material, of the two forms of civilization; and as he has such a supreme contempt for Islamic culture, except in so far as it was the carrier of the tradition of classical civilization to the East, he ascribes everything that is of worth in it to the Christian West—*e.g.*, its mysticism, without which the "absurd premises" of Islam could never have survived—its science, which the "worshippers" (*sic*) of Muhammad "regarded as an unprofitable thing whose only aim and result was to turn man aside from the sole ideal he ought to pursue in this world, the knowledge of the Creator," and finally its art. Accordingly, its fine architectural monuments were either built by Christian architects or by subjects of the Caliphs who copied Western methods; the musical system of the Arabs is an adaptation of Byzantine music; their painting first took the form of "clumsy and enfeebled copies of the pictures in Greek books" from the tenth century onwards, though the earliest examples of this Mesopotamian school which M. Blochet can produce are dated by him approximately A.D. 1150. The second style is described as a more or less careless version of the first and as "a form of hasty and commercial reproduction, in which the design and colour of the ancient technique have deteriorated"; it became the style of the Caliphate, and was maintained almost unchanged until the second half of the thirteenth century, and survived in Iranian countries after the fall of the Abbasids; for up to about 1270, "Persian painting had no norms and knew no technique other than the methods of Mesopotamian painting, from which it was derived," but after the Mongol conquest it liberated itself from the influence of the Mesopotamian manner, and underwent, during the next two hundred and fifty years, a rapid evolution, leading on to perfection.

M. Blochet here breaks off to discuss the influence of Chinese upon Persian painting, and maintains that it is superficial only, consisting merely in the Far Eastern appearance of types and figures, in Chinese arms, utensils and equipment. He writes: "The pictures of the Mongol period in Iran in the fourteenth century appear in a setting

which is still that of the Mesopotamian paintings, in a technique derived from the workshops on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in a range of colouring whose fundamental elements are those of the artists of Kufa, Baghdad and Jerusalem, with the addition of subtleties which the painters of Tabriz borrowed from Western technique." But he maintains: "The divergences which separate the Chinese manner from the style and methods of Persia in the twelfth and until the beginning of the fourteenth century are absolute, radical, and irreconcilable. Chinese technique consists of a drawing scarcely coloured, or a cameo on a dark background; Persian technique has a style rich in its colouring, clear and brilliant in its tints; the drawing is the essential fundamental part of the Chinese manner; it does not count with the artists of Mesopotamia and not much with Persian painters." Even when, later in the seventeenth century, in the reign of Shah Abbas I., there was a craze for everything that came from the countries of the Far East, M. Blochet still rejects the possibility of Chinese painting having exercised any fundamental influence on the Persian artists; he holds that "it is evident that the technique of the Middle Kingdom appeared merely fantastic to men who were used to the bold and vivid tints of Mongol and Timurid paintings; they did not understand it and made no attempts in a genre which did not correspond to their mentality." On the other hand, he is eager to signalize any fresh evidence of Christian influence from the West, and finds it in the illustrations of a MS. of Rashid-ud-Din's History of the World, painted early in the fourteenth century, in which he detects the influence of Western paintings, both French and Italian, belonging to the second half of the thirteenth century. Similarly, he explains the gold backgrounds which begin to make their appearance in Persian miniatures in the early part of the fourteenth century in the Western Provinces, and about a century later reached its perfection in Iran, as being imitations of the backgrounds of gold in the works of the Italian Primitives. Such is M. Blochet's account of the genesis and development of Muslim painting. It would not be difficult to point out the errors in so perverse a theory and enumerate the many baseless assumptions on which it rests, but such an undertaking would exceed the limits of a review in these pages. But as most of the readers of this Journal are probably more interested in the work of Indian painters than in that of the Mesopotamian school, some reference may be made to what M. Blochet has to say on the pictorial art of India. As usual, he finds classical influence even in the frescoes of Ajanta, "the technique of which links them to the methods of the Greco-Bactrian, Greco-Hindu Schools, and to the norms of the workshops of Gandhara and Indo-Greek States since the fourth to the first century B.C." Apparently he regards the painters of the Jammu and Kangra Schools as carrying on the

Hellenic tradition, and the renaissance of Hindu art in the sixteenth century was brought about by renewed contact with that same tradition as preserved in the Persian pictures which the Timurid princes brought with them into India. M. Blochet shows his acquaintance with this school by introducing Paras, the well-known Hindu painter who worked for Akbar, as Bris (Plate CLXXXIV.). Abu Fazland (Plate CLXXXVIII.) is clearly a printer's error, but no defence can be offered for the spelling Laal (Plate CLXXXI.). The women of the palace (in Plate CXCIV.) are described as making music; is it possible that the squirts with which they are playing Holi have been taken for musical instruments? The three "Muhammadan ladies" on Plate CXCVII. show clearly that they are Hindus by the caste-marks on their foreheads. It is not explained how a Persian artist, painting about 1760, could have seen English troops on the Afghan frontier (Plate CLXX.).

Of the two hundred plates, nearly a half have already appeared in books compiled by M. Blochet himself, during recent years, in Paris, and in making the present selection the author has apparently come to realize this, because in the case of certain MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, such as the Assemblies of Hariri, the Fables of Bidpai, and the Apocalypse of Muhammad, he has avoided reduplication, with the unfortunate result that the English reader has to put up with inferior examples of the artists' work in the case of each of these richly illustrated MSS. The reproduction of the pictures is, moreover, in no case so fine as in the French publications. But the coloured plates are in some instances remarkably successful, and the text is a fine piece of printing. Of the translation, it need only be said that it does not read like a translation at all, for its polished and dignified style is that of an original composition.

T. W. A.

IM LAND DER STÜRME. By E. Trinkler. Mit 124 bunten und einfarbigen Abbildungen nach Aquarellen und Aufnahmen des Verfassers und einer Karte des Reiseswegs der Deutschen Zentralasien-Expedition, 1927-28. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Leipzig : Brockhaus. 1930.

Dr. Emil Trinkler has no need of an introduction to the Central Asian Society, for latterly he has created a reputation for himself as a Central Asian traveller whose records will be always classed amongst those entitled to respect. Whenever he returns from his travels, he always gives us an account of his journeys written in a style which appeals to the general reader. He does not, however, confine himself to this, but also publishes the scientific results of his work. These results he has left severely alone in this book, contenting himself with a description of his travels. There is one thing about Dr. Trinkler's books which always makes them a pleasure to review, and that is that he never makes any attempt to combine the scientific results with the account of his wanderings.

Dr. Trinkler on September 27, 1929, lectured to the Central Asian Society, and, since we were only given a description of a part of his travels, it may not

be out of place to summarize very briefly the objects and organization of the expedition which could aptly be described as his Central Asian Expedition, 1927-28. The expedition was organized in 1927, the primary objects being to study the geology and archaeology of the Western Kunlun and the Western Takla-makan. The party consisted of Dr. de Terra, who undertook the geological investigations, and Monsieur Bosshard, who devoted himself to the botanical, photographic, and cinematographic work of the expedition, while Dr. Trinkler dealt with the archaeology and geography of the regions traversed.

The party left Srinagar and had the usual experiences on the way to Leh, which was reached on July 6, and here the final arrangements were made for the Central Asian part of the expedition. There is something funny about the careful descriptions of the journey from Srinagar to Leh which one reads in every account of expeditions to Central Asia. The crossing of the Zoji-La by various travellers has a similarity of description which I should think is unparalleled. I have yet to find one explorer who according to his book does not start to cross the Zoji-La under a "cloudy sky," and "just before reaching the summit, takes a last look at the pine-clad slopes of Kashmir"; and on the summit of the Fotu-La, the highest point on the road from Leh to Srinagar, "stands and gazes at the wild-looking peaks," some of which are always "wrapped in clouds," while the Lamas of the Lamayaru monastery always "seem to display interest and watch one's movements." Whether the author be English, French, Italian, German, American, or Dutch, these events seem to creep in, and it is not till travellers leave Leh that their stories display any originality.

Dr. Trinkler falls into the same category, but, being an experienced writer, takes less than a dozen pages and, before the end of the first chapter, has already covered the 240 miles to Leh. The caravan consisted of two Indians, about ten coolies, ten horses, thirty yaks, and seventy sheep. Towards the end of the month of July the caravan reached Phobrang, which is the last Ladakhi settlement, and is a few miles north of the Pangkong lake. The route crosses the famous Marsemik and Lanak passes and thence to the Lingzi-thang plateau. This marks a milestone in the story, as after this Trinkler seems to have met with misfortune after misfortune, though he is by no means the first traveller to have suffered on this plateau. He gives a graphic description of all the hardships he had to contend with; there was a great lack of food, and this presented one of the real difficulties in so far as the feeding of animals was concerned. Ponies at one time strayed and were lost, yaks died daily until there were only eleven left. Part of the programme had to be abandoned owing to this, and eventually on October 7 Suget Karaul was reached.

Dr. Trinkler writes in the highest terms of the use of sheep as a means of transport, sometimes called the *Changpa* method. This was the only type of transport that survived the high plateau at all, but space is lacking to give a description of this method and the success the author had. There is one point that is particularly interesting, and that is that Dr. Trinkler is the first European to describe his experiences of the *Changpa* method since 1873, when Biddulph described this method, which he used with success on the occasion of the second Forsyth Mission to Yarkand.

The expedition reached Kashgar towards the beginning of December, and here it divided into two parties for the western Takla-makan and the K'unlun. The main object here was confined to geological studies of these regions, in particular the origin of the great desert itself. At the end of May, 1928, the

party returned to Kashgar, and on July 2 left for India, taking the Kara-korum route over the Kilian-dawan pass. Monsieur Bosshard did not accompany the others home through India, but undertook the wearisome and thankless task of taking back the heavy luggage direct to Europe via Russia.

Dr. Trinkler has a style which may at first be irritating to the reader, but after a while develops a subtle fascination. The book is written in the manner of a diary, and therefore at times we get repetitions ; but this slight defect is more than compensated for by the real personal touch which runs through the book, especially in the descriptions of the troubles and difficulties which had to be overcome. Volumes of this nature are frequently heavy reading, but Dr. Trinkler has a great sense of humour, and one cannot help appreciating his book, even though one be not particularly interested in Central Asia.

"*Im Land der Stürme*" will also be worth perusing by intending travellers to Central Asia. Transport has always been the explorer's difficulty, and this subject is fully discussed by the author, in particular the use of sheep. Much unnecessary friction and ill-feeling often occurs between travellers and their porters, and this difficulty is most common with foreigners who have not had the opportunities of studying the native. Dr. Trinkler, however, has thoroughly mastered the native mind, and his knowledge contributed largely to the success of this expedition.

"*Im Land der Stürme*" has been well produced, but has the drawback of having been printed in German type. There are a large number of photographs, the majority of which were taken by Monsieur Bosshard, and there are in addition some colour plates. The publisher has provided a map showing the author's route. Dr. Trinkler seems incorrigible about the spelling of place-names, and appears to have a system of his own. One form that might be mentioned is Sodschi-la for Zoji-La. It has often been said before that the spelling of place-names should follow the system used by the Survey of India. It would be interesting to know the method that the author followed and how he defends his action.

B. K. F.

ALFRED LECTURES ON NOMADIC MOVEMENTS IN ASIA. By Sir Denison Ross, C.I.E. Pp. 45. Royal Society of Arts. 2s. 6d.

Sir Denison Ross in his lectures on "Nomadic Movements in Asia" has limited his subject to migrations undertaken since the rise of Islam. Even so the subject is vast.

The first lecture on the Arabs was probably the most familiar to his hearers, but he brings out the important point that whereas Christian schisms were entirely dogmatic, Moslem divisions related mainly to the question of succession to the Caliphate.

In the second lecture on the Turks the lecturer proves clearly that, contrary to popular belief in Europe, the Great Wall of China constituted a strong barrier against nomad invasions and thereby set in motion those terrible movements to the west which led to the overthrow of the Caliphate and menaced the nascent civilization of Europe. Reference is made to the interesting tribe of the Uighurs, the first Turks to adopt agriculture and to rise to a high decree of culture. Their influence on the savage Mongols was of great importance to civilization.

The question of the famous "silk road" makes interesting reading. Owing to the Turks holding Central Asia to the north-west of China, lack of security "forced the Chinese to work out the more difficult 'silk road' through the wastes of Lop Nor into southern Chinese Turkestan." This accounts for the affluence of Khotan, which itself became a centre of silk culture, and from

Khotan was brought the "seed," carefully concealed in a bamboo staff, by Persian monks, which enabled Justinian to found the silk industry in Europe. Surely this is one of the most romantic episodes in commerce!

After the Turks the Seljuk Turks, who reached the Mediterranean Sea. Under the famous Vizier, Nizam-ul-Mulk, law and order were established, but the system of giving provinces to relations weakened the central power, and led to the breaking-up of the empire. It is interesting to note that the Crusaders found the Seljuks doughty opponents, although the zenith of their power was passed.

Finally we come to the Mongol scourge, which is still remembered with horror, and threatened the feeble civilization of Christendom. Yet, reading accounts of the Bolshevik fiends, who war alike on body and soul, one wonders whether Russia is not suffering more today than under the cruel tyranny of the Mongols. To conclude, Sir Denison Ross has given a great deal of valuable information, even if lucidity sometimes suffers from compression, but his map might with advantage have been fuller.

P. M. SYKES.

TURKEY AND SYRIA REBORN. By Harold Armstrong. A Record of Two Years of Travel. Map and illustrations. 9 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 270. Bodley Head. 1930. 15s.

It is, perhaps, odd to start a review with a warning to the reader, but in the case of Captain Armstrong's attractive account of his latest visit to Turkey and Syria, a warning is necessary. He travelled in 1927; but the account of his journey has only been published after a lapse of three years. Captain Armstrong has written of 1927; but, as he unfolds his story, chronology becomes so vague that finally the reader may be pardoned for thinking that the author is describing not the Turkey which he saw in 1927, but the Turkey of today. It is the duty of the reviewer to call attention to such a possibility. For New Turkey every year is registering enormous changes. Angora, for instance, in 1928 was not at all the Angora which Captain Armstrong described in 1927. It had a first-rate hotel; a semi-developed scheme of town-planning; there were motor-buses and taxis galore; and the traveller made his way to and from Stamboul by sleeping-car. Captain Armstrong's account does not hint at any such modern development. Another two years has produced further remarkable changes in Angora. The 1928 scheme of town-planning has been largely realized; wide boulevards are sturdily paved; the hotel has a cabaret; and really imposing and solid public and private buildings, such as Government offices, banks and embassies, have been built. This rather lengthy preamble is designed to justify the reviewer's warning to the reader of 1930. He must not be mesmerized by Captain Armstrong's nimble wit and ready pen into imagining that Angora is still the half-baked capital of an amateur republic. So much in warning; and now to review.

Captain Armstrong has written a most entertaining and illuminating

account of his perambulations in Syria and Turkey, and from his account of his experiences the reader will readily gather that Turkey, though picturesque, was a highly unorthodox and curious place in 1927. Captain Armstrong found it tragic as well as unorthodox and curious. He is confessedly and firmly in love with the Turkey of the old régime. He writes of his experiences in Adalia: "I had been back in the old Turkey which I had known and loved and which was still untouched by the revolution." *Laudator temporis acti.* The same sentimentality invests his description of the neglected Damascus grave of Mehmed V., the last Caliph Sultan, who had no place in the post-revolution Republic. And this strain of sentimental regret tinges much of his account of Turkey as he saw it 1927. Not that he has failed to stress the effeteness of the old Ottoman régime; but he describes the changes which have taken place since the Republic with a certain cynicism and, at times, flippancy which is not altogether to the taste of those who have seen Turkey as recently as this year. He does not give credit to the young Republic for the effect on Turkey of the changes which revolution has brought in its train—the better state of women, the new *esprit de corps* which is developing in the higher officialdom. He sighs for the good old days which, in the eyes of the New Turkey, are the bad old days. But this prejudice does not blunt his great gift of vivid description. The reader travels with him, lives with him, and can share his emotions without a falling off of interest or concentration; and he displays his intimate knowledge of the Turk, and of Near East history as a whole, with a tact and pungency which is most effective.

This review dwells largely on Turkey. The reason is that to the British public Turkey reborn is far more interesting than Syria reborn. Captain Armstrong himself is more interested in Turkey than in Syria, but that has not prevented him from giving a picture of his Syrian peregrinations which is full of colour and charm. His account of his visit to the Druse camp, the seven chapters dealing with his visit to the Nusairi or Alouite State, and his impressions of Baalbek at sunset, are all brilliant pictures of scenes and events which the author lived to the full and which he describes with a personal touch which is never journalistic. In one other respect, he has been extraordinarily successful in his treatment of his experiences. "Turkey and Syria Reborn," though essentially a travel book, is also a political study. But so deftly has Captain Armstrong introduced his political comments, that they merge into the travel story easily and without in any way upsetting the thread of what was a most adventurous journey. The Syrian portion of the book is copiously though mildly illustrated. It is a pity that of a total of twenty-one excellent reproductions of his own photographs, Captain Armstrong has only included two of Turkey as he

found it. He ought, as illustrating his Turkey of 1927, to have taken a photograph of the post-mortem on the two cart-horses slaughtered by the Anatolian Express.

OWEN TWEEDY.

HISTORY AND MONUMENTS OF UR. By C. J. Gadd, M.A., F.S.A., of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, the British Museum. Pp. xv + 269. 9 x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. Illustrations. Chatto and Windus. 1929.

This book is a most valuable and interesting addition to the archaeological bibliography of Iraq, and particularly to that of Ur. Though Mr. Leonard Woolley, who each year astonishes the archaeological world with his discoveries at Ur, has already traversed a certain amount of the ground covered by Mr. Gadd, the latter fills in many of the gaps which the former by reason of the "popular" nature of his work was compelled to leave.

Mr. Gadd is extremely sincere and conscientious, and filled with conviction of the vital importance of incontrovertible facts. For speculation, even when founded on fairly firm foundation, he has but little use, and one almost gathers that he dreads as much as shuns it. In place therefore of imaginative pictures of early people and conditions of life, admirably true and interesting though such pictures might be, he brings into the compact compass of this volume a mass of amazingly interesting information. Such a book could be extremely dull—such books frequently are—but the brilliancy of Mr. Gadd's art of archaeological analysis and the dexterity and clarity with which he illumines each point, precludes any trace of pedantry or dullness.

In his Preface, draped in mild ironic humour, he proffers, with quite unnecessary fear and modesty, his excuse for the book should it prove a failure. His fears are groundless, his modesty, as befits a young author, is of course becoming, and his humour, which flashes frequently through the pages, is delightfully refreshing.

Mr. Gadd is very convinced in his opinion and convincing in his arguments; he asserts that the branch of the art of writing, known as cuneiform, originated in Iraq, and was not, as is sometimes held, an importation from some unknown outside source. He is also of definite opinion that the earliest known inhabitants of that land, those mysterious people of the early painted pottery, were Sumerians, and the inventors of this art of writing. He dismisses somewhat summarily, as guesses without foundation, the theory that they entered these deltaic lands at some unknown remote date from some equally unknown birthland. To the few who cherish the kinship of the Sumerian and Indo-European this new doctrine will not be palatable: they must remain, if unconverted, in the category of those who are "merely

daring in hypothesis, and baffling assent or confutation by the obscurity of the matter alleged."

In his views on Sumerian art Mr. Gadd creates great opportunity for delightful speculation. In his opinion—an opinion supported by all who have devoted attention to the subject—Sumerian art deteriorates in regular progression through the long period of Sumerian history. The works of art of the first dynasty period, about 3100 B.C., are of far greater excellence than their "descendant counterparts" in later periods. Decadence in art is usually accepted as symptomatic evidence of a general deterioration in the mind and body politic of the people, and the process of decay from art at its zenith is generally much more rapid than its evolution from its primitive beginnings. If therefore the first dynasty of Ur is accepted as the zenith period of Sumerian art, though there can be no definite assurance in so doing, what vast periods of cultural and artistic development still remain to be discovered!

Professor Langdon and Mr. Woolley have enormously intrigued the general public by their somewhat veiled references to concrete evidence of the biblical flood. When the patient hand of the archaeological excavator has removed the strata of diluvial slime, may we not find beneath it the gorgeous traces of undreamed-of empires? For such speculation Mr. Gadd would doubtless evolve a more emphatic term than "merely daring hypothesis."

Mr. Gadd is almost iconoclastic in his destruction of cherished theories, one of which is the ethnological entity of a Semitic race. Such a theory, he says, is "figmentary not merely as far as Babylonia is concerned, but universally." The term Semitic can only be correctly applied to a family of languages spoken by people of widely varying ethnic character. He also reviews the scanty evidence linking the first chapter of Genesis with Babylonian history, and expresses the opinion that it must be passed over as altogether too vague. He does not, however, upset the accepted connection of Abraham and Ur, and the information he affords about the early history of the Hebrew tribe—the "Habiru" of Babylonian history—is full of interest. It seems almost significant that in early cuneiform writing the name of this tribe was written with an ideogram, signifying "Cut-throats."

The book is well printed and admirably illustrated by means of photographs, but lacks maps. All archaeological books should be complete with maps and plans.

J. M. W.

INDIA : PEACE OR WAR? By C. S. Ranga Iyer. 8½ x 6. Pp. 256. Harrap. 7s. 6d.

A discussion of the political situation in India by an Indian politician cannot fail to interest British readers at the present moment. Mr. Ranga Iyer, a Madrasai of Nationalist opinions, representing in the Indian Assembly

a constituency of the United Provinces, is in a sufficiently detached position to be frank. He is also manifestly sincere, and it is unfortunate that he will not make this concession to his Indian opponents. With the exception of an entirely unwarranted assumption that Lord Irwin, in making his recent pronouncement on Dominion Status, was actuated by guile, and sought only to divide the Indian parties, his attitude towards the British in the past and present is not unfair; his criticisms, on the other hand, of the Nehrus, father and son, and one or two others of his political contemporaries are unjust and offensive. They recall the bad taste of "Father India," and should have been omitted.

The genesis of the Congress and the Swaraj party are described clearly and with understanding, and the comments of the author on the parties in the Indian Assembly and the Provincial Councils are instructive. There is much force in his contention that solid parties cannot be formed until full responsibility is thrown on the politicians, but it is premature to prophesy that solidification will certainly then occur. We can only hope that personal rivalries will be subordinated to public differences. Particularly useful is the comparison of Mr. Gandhi and the late C. R. Das; the character of the latter is highly praised by Mr. Ranga Iyer, and he certainly combined a patriotic spirit with a keen tactical sense.

There is much in this book that is attractive. A British reader will learn how the Moderates responded to the 1919 reforms and did constructive work in the legislative bodies until overwhelmed by the extremists. The machinery of government is analyzed for his benefit, including the standing committees of the legislature, which may prove to be a valuable political experiment. Ceylon has advanced a stage further on this road, and it appears very suitable for India, perhaps also for England. Where, however, Mr. Ranga Iyer omits to help his reader is in the field of constructive suggestion. Forty pages are devoted to the urgency of constitutional progress in the Indian States, and to the need of embracing them in a self-governing India, with no indication of the means whereby these changes are to be effected. Bold statements as to the foundation of military colleges, the extension of primary education to the masses and the improvement of their economic condition, are not accompanied by an examination of the methods to be followed and the obstacles to be surmounted in securing these objects. Enthusiasm is only convincing when supported by argument and based on thought, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Ranga Iyer has not dug deeper into the grounds of his opinions. He has, nevertheless, presented us with a lively picture of the political world in which he moves, and though his manner of expression is frequently incoherent, the honesty and idealism which obviously drive him to write are a sufficient passport to our friendly attention.

C. F. S.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S IDEAS. Including selections from his writings. By C. F. Andrews. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. 382. Frontispiece. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

It is undoubtedly desirable that the views and opinions of the Indian who is better known in Europe and America than any of his countrymen should be authoritatively set out by one who is proud to call himself his disciple, and from this point of view Mr. Andrews' book has considerable interest and value. It is in his capacity as a Saint that Mr. Gandhi's name carries most weight, certainly in his own country, and more particularly, perhaps, in America. Mr. Andrews admits that his conservative orthodoxy is his chief strength with

the masses of the people in India. To this orthodoxy may be added the reputation of his austerities. The strange fascination which asceticism has for the Indian mind makes it the surest way to attain even political power and influence, and this fascination has been particularly exercised, not, it may be assumed, unconsciously, by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Andrews sets out with much skill his hero's opinions and principles, and afterwards traces their application to practical politics. The most striking feature of these principles is their inconsistency and changeableness, and it is inevitable that their application to the facts of life should be equally inconsistent to the point of occasional tortuousness. To take a few examples, Mr. Gandhi's hatred of the great evil of untouchability is undoubted : yet he believes in the maintenance of caste and the "birth fixity of social condition." He thinks that the prohibition of intermarriage and interdining is "essential for the rapid development of the soul," and yet is vehement against child marriage. But it is a commonplace that the necessity for marrying a daughter within the often very restricted limits of a caste is the principal reason for pernicious infant betrothals. Mr. Gandhi again gives an eclectic, if somewhat patronizing, approval to the Deism of all religions, while maintaining his belief in the idol worship of the Hindus. But it is obvious that a man who "in his own way has found the teaching of the Prophet of Islam fully compatible with the principle of Ahimsa, or non-violence," can persuade himself of anything in religious matters.

The application of these principles to practical conditions is equally confusing. The man who declared that "Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill" and "Hospitals are the devil's instruments, perpetuating vice and misery," readily and gratefully availed himself of medical skill and hospital nursing. He declares that railways and telegraphs must go, yet uses these to the full, to say nothing of motor-cars. Similarly as regards khaddar cloth, there is much to be said for a cottage industry which would employ the too great idle time of the agriculturist : but it is unreasonable to complain of the increasing ruralization of the country, and then to say that industrialism tears people from their homes. Of the greater evils of subdivision of land and indifferent cultivation, he has nothing to say. His inconsistency is most marked in his attitude to the British Government. In 1914 he proclaims his love and loyalty for the British Empire : a few years later, it is Satanic and wholly bad. Either Mr. Gandhi is changeable, or he is an incorrect judge of men and institutions. Another instance of the manner in which Mr. Gandhi's ardent belief in his own vision falsifies fact is his account of the Khilafat episode. It is demonstrably untrue to say that Mr. Lloyd George made promises to the Turks which were broken by the terms of the Peace, and the ordinary mind cannot but feel that Mr. Gandhi's support of the claims of the Indian Moslems was affected by his desire to win their help for his political objects.

It is, however, with Passive Non-Resistance that Mr. Gandhi's name will be most connected both in South Africa and in India. Mr. Andrews describes it as a weapon forged by Gandhi's genius : in truth, however, it was a mere extension of the very old Hindu expedient of sitting "dharra." In South Africa it was successful, though not to the extent suggested by Mr. Andrews, because it was the truly passive method of a small minority unable to use force. In India it is open to two great objections : it may be applied to redress private grievances by an authority which has made no enquiry and is not impartial ; and when it is applied through a large number of people it is bound to lead to violence. Mr. Andrews gives, though unconsciously, two instances of the first objection—its application to the Customs grievance at

Viramgam, and to the complaints of cultivators against their assessment in parts of Guzerat. The second objection is, however, far the greater: and the most serious charge against Mr. Gandhi as a practical reformer and politician must be that, in spite of warnings, he encouraged and enjoined Non-Co-operation till violence broke out. Further he did so on repeated occasions, and the evil and suffering thus caused could not be wiped out by Mr. Gandhi's expiatory fasting, though it is quite possible that he thereby satisfied his own conscience. Curiously enough, the activity of Mr. Gandhi which causes Mr. Andrews most serious doubt, and indeed reprehension, is that which will arouse the greatest sympathy among his European and American readers, namely his activity in raising ambulance companies in the South African and in the Great War and his attempt to obtain recruits for the Army in 1918. On this latter point, however, Mr. Andrews need not be troubled. Not even the spiritual influence of Mr. Gandhi could induce the unwarlike inhabitants of Guzerat to enlist.

Mr. Andrews is at pains to deny that Mr. Gandhi's influence is waning. It is doubtless the case that by fresh austeries he can retain his religious reputation. But recent events have proved that he no longer leads the extremists: he is bound to go with the extremists to lengths, such as the total separation of India from England, which he formerly abjured. Herein lies the danger. Mr. Gandhi's past record shows that he is capable of self-persuasion in favour of any course of action. He has already stated that he would not hesitate to support war under a Swaraj Government. May he not, under pressure from the extremists, decide that a campaign of violence to establish such a Government is also permissible?

P. R. C.

THOUGHTS ON INDIAN DISCONTENTS. By Edwyn Bevan. 8 x 5½. Pp. 178.
Allen and Unwin. 6s.

The consideration of Indian political problems is complicated by the exaggeration to which all parties and partisans are prone. It is therefore a welcome merit of Dr. Bevan's thoughtful analysis that he weighs the arguments and sympathizes with the feelings of both sides, and though the qualification which he feels bound to attach to a number of his statements renders them less satisfying to the reader who enjoys strong meat, they relieve him at the same time of all fear that Dr. Bevan is building up a case. His line of thought is that since educated Indians insist on virtual or formal independence, which British administrators oppose on the grounds that disorder will result, capital and trade will be destroyed, and the uneducated masses will be oppressed, both races should unite in the work of national reconstruction, and produce an India which can live a healthy life under just institutions and can defend itself. Though the Government can forward this process, the main burden must be borne by unofficial organizations, aiming at a real, a sound, and an instructed public opinion.

With this general method of solving the problem there can be no logical disagreement. It holds good even if the solution is found in practice to be unattainable, since the claims of the Nationalist and the forebodings of the Diehard can only be tested in a sustained attempt to carry the life of the average, and especially the rural, Indian up to a higher level. Unfortunately the conditions for a united attempt do not at present exist. The Diehard will not move so fast as progressive Indians demand, nor the latter face the immediate dangers which are involved in a rapid advance. The root of the evil lies in distrust. As Dr. Bevan points out, the basis of Indian hostility is

psychological ; the politician does not believe that the administrator will try to operate his legislative reforms, the official doubts the capacity of the unofficial to be impartial and tolerably efficient. Hence arises a sense of exasperation on either side.

In essence the message of Dr. Bevan is an appeal to all concerned to be reasonable. Only a healthier and stronger India can govern and maintain itself, and friends of freedom will reach their goal more quickly by attacking the internal evils of their country than by shouting for constitutional changes which leave the evils untouched. Those, however, who have been recently in contact with Indian feeling will not be optimistic with regard to reasonableness. The distrust is general among the educated classes, and one Diehard utterance outweighs in their recollection the repeated promises of sincere liberals at home and in India.

The campaign of reform, which India sadly needs, has been opened, and Dr. Bevan refers to such bodies as the Servants of India Society. There are many others, Rural Community Councils in the Punjab, Women's Institutes in Bengal, Seva Sadan and similar bodies in Bombay and elsewhere, all of which are nibbling at the enormous task. But with the exception of the first two groups, they are unorganized and weak, and neither the official nor the unofficial world has drawn up a bold strategical plan. Campaigns are expensive, and there is a natural though unwise tendency to postpone an examination of the bill. The financial aspect might indeed have been discussed by Dr. Bevan in greater detail. Education and reform, as he points out, are costly ; defence under self-government may be even more costly than at present. Promises of a reduced land revenue are tempting to the peasant, and the vision of a high tariff to the Indian millowner. Yet the high tariff will not bring in a permanent income to replace the loss on land ; imports (and import duties) will fall off as Indian goods cover the market, and the market will be contracted by the impoverishment of the cultivator under a protective system. The earliest crisis under Indian Home Rule may well be provoked not by an invading enemy but by a disastrous budget.

Whatever the obscurities of the future, they must be cleared by an earnest desire to find the daylight, not merely by carping at the inconvenience of the fog. Dr. Bevan does not really solve his own puzzle, but he does create in the reader the right spirit in which to meditate it, and for this he is to be thanked. Detachment from India gives him an objective outlook, and few of us who know India at close quarters are free from subjective bias.

There are a few minor errors ; Indian diet is not generally oleaginous and highly spiced ; the poorer classes cannot afford fats and spices of the necessary quality and quantity. And there are seventy, not ninety, millions of Muslims. But these are trifles in a good book.

C. F. S.

THE FOUR FACES OF SIVA. The detective story of a vanished race.

By Robert J. Casey. Pp. 269. 44 illustrations, 3 plans and 2 maps. George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd. 1929. 12s. 6d.

Every year improved communications are enabling a greater number of travellers to visit Angkor, which is now within one day's journey of Bangkok, and there is a corresponding increase in the literature on this great and fascinating subject. There can hardly be too much written about it, for, as the author of the book under review truly remarks :

"there is only one Angkor. There is no such monument to a vanished race anywhere else in the world. In the mass Angkor is as impressive as the great Pyramids of Egypt, more striking as an artistic ensemble even than the Taj Mahal . . . it is without peer in the world's antiquities."

Mr. Casey has written an attractive and useful book, giving a general account not only of Angkor but also of most of the important ruined cities and temples in the adjoining regions. He is right when he says that so much attention has been paid to Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom that it is apt to be forgotten that these are only the two most striking monuments of the richest and most cultured empire in the world of its period, and that the surrounding country contains a very great number of wonderful ruins, which represent altogether an architectural evolution extending approximately through ten centuries of the Christian era.

Vast virgin forests now cover most of the former Khmer empire in Cambodia, and many of the monuments now exposed are of recent discovery. With the gradual opening up of the country, it is certain that many important discoveries will be made in the future; in fact, up to now, the archaeologists have only just exposed the fringe of a great fabric. Good examples of this are given in this book; firstly, in the case of the large pre-Angkorean brick city of Sambour. It stands on the bank of a small river within a stone's-throw of passing steamers. Yet, so completely was it screened by the dense forest, that only the accidental and very recent excursion of a passing villager revealed its existence. A still more striking instance is to be found in Chapters XXIV. to XXVI. The author heard from a road-coolie of the existence of an unknown ruined city, situated near the end of a jungle trail, about 100 kilometres from the rest-house at Kampong Thom. Motoring with difficulty to the spot, he started to explore alone on foot carrying a motion-picture equipment, but no food and water. His walk lasted from sunrise to sunset, but he found and photographed a very large ruined city, the existence of which is probably as yet unknown to historians, and he got back to the car in an exhausted condition—a good example of the romantic discoveries that even a passing traveller may make in Indo-China.

Like all those who visit these remains, the author's imagination has been gripped by the size and extent of the ruins, by their imposing and sometimes fantastic architectural features, by the wealth of bas-reliefs depicting the life of those times so intimately that he aptly likens them to a cinema in stone, and especially by the extraordinary mystery which still clings to the origin and ending of the great Khmer empire in Cambodia.

At some period in the first or second centuries A.D. immigrations or

infiltrations of a conquering race, known as Khmer, began to enter Farther India. These people were apparently of Aryan-Indian origin, writing a language very akin to Sanskrit, and practising zealously the Hindu religion, especially the cult of Shiva. From the fifth century onwards there arose a series of powerful dynasties in Cambodia, governing a population of probably thirty million people, including many slave races. The chief occupations of these Cambodian monarchs appear to have been in building cities and Hindu temples, and in subjugating the surrounding nations. By the middle of the fifteenth century this empire had completely vanished. Whether this took place by outside invasions, or by a revolt of the teeming slave population, or by pestilence, is yet unknown. Forests rapidly overgrew the buildings, which remained hidden to the outside world until accidentally discovered about sixty years ago by the French explorer and scientist, Monsieur Mouhot.

A further mystery appears from the description of Angkor given by the Chinese Ambassador Tcheou-Ta-Quan, who resided there for some years from A.D. 1296 onwards. He lays great stress on the immense quantities of gold and other precious objects then in constant use in the palaces and temples, but no treasures have been discovered in any of the ruins up to date. Whether these were all looted, or whether, in the future, great hoards will be discovered, rivalling those found in the Egyptian tombs, remains to be seen.

In discussing these and other matters the author's narrative is fluent and picturesque, but, at times, it is a little discursive and prolix. He quotes two or three of the great French authorities, but rather at random; without descending to the level of a guide-book, it would have been useful to have systematically compared and commented on the opinions of the leading savants regarding the various unsolved questions connected with these ruins.

Due praise is given to the devoted labours of past and present French archæologists and the difficulties which they experience in rescuing the buildings from the clutches of the surrounding vegetation. Most of the forest trees belong to the genus *Ficus*, which sends down countless aerial roots from the main branches. These roots have a curious action on the buildings: they penetrate forcibly into the stone or brickwork, and having done so, they clasp and support it as with the tentacles of an octopus. In this way aerial roots, having overthrown stone columns, take their place in supporting the roof, and in freeing the ruins great care is often needed to prevent a general collapse.

A few of the interesting local legends are quoted, some of which, no doubt, are based on a substratum of long-forgotten historical events, and one chapter is devoted to a description of the remarkable Cambodian dancing. These dances are performed by the local village girls, who dress up and posture as exact reproductions of the original Apsaras,

or dancing girls, whose numerous portraits in stone bas-reliefs adorn the walls of the main temples in Angkor. They represent an ancient tradition, which has been handed down without a break from generation to generation since the time of Angkor's destruction.

In the last chapter but one Borobudur and the chief Khmer ruins in Java are described and discussed. They represent a parallel and similar civilization, with this difference, that the temples are mainly devoted to the worship of Buddha, and the Hindu deities are relegated to a rôle of secondary importance. In comparison with Angkor the craftsmanship at Borobudur is finer, but the general conception is less grandiose.

The book is well illustrated with photographs, and contains three plans and two maps. It would be improved by the addition of an index.

D. B. B.

CHINA TO CHELSEA. A Modern Pilgrimage Along Ancient Highways.

By Captain D. McCallum. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. 284. Maps and illustrations. Benn. 21s.

Captain McCallum's reputation as a pioneer of motor travelling is well established, and here is his record of the most ambitious enterprise that he has yet undertaken.

The route by which he brought through his two cars from China to Chelsea was by Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Burma, India, Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Anatolia to Constantinople, and thence across Europe. The party consisted of the author, his wife, and two engineers. Considerable stretches of the journey had to be done by rail, or by steamship, on account of insuperable difficulties in the way of road travel, but in the end no less than 15,200 miles had been traversed by car. That this feat was accomplished in spite of an extraordinary combination of adverse circumstances is a proof of the wonderful pluck and perseverance on the part of the travellers, and of stability and worthiness of the Buick cars. The conditions against which they had to struggle are summed up as "intense heat, biting cold, floods, gales, mud, sand, snowstorms," and as a final climax "earthquake" at Adrianople.

If it had been possible to carry out the original project it would have been of more immediate interest to the Society, for the intention was to go right across Central Asia from Peking to Kashgar, and thence through Soviet territory to Northern Persia. When political considerations prohibited the route through Soviet Turkestan, Captain McCallum, refusing to be discouraged, conceived the bold project of travelling south from Kashgar, and having the cars conveyed piecemeal by pack transport over the passes of the Karakoram to Kashmir. He even went to the length of having the structure of the cars altered for the purpose, while elaborate and costly arrangements were made for the establishment of

petrol dumps along the route. This plan, too, was thwarted by the access of civil war in China, accompanied by such acute anti-foreign propaganda that the War Office cancelled their sanction for the journey through China.

The summary which is given of the result of exhaustive enquiries as to the practicability of the different lines by which it was hoped to reach Kashgar affords a useful study of routes across Central Asia. As a last resort the author fell back upon the route through Indo-China, and was about to start when, in the spring of 1927, the situation in China became so threatening that he had to resume his duties in command of the Legation Guard in Peking. The start was on this account delayed till June, when the most favourable season was past, and the journey was made under much more unfavourable weather conditions than would otherwise have been the case. The disturbed state of the country made it impossible to drive through China. The party with their cars were therefore shipped from Tientsin to Haiphong. French Indo-China is described as a motorist's paradise, as well for the courtesy and helpfulness of the officials as for the excellence of the main coastal road, the comfort of the rest-houses, and the efficient management of the numerous ferries.

A motoring tour at the rate of 100 to 200 miles a day gives a very limited and superficial impression of a country, and the early chapters of this book consist largely of what the author himself calls "informative digression," regarding the history and present conditions of Tonking, Annam, and Cambodia. The rainy season had set in by the time the low-lying lands of Cambodia and Siam were reached—the worst season for travel by car. Anything more miserable than the journey from Battambang to the Siamese railhead at Aranya can hardly be imagined, along a road "under construction," in tropical rain, through swamps, with every sort of obstacle, the cars being towed by coolies, and the lady of the party ill with fever. Siam in the rainy season is described as literally and figuratively a "wash out" for motor travel, and the party were thankful to be able to take to the railway to Bangkok and again from Bangkok for 500 miles southwards to Haad Yai in the Malay Peninsula. Thence by road to Singapore to embark for Rangoon and Calcutta. The result of enquiries was to prove the impossibility of travelling by car at that season, either through Siam to Burma, or through Burma to Calcutta. Captain McCallum has, however, sketched out what he believes to be a possible route from Bangkok, by Keng Tung, Mandalay, the Chindwin, Kohima, and Assam to Calcutta.

Anyone who knows the country must, however, have doubts as to whether this route would be practicable throughout at any time of the year. From Calcutta the itinerary followed well-beaten tracks: up the Grand Trunk road; a digression through Kashmir; to Peshawar and

the Khaibar; down the Indus Valley to Dera Ghazi Khan; thence by Loralai to Quetta, and across the Baluchistan desert to the Persian border. The road through Eastern Persia made in 1918-19 as the line of communication of the Malleson Mission was found to have fallen into utter disrepair. From Meshed to Tehran progress was impeded by frequent stretches of "Kavir" saltmarsh.

From Tehran to Baghdad and from Baghdad to Damascus the well-established routes were followed. The author recalls that he was one of the pioneers of the desert route to Baghdad in 1923, while Mrs. McCallum, who accompanied him through all the arduous vicissitudes of the present journey, was herself one of the first party of ladies to travel by car from Damascus to Baghdad. From Baghdad the party went north to Aleppo and by Alexandretta to the Turkish frontier. After much delay by the Turkish Customs, they travelled through Anatolia to Constantinople and Europe, and so passed out of the range of the interests of the Central Asian Society. The route followed is sufficiently illustrated by small-scale maps.

L. K. T.

THE FIELD BOOK OF A JUNGLE-WALLAH. By Charles Hose.

9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 216. Illustrations. H. F. and G. Witherby.

Price 12s. 6d.

Here is a description of shore, river, and forest-life in Sarawak, which, of its kind, is a masterpiece. Wide knowledge, wit and a sense of humour, a passion for nature in all its moods and in all its protean forms, and the intense individuality of its author are stamped upon every page of it.

By the death of Dr. Hose, in November of last year, the world has been made the poorer, and the Far East has lost one who, in these difficult times, can ill be spared. For over twenty years Hose served under Rajah Brooke of Sarawak. During those years he managed never to lose his interest in natural history. His journeys through his Division, either as an administrator or in a legal capacity, became scientific expeditions. His whole official life was illuminated and amplified by his writings, which have now passed into authority. His conception of duty forms a model for any young official entering the Colonial Service.

His work on the pagan tribes of Borneo established his reputation as an anthropologist, whilst his many gifts to museums laid scientific bodies under an obligation to him which his old University appreciated by conferring on him a Doctorate of Science.

In the book under review our expectations are fully maintained. He enables us, as we read it, to visualize his Sarawak jungle: the broad rivers narrow and shallow; the jungle closes in on either side;

the people, an unwearying source of interest, become wilder as he proceeds inland. In the sea, in the lagoon, in the wide river and in the swift, running brook, Hose ever finds some amazing tale to tell us about.

In his jungle, *Hibiscus tiliaceus* is not just a bit of a bush, such as most of us know, but is a great tree, as big as a house, with a trunk 18 inches wide. In his sea, fishes have got to a developmental stage, which may yet happen to *homo sapiens*. All the males are dwarfed and are parasitic on the females. Once a male Oceanic Angler fish meets his lady, he literally hangs on to her for life, and it is her blood that nourishes him. There is the King Crab—the female of the species keeps her eggs just at the back of her eyes, rather like our Chinese worm-friend, *Clonorchis*, who likes them near her mouth. And what a haul the doctor gets in his seine-net: horse-mackerel, walking-fish, catfish, sea dragons, horned trunk-fish, devil fish, pipe fish, edible fish, stinging fish, inedible fish, horrors and little beauties.

In his Residency garden is another sort of haul: *Ipomoea* or morning glory, plumbago, moonflowers, tuberoses and all the waxy flowers, orchids, stephanotis from Hawaii, *spathodea* from Uganda, a tree this, the size of an oak.

Inside his house are to be found all those things and beasties we know the sight and sound of so well and of whose life-history we are generally so ignorant—small lizards on the wall, with the pet names we have given to them, and the larger lizards we are not so friendly with always; the mason-wasp so harmless and yet so untidy to have about the house; the carpenter bee; and above all the ants—all sorts of ants. At night time come the swarms of insects we have learned to loathe, and mostly rightly: moths and fire-flies and more noxious visitors.

Of birds, of their habits, of their call and their note, Hose gives us full measure of the store of his great knowledge. He doubts, however, the power of *Elymnias* to mimicry *Hestia*, the latter a butterfly with a 5-inch wing-span. He cannot imagine, he says, that it can imitate the flight of *Hestia*. Dr. Wiggins, late of Uganda, might have been able to persuade him on this point.

And so on. A delightful book for a quiet read. No one resident in the Far East or among the Islands can possibly afford not to study it, and not afterwards to keep it with him handy on the bookshelf.

D. S.

EAST FOR PLEASURE. W. B. Harris. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 399. Map and illustrations. Arnold. 15s.

A journalist on holiday, writing as the spirit moves him and driven by no duty, is favourably placed for observing the life and ways of strange peoples. During eight months Mr. Harris was free to wander in the East Indian islands

and Indo-China, and has drawn with vivacity and with appreciation a pen-picture of his travels. It is perhaps not unfair to congratulate him on writing a guide-book *par excellence*; his story is full of interest, his comments are original and without malice, yet the abundant detail and the accuracy with which a landscape or a ruined temple are described are at times exhausting, and we are conscious of the "copy" which the author, no doubt by force of habit, was collecting as he stood in admiring contemplation.

Consideration, comprehension, good temper, and an abandonment of racial prejudices are, as he points out, valuable assets in the East, and numerous episodes in this book bear witness to Mr. Harris's equable and democratic spirit. The international meal by night, under a wrecked motor-bus in Annam, is a particularly charming incident. We must add to the list of his qualities a sense of humour, on which indeed all the others rest, and of which this book gives frequent proof; but no reader who remembers Mr. Harris's newspaper account of a Moroccan Sultan many years ago, who pursued his suite round an enclosed courtyard in a motor-car, will doubt his perception of life's lighter side.

The Dutch in their Indian islands, and the Chinese in all the countries here visited, are commended for many virtues, and one notes throughout the book a suppressed or expressed disparagement of British habits in Oriental countries, which is not entirely just. Neither jazz nor racial friction are inseparable from British civilization, and the author will have found little of either in Malaya outside Singapore and Penang. Where they exist, they are accompaniments of a cosmopolitan trade and population, from which the French and Dutch possessions do not suffer in an equal degree. The Chinese moreover, are in many ways more attractive in British Malaya than in the politically conscious parts of their own country. Dutch administration and Chinese enterprise on the other hand merit all the praise given to them.

An attractive picture is presented of Burma, Siam, and French Indo-China; Annam alone is at present following British India on the path of a hyper-literary education, which evolves the "failed B.A." species. Cambodia appears to be still old-world and delightful, though the flood of Chinese immigration is likely in the end to submerge all differences. In this connection Mr. Harris says little of Christianity, which alone can enable a race to survive Chinese penetration. The strife of sects in Minahassa (Celebes), where Catholic, Protestant, and Neutral omnibuses run in rivalry, is absurd enough, and may be compared with the co-operative societies of Catholic goats and Protestant bees in the south of Holland and in Belgium.

"East for Pleasure" may be recommended to any person who travels to the East for that purpose. A reader in England should consume the book in small doses, without fearing to skip. He will then enjoy it. C. F. S

LETTERS D'ORIENT. By S. Stelling-Michaud, correspondant de la *Gazette de Lausanne*, 1930.

We welcome this little book, which is written by a keen observer, who, thanks to modern inventions, has travelled over the Near East in the space of a few weeks—from September, 1929, to January, 1930. He flew from his starting-point Vienna to Constantinople, and gives a good account of the death-like atmosphere of Stamboul which he designates "une capitale morte."

At Batum he makes the acquaintance of Soviet officials, and his description merits quotation: "L'être le plus impartial ne pourra nier que ceci est une voyoucratie, que ces hommes ont des figures des apaches et des mains de criminels."

His account of Persia displays considerable acumen. He states that the famous Pahlavi headpiece, about which Sir Denison Ross waxed lyrical in a recent lecture before the Central Asian Society, is regarded as a *pure horreur*. He expresses his opinion of the famous Trans-Persian railway : "Cette ligne invraisemblable, qui évite de passer par les grandes villes du pays . . . de quelle utilité commerciale pourra être cette voie ferrée ?" His comments on the recent rebellion of the Kashgaris and Bakhtiaris and on the vexed opium question are to the point. In Iraq the complexities of its many questions are rather too much for his hurried survey, but he makes the apposite remark that early European travellers found Asia more natural than we do today, when we attempt to impose our Western civilization on the dreaming East. He concludes on the gloomy note that the uprising of Asia against European tutelage is merely a question of time, and is due to Western "stupide et orgueilleuse ignorance." Although, naturally enough, one cannot entirely agree with the author in his views, yet his book is written in such a judicial spirit that it will interest members of the Central Asian Society whose interests lie in Persia, Iraq, Syria, or Palestine.

P. M. SYKES.

AFRICA'S LAST EMPIRE. By Hermann Norden. Illustrated. 9 x 5*½*. Pp. 240.
London : Witherby. 1930. 15s.

"Africa's Last Empire" is both readable and instructive. The author gives us a very lively account of his travels in this unique African country.

Mr. Norden's book is well illustrated, and includes an excellent map of Abyssinia showing the journey he himself made. To my mind a book of travel is never complete without a map.

Chapter I. is an interesting introduction and covers a lot of ground, although his references to the languages of the country are meagre. On p. 14 one might be led to believe that Amharic and Arabic are the two most useful languages in Abyssinia. The latter is hardly known at all by any Abyssinian, and is merely useful in dealing with Egyptian, Arab, or Somali traders in the country. Amharic is entirely distinct from Arabic as a spoken or written language. Although it is the official language of Abyssinia and, as such, naturally the most important, Galla is the more widely spoken and more useful colloquially. It is, I suppose, no exaggeration to say that while practically all Abyssinians speak Galla, comparatively few Gallas can speak Amharic. There is no literature at all in the Galla language as it is not written, and there is not very much in Amharic beyond the Bible, lives of the Saints, and fairy stories. All that there is of Abyssinian literature lies hidden in the ancient Giiz, known only to a limited number of priests.

I was sorry to read of the detention of Dennon the Danakil chief in Adis Ababa. The author does not tell us whether he succeeded in "squaring himself" over the assassination of six Arabs. When I met him some years ago he had recently married, and was in a very peaceful frame of mind.

I am glad Mr. Norden had the privilege of meeting the Desjazmatch Emerou, he was always a most courteous and charming person. I believe he has been recently transferred to another province ; this is a loss to Harar.

The troubles the writer met with on the road on account of passport difficulties are, alas, no exaggeration, and many other travellers in Abyssinia have had similar experiences. There can, I am sure, be little progress in this country until roads are made and control made possible. The news that a road is to be made from Ankaber to Assab is welcome, but one wonders when

it will be completed. In any case the railway from Adis Ababa to Jibouti already taps the east, but north, south, and west are almost completely out of touch with Abyssinia's capital.

It will always be a disappointment to me that I never saw Gondar, for a visit to this ancient place is essential to any real traveller in Ethiopia. Mr. Norden was wise to go there in spite of the many hindrances he met with *en route*.

The tale of the Falasha, the Jews of Abyssinia, is a curious one, and only another link in the curiously fantastic history of "Africa's Last Empire."

The story is well told and should be read by all who are interested in an independent African country which dates back to the time of Solomon. A country independent in rule and which, albeit surrounded by Mohammedan and heathen, stands alone independently Christian.

A. B.

MONS, ANZAC, AND KUT. By Aubrey Herbert. With an introduction by Desmond MacCarthy. 9×6. Pp. 270. Maps. Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

In 1919 Aubrey Herbert published his Journal anonymously. It largely escaped notice. It was no time for war-books. The world had heard enough about fighting and had read all it had wished to on the subject. Its reappearance under its author's name is more than welcome amid all this welter of war-literature, because, as Aubrey Herbert would distinguish by his presence any assembly, so does any book by him stand out even among the few that may survive a fashion. And it is something more than that. This book comes like a heavy rainstorm at evening after a sultry, trying day. It washes the air. It clears the times after this glut of vile and beastly books about the war.

In reading a diary, anyway in attempting to appreciate it, one must know something of the man who wrote it. The diarist is not obliged to adduce reasons for his views, nor logic for his argument. One may briefly follow Herbert's career in the war days. He had resigned his commission in his yeomanry regiment in 1913, so, on the outbreak of war, he obtained a commission in the Irish Guards. He landed in France with his battalion on August 13. He went to the Dardanelles in the Intelligence Service, and in that capacity we read a lot about him in Compton Mackenzie's book. Later he went to Salonika, Mesopotamia, and Italy. His crowning work in Albania, that state he brought into being and which wished to have him as its king, is unfortunately not touched on in the Journal.

The introduction by Desmond MacCarthy is worthy of the book. His appreciation of Herbert's work and of his actions in his all too short a life can be summed up in a short phrase—*Good Faith*. As MacCarthy puts it :

The reader of these diaries will notice that whenever circumstances arose which could only be handled by a man capable of understanding the point of view of others it was Aubrey Herbert who was chosen to deal with such an emergency; whether negotiations were with enemies or foreign allies, or, what may involve equal difficulties, with members of another service or other departments. No one could ever doubt his good faith; it was a talisman he always carried with him into all companies and into different parts of the world.

The war reacted on Herbert's normal high spirits. His was essentially a chivalrous, warm-hearted character. I think he must have hated war even more intensely than a professional pacifist could have done. He hated injustice and robbery, concomitants of any war. The writer met him frequently during the days of his Mesopotamian adventures. He had quieted down. But the

charm of the man was always with him, whether he was grave or gay. Like those others, Brook and the Grenfells and the rest of those gallant and brilliant young men whose loss to the world has been so very real, he had a personality of own. MacCarthy says, "He gave the impression of being completely unself-conscious, but at the same time of being exceptionally aware of other people." And he was a great listener. Perhaps that accounted for his success with the Oriental mind.

So much for the man. The Journal we are so fortunate to have left with us needs no criticism. It is so much the mirror of the mind of the man himself. There is no writing for effect here. It is all so natural and in the main all so jolly, no matter how seriously he looked at things. Only every now and then do we learn that things looked bad to him.

He himself in his original introduction asks to be excused inaccuracies. In the subsequent editions, which are bound to be called for, possibly the Editor might be persuaded to make corrections as footnotes where necessary. It is important, as in time to come this Journal is bound to be consulted by historians. For instance, as a detail, on page 237 it was the 13th Division not the 18th that should come into the picture. General Hildyard would hardly recognize himself when described as Colonel "Hillard." On May 6, 1916, his typewriter broke. The Diary ends on May 12, 1916. He was always like that. He never gave us enough of himself. It is a wonderful book.

D. S.

The following books have been received for review :

- "Musulman Painting," by E. Blochet. Translated by Cicely Binyon. Introduction by Sir Denison Ross, C.I.E. $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. 124 pp. Illustrations. (London : Methuen. 1929. £3 3s.)
 - "Indien unter Britischer Herrschaft," by Josef Horovitz. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. 136 pp. Maps. (Leipzig : Trübner. 1928.)
 - "India : Peace or War?" by C. S. Ranga Iyer. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. 256 pp. (London : Harrap. 1930. 7s. 6d.)
 - "L'Islam et les Musulmans dans L'Afrique du Nord," by Eugene Jung. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 91 pp. (Paris : Aux Editions de la Jeune Parque. 1930.)
 - "A Literary History of the Arabs," by Reynold A. Nicholson. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 506 pp. (Cambridge Press. 1930. 21s.)
 - "Alai ! Alai ! Arbeiten und Erlebnisse der Deutsch-Russischen Alai-Pamir-Expedition," by Willi Rickmer Rickmers. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. 300 pp. Illustrations. (Leipzig : Brockhaus. 1929.)
 - "The Nature of Consciousness," by E. R. Rost. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 159 pp. (London : Williams and Norgate. 1930. 12s. 6d.)
 - "Caste in India," by Emile Senart. Translated by Sir Denison Ross. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xxiii + 220 pp. (London : Methuen. 1930. 8s. 6d.)
 - "Around the Coast of Arabia," by Ameen Rihani. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 364 pp. Illustrations. (London : Constable. 1930. 21s.)
 - "The Red Star in Samarkand," by Anna Louise Strong. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. 329 pp. (Williams and Norgate. 1930. 15s.)
-

The following articles on Asiatic subjects have appeared in the Quarterlies :

January :

Menorah Journal : "The Palestine Problem." (Added to the Library.)

February :

The English Review : "Lord Lloyd and the Idealists," by J. O. P. Bland ; "Zionists and Arabs," by E. M. E. Blyth.

The Nineteenth Century: "The Dispute between Russia and China," by Ching-Chun Wang (Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway, 1920-1924).

The Empire Review: "Foreign Privileges in China," by W. P. Ker, C.M.G. (late H.M. Consul-General at Tientsin).

The Contemporary Review: "Slave Trading in China," by John H. Harris.

March :

Nineteenth Century and After: "The Indian Scene," by the Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

The Fortnightly: "The Palestine Conundrum," by Owen Tweedy. (Added to the Library).

The Round Table: "An Impression of China," "India and the Viceroy's Pronouncement," "The Kyoto Conference."

The English Review: "The Alternatives for India," by Sir Mark Hunter; "The Egyptian Situation," by Dr. L. Haden Guest, M.C.

CORRESPONDENCE

SULAIMANI ('IRAQ),
November 17, 1929.

To the Editor, JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

SIR,

The Assyrians and their Neighbours.

I venture to submit the following remarks on the last chapter of Dr. Wigram's latest work, and on the review of it which appeared in your October issue.

Your reviewer complains that in the account given on p. 230 of the recovery of Rowanduz in 1923, no mention is made of the British infantry units engaged. Though it certainly does not appear from the text of the book, actually this account does not refer to the operations against Rowanduz in 1923 at all, but to a punitive expedition undertaken against the Kurds of the Desht-i-Harir in retaliation for an attack on a party of levy cavalry in December, 1921, in which a British officer was wounded and several sowars were killed. This "little campaign" took place later in December, 1921, and the troops engaged consisted of a column of Arab and Kurdish levy cavalry from Erbil and a column of Assyrian levy infantry from Akra. The 'Iraq army (Jaish) took no part in this affair. It was immediately following these operations that steps were taken to increase the numbers of the Assyrian contingent in the levies, with the result that nearly two thousand more Assyrians were recruited for the Levy Force by the end of 1922. This force formed one column in the operations for the recovery of Rowanduz in April, 1923, and the Imperial troops mentioned by your reviewer formed the other. No troops of the 'Iraq army (Jaish) took part in these operations, neither was there any increase in the establishment of the Assyrian levies subsequent to them.

With regard to the incidents in Berwari Bala in September, 1924, your reviewer, I think, hardly does justice to the Assyrian irregulars. Whilst it is true that their hurried and unexpected retreat from Berwari Bala on the night of September 20-21 compelled the retirement of the levies from Aina d'Nooni to the Ser Amadia, it should be remembered that the irregulars were embarrassed by the presence of their women and children. Once they had placed these in the comparative security of the Amadia Valley some four hundred of them reassembled at the top of the Ser Amadia, and put themselves at the disposal of the officer commanding the levies there. On the morning of September 24, the Assyrian irregulars, supported only by one platoon of levies (under Lieutenant Hart) and a similar party of police, advanced on Aina d'Nooni. At about 12.30 hours they met with a party of Turkish troops and Kurds in the neighbourhood of Aina d'Nooni and, fighting until evening, forced them to retire to a line which is now approximately the 'Iraq-Turkish frontier.

There is no doubt about the presence of Turkish troops; I was the officer in command of the two companies of levies, and went to Aina d'Nooni the next day and found amongst the things the enemy had left behind them in their retirement the nominal roll of a Turkish battalion (see p. 235), also a Turkish cavalry sword and parts of a machine-gun.

The Bishop at the same time informed me of the capture of six bottles of cognac, but regretted that it had all been consumed before my arrival.

Lieutenant Hart spoke to me in the highest terms of the manner in which the irregulars had carried out their advance, and added that the honours of

the day belonged to them. He also described to me how the Bishop handed his coat to one of his followers and dashed forward with the rest when they were first fired upon.

The R.A.F. was employed elsewhere on September 24 and took no part in this affair.

To conclude with two small points on which your reviewer is not quite accurate :

(a) Agha Petros' ill-starred expedition took place in 1920 and not in 1919 as stated.

(b) It was the men of Tkhuma who ambushed the Vali of Julamerk, not the Tiari.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) C. R. BARKE, Lt.-Col.

PALESTINE.

To the Editor, JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

16, NOTTINGHAM PLACE,

LONDON, W. 1,

March 1, 1930.

SIR,—In the January number of your JOURNAL, Jemal Bey al Husseini, Secretary of the Arab Executive, makes the following statement : (p. 96) "The British Military Palestine Administration of 1918-20, on finding the country quite impoverished by war, began to grant agricultural loans at reasonable rates of interest, which were a great relief to the farmers. Suddenly these loans were stopped. Dr. Eder, Chairman of the Zionist Executive, stated before the Commission of Enquiry of 1921 that it was through the Zionist Organization that these loans were stopped, because they were not of Jewish interest. The Arab farmers in financial distress found no relief except in selling their land to Jews."

I desire to state that these allegations are untrue, and would ask you to publish this denial.

I never requested any Palestine Administration to stop the loans, nor did I make the statement before the Haycraft Commission attributed to me by Jemal Husseini.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies stated on February 24, 1930, in the House of Commons, in reply to a question by Mr. Malone, that "The agricultural loans arranged by the British Military Palestine Administration were continued until 1923, when they were stopped on purely financial grounds."

The loans were, it will be seen, continued some two years after the time when, it is alleged, I claimed that the Zionist Organization had been successful in stopping them.

Unfortunately, I cannot refer to the minutes of my evidence, because the evidence of the Haycraft Commission has not been published, and the Under-Secretary stated in the House that there is no record of that evidence in the Colonial Office.

I am anxious to refute an allegation which, if true, would be a serious reflexion upon the Palestine Administration, as well as upon the Zionist Organization, which at that time I had the honour to represent.

Yours obediently,

M. D. EDER.

HEALTH IN THE TROPICS.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EMPLOYERS.

THE following has been communicated by the Secretary of the School of Tropical Medicine :

The Director of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Sir Andrew Balfour, gave a lecture and cinema demonstration at the School. Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Wilson, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, was in the chair, and there was a large attendance, fully representative of industrial organizations with interests in tropical countries. The lecture was intended as an introduction to the next course of lectures given at the School on Tropical Hygiene for men and women outside the medical profession taking up life in the tropics. This course is given in a series of eight lectures of one and a half hours each between March 12 and 21, and other courses will be given at regular intervals. Full particulars can be obtained from the Secretary of the Institution at Keppel Street, Gower Street, W.C. 1.

Sir Andrew Balfour in the course of his lecture said :

"It is amazing the difference which good health makes to the tropical resident even if the climate be vile, the food unattractive, and the conditions of life calculated to worry and annoy him.

"It is scarcely necessary to say that things have changed greatly for the better in the tropics since the mid-Victorian novelists used them as a background for their heroes, their heroines, and their villains. Drinking habits have radically changed, the progress of civilization has effected a veritable revolution in many parts, and, above all, research has thrown a flood of light into dark places and, together with experience, has taught us how to master and how to prevent disease.

"Just think for a moment what the last three and a half decades have witnessed in the way of important and life-saving discoveries. The problem of malaria infection and transmission has been solved, and this in large measure clears up the mystery which for so long a time shrouded the dreaded blackwater fever, for the latter is now definitely known to be an expression of malaria—in other words, it is a condition resulting from malaria infection.

"Yellow fever, that Yellow Jack which used to play havoc with the mercantile marine, sweeping away ships' crews and ruining trade, has been proved to be a mosquito-borne disease, and so can, in most places, be readily controlled.

"Turning now to certain diseases which more especially attack the native, are in consequence foes to industry on the large scale, and about which those who employ labour in the tropics should be fully informed, it is surely gratifying to realize that hookworm infection need no longer be the curse of the agriculturist.

"Here is a case in point, an extract from a letter sent by an employer to

the Director, Medical and Health Department, Kenya Colony. It is culled from the Kenya Medical Report for 1928 :

" " I think that the following facts *re* my labourers (Wadigo) will interest you :

" " Last year, and during the first six months of this year, the highest weeding and clearing task that I was able to get done by my labourers was 450 square yards per day, and this after infinite trouble. The task was done unwillingly, and the men were sulky and appeared to me to be unfit to do a fair day's work.

" " On May 13, 1928, as you no doubt remember, I took every man to your camp, where you gave them anti-hookworm treatment.

" " At the present time these same labourers are doing a task of 1,000 square yards in heavier grass and bush, and are doing it cheerfully."

" Quite apart from the advance in our knowledge of how to prevent and cure disease, physiological research has taught us a good deal about how best to live in hot climates—what type of house to build, what kind of clothes to wear, what kind of exercise to take and when and how to take it, what food and drink we should there consume for our benefit and comfort.

" These things being so, it is amazing how many young men and women go out to posts in the tropics woefully ignorant of the A, B, and C of tropical life. Too often they pay for this ignorance and, if so, they usually pay early in their careers, for experience teaches, but experience is apt to be a costly teacher. Nobody wishes to frighten the would-be tropical resident. Indeed, he can be assured that, apart from certain parasitic infections, he is unlikely to contract any of the more serious tropical diseases, for these find happy hunting grounds under conditions which the average European will not tolerate. Still, some of the parasitic diseases such as malaria and dysentery are far from negligible, and forewarned is forearmed. Furthermore, a man can settle down much more quickly in the tropics, and he is much happier and more comfortable there, if he knows how to take care of himself and succeeds in avoiding infection, while, if he has to look after a labour force, he will do so much more efficiently if he has some idea of how to safeguard its health and knows what are the dangers and difficulties which have to be avoided.

" It is surely essential to give the layman or laywoman destined for the torrid zone a chance to acquire that information which has been gained by careful and laborious work and which has wrought such a change in our tropical outlook. To me it seems almost criminal to withhold it, for I have seen time and again what I may call the tragedy of ignorance. I have seen a white missionary sitting in the smudge of a fire like any naked native to save himself from mosquito bites, because he had not realized that in certain parts of Africa life after sunset is unendurable without a net.

" What is one to say of the tragic case of the foolish youth who finds in the company of some native woman a relief from loneliness and an outlook for his passions, and lives to regret for ever his lack of comprehension as to what this kind of cohabitation may mean both morally and physically?

" On employers there seems to me to rest a serious responsibility, while in any case a policy of neglecting to take advantage of any means whereby the health of an employee may be conserved is beyond question short-sighted. If the first wealth be health in this part of the world, still more does health spell money in countries where the resident is in any case somewhat handicapped, and where even minor maladies are apt to assume dimensions to which they are strangers in more favoured climes.

"In the lectures given at this School that fact is borne in mind, and the tropics are considered from several angles in an introductory address which has much to commend it. Then the student is warned how to prepare for his journey and for life in a hot country. He is advised as to outfit and various measures of prophylaxis, both before quitting England and during the voyage. Thereafter personal hygiene in the tropics is considered in all its bearings and he is given many 'tips,' the outcome of experience, which cannot fail to be useful to him wherever he may happen to be stationed. Some of the commoner diseases of the tropics, especially those from which he may himself suffer, are then expounded and general measures of protection against tropical diseases are fully explained, including those which must be taken when camping out. A section deals with insects and other pests, and the price of failure to cope with malign climatic conditions and disease is indicated in no uncertain terms. Finally, simple and explicit instructions in prevention and in first aid complete a course carefully adapted to the needs of the layman and calculated both to interest and benefit him."

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NOTICES

MEMBERS are asked to send all changes of address to the office, and if they do not receive their cards and JOURNALS when home on leave, to ask for them as soon as possible.

Members only are responsible for their statements in the JOURNAL.

Cards sent to the Rev. C. Chitty, Ashford, Kent, have been returned through the post ; the Secretary would be much obliged if his new address could be sent to the office.

The Annual Dinner will be held at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on July 9, the President, the Right Hon. Earl Peel, G.B.E., in the chair. Lord Lloyd of Dolobran and H.E. the French Ambassador will be the guests of the Society.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF AVIATION IN ASIA

BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD THOMSON

(Secretary of State for Air)

(ANNIVERSARY Lecture, Wednesday, June 11, 1930. Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair.)

The title of this lecture was originally announced as "British Aviation in Asia," but there is really not sufficient material under that heading to interest you for more than five minutes, because British aviation merely touches the fringes of Asia. It is, in fact, confined to the enterprise of Imperial Airways, which company runs a line through Arabia to Karachi and on to Delhi, functioning with regularity every week. While we were all thrilled by the description of Miss Amy Johnson's flight—and I should be the last to deny to that young lady a full meed of praise for her great achievement—it should be borne in mind that every week a pilot of Imperial Airways travels steadily and regularly by air (with the exception of a short railway journey from Alexandria to Heliopolis) from Croydon to Delhi. The journey to Karachi is made in six and a half days, the pilot arriving in Delhi on the eighth. The regularity of that service has, during the last few weeks, been most remarkable.

British aviation is, of course, worthily represented in other parts of Asia, such as the North-West Frontier of India, by the Royal Air Force. In order to give some idea of these activities, I will cite the distribution on a given day of ten machines of a Royal Air Force squadron whose headquarters are at Hiniadi, some few miles from Baghdad. Two of the machines were at Aleppo with the High Commissioner for Iraq, being used for the purpose of conveying him and his suite to a conference with the French; two were on the North-West Frontier of India; three were on their way to the North-West Frontier, via the Persian Gulf; the remaining three being at Hiniadi. The slate kept at the Air Force station shows the remarkable distribution of those ten machines and how fully they are employed. With those ten machines were some twenty to twenty-five young men, solely responsible for their operation in the air, together with a highly expert staff responsible, on the ground, for every detail of supply, refuelling, and equipping of those machines with their particular weapon, which is

a bomb. The carriers were flown from Baghdad to Peshawar, a distance of some 2,500 miles, and, with some other machines from the Royal Air Force in India, evacuated 586 persons of different nationalities, etc., from Kabul in the middle of winter, when snow was deep on the ground, and the aerodromes had to be swept and cleared to render landings and departures possible. To those who know that region and the mountains which have to be traversed the magnitude of the performance will be obvious. It is comforting to think that not one single mishap occurred to one of the 586 passengers. Only one machine crashed, and that contained only Air Force personnel. They are accustomed to taking risks.

To those of you who are acquainted with the political situation in this part of the world it will also be apparent how great an advantage it was to be able to dispose of such means of transport at such a time, because it requires no stretch of the imagination to conceive the highly delicate international situation which might have arisen if these 586 nationals of all these different countries had been left in Kabul for a long period of time, their relief only practicable by very considerable land operations in the absence of the R.A.F. A relief expedition might have been necessary, and might easily have led to international complications, because, as I need not remind you, the people relieved were not British only, and the Governments of their respective countries were naturally concerned as to their safety. Unless prompt measures could have been taken, if it had not been possible to transfer the foreign residents from Kabul to a place of safety by air, the outcome might have been very different.

AVIATION IN PERSIA.

Turning to developments in Persia, I may say that the German firm of Junkers have played a leading part in the development of civil aviation. That firm is independent of the German Government; that is to say, it is not part of that great air organization in Germany known as *Luft-Hansa*. It has broken new ground of its own; indeed, whenever one consults an aviation map of the world, one is quite likely to find a very pushing, active, and highly competent representative of Junkers. In Persia Junkers have established their headquarters at Tehran, from which four air routes radiate. One goes north, through Pahlevi on the Black Sea, to Baku; this is mainly a commercial route. Another goes east to Meshed, and an extension to Kabul is projected. A third goes south through Shiraz to Bushire on the Persian Gulf; and a fourth goes west through Hamadan to Baghdad. Junkers have been operating successfully in Persia for two years; they are now in their third.

As some indication of the progress made: The kilometres flown in 1927 numbered 193,000; in 1928, 337,000. In 1927, 2,812 passengers were carried on those four lines; by 1928 the number had increased to 4,000. Mail-bags weighing 757 kilogrammes were carried in 1927; in 1928 the figure had increased to 4,931. Commercial goods carried weighed, in 1927, some 37,602 kilos; in 1928, 87,000 kilos were carried by the Junker aeroplanes. I am sorry to weary you with figures, but they are the best measure of development of transport by air in Persia. A curious figure is that in 1927 only 10 per cent. of the passengers carried were Persians, while in 1928 75 per cent. of the passengers carried were of that race, which means that over 3,000 Persians had overcome their natural preference for the ground. That is rather remarkable, because one would have expected the Persians to be the last race in the world to take up aviation. For 1929 I have no exact figures, except that up to June 30 of that year another 240,000 kilometres had been covered in flight, and the figures as regards passengers and freight had increased and are continuing to increase from month to month. Those are matters on which it is our business to reflect. If Persia can take so active and practical an interest in aviation, it behoves us also to consider what our attitude should be.

RUSSIAN AIR ACTIVITIES IN ASIA.

The principal development of aviation in Asia proper is being carried on by the Russians with the direct support of the Russian Government. I will endeavour to give you some idea of how far Russia is progressing in regions where we always like to think our influence should predominate and also in regions whose geographical character and climate might appear to make aviation difficult.

Russia is, of course, the principal link between Europe and Asia for air transport. Until we have developed sea-planes with great range it will be necessary for the aeroplane to fly as much as possible over land. As an island country in the north-west corner of Europe—not in Europe but off it—and with no outlets by air except west across the Atlantic, with 3,000 miles between us and dry land, the only outlet to east and south being across the territory of other countries, Great Britain's position from the point of view of air development in Asia is one of extreme difficulty: in fact, it is almost impossible for her to establish air communications direct with her far-flung dominions because of the necessity of going over other people's territory.

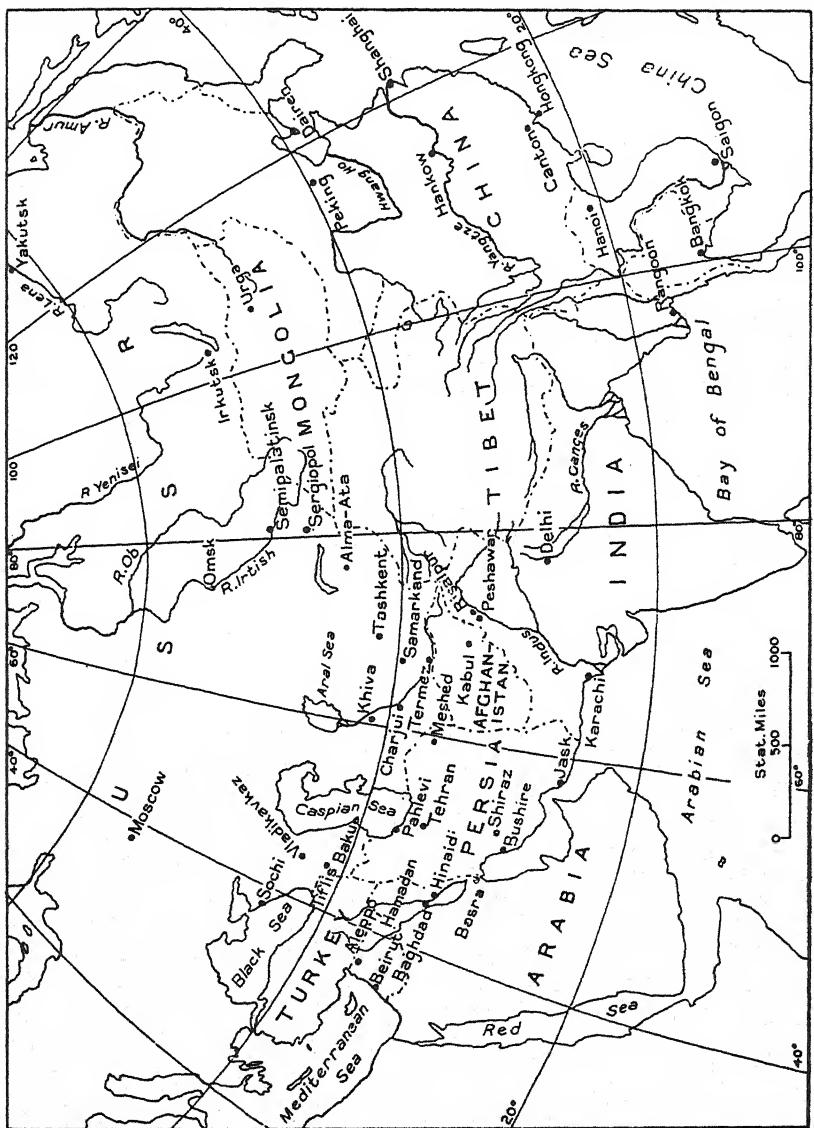
We have succeeded so far in establishing the route to India by a series of special arrangements with each country concerned. We quite naturally have been in favour of what is commonly described as "the freedom of the air." We think that any civilized country should possess at least one international air route, possibly more. We think for

the best of all possible reasons—self-interest—that any State a member of an international body, such as that which exists for the promotion of international aviation, should give free access to the air routes of other States which are also members of that body. Nevertheless, from a statement of that general position to achieving all-round agreement one has a long way to go. Great Britain was out-voted by twenty-seven to four on the international body when she suggested a liberal interpretation of freedom of the air, and we have now to enter into special arrangements with each State on a reciprocity basis, which means saying to France, for instance: You give us leave to land on your aerodromes and we will give you leave to land on ours. Thus in Asia we are severely handicapped, especially as Russia has not subscribed to the international convention on aviation. Neither has Germany, who has refused to become a member until a clear definition has been given of what is meant by freedom of the air. We are now waiting impatiently for international jurists to tell us, but they are slow to move, and, indeed, it has not yet been possible to put the question straight to them. For these reasons it has been inevitable that the development of Asia by means of aviation has been, largely, carried out by other countries: by Germany in the case of Persia and by Russia in the manner I will endeavour to describe.

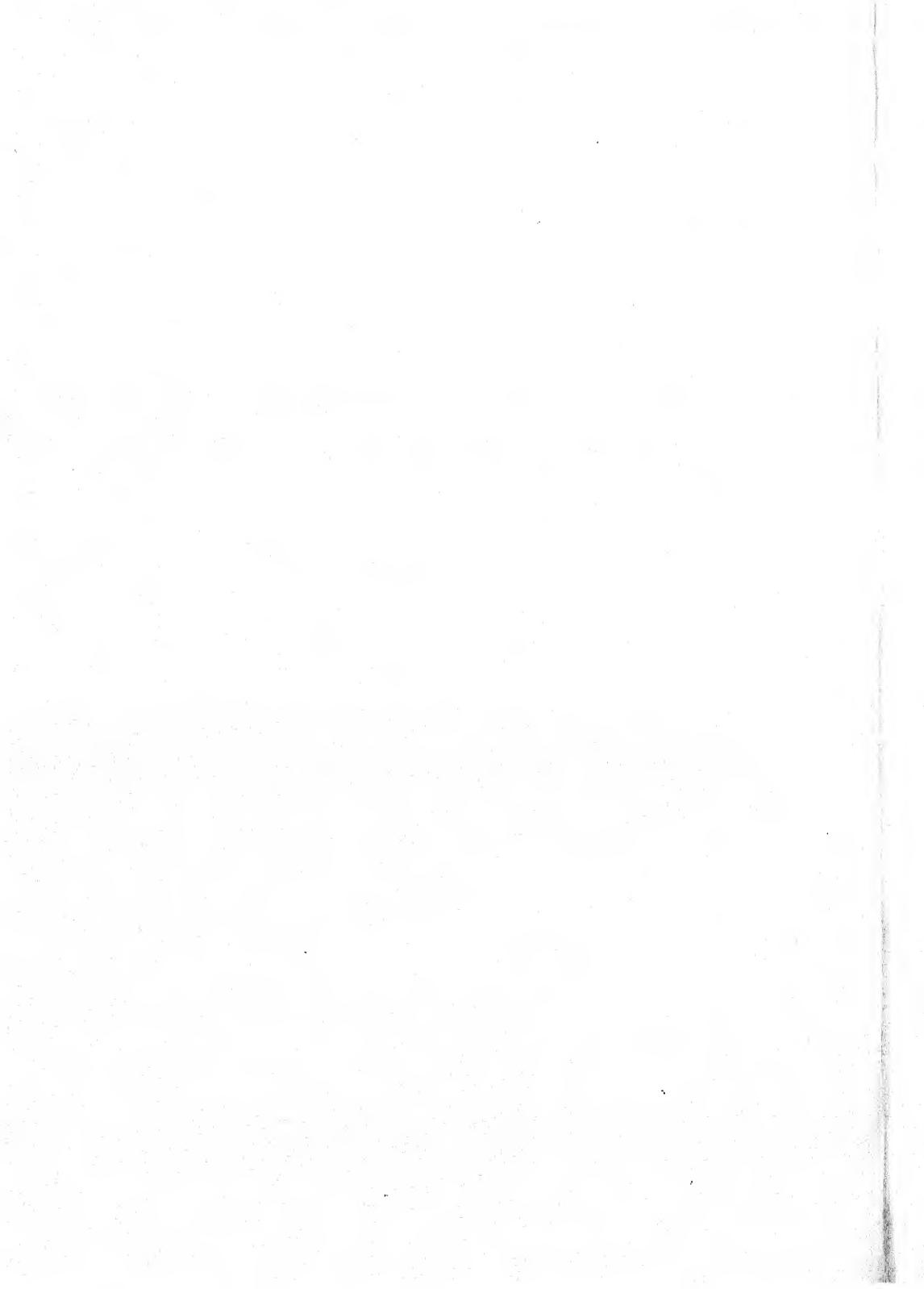
Let me first tell you how you can go to Asia from London. Every day, except Sunday, it is possible to go by plane from London to Berlin in 7 hours 20 minutes. On the second day the journey can be continued from Berlin to Moscow in 15½ hours; on the third day from Moscow to Sochi, a port on the Black Sea, in 14 hours 20 minutes; on the fourth day from Sochi to Baku on the Caspian Sea; on the fifth day from Baku to Tehran; on the sixth day—and this can only be done twice weekly—from Tehran to Bushire, the total time in the air being 61 hours 50 minutes.

Taking another route, it is possible to go as I have described from London to Moscow, arriving there on the second day. From Moscow to Omsk, arriving there on the fourth day; from Omsk to Irkutsk, arriving on the fifth day; while from that point it is possible, or soon will be, to go north-west to Yakutsk or east to Urga and Peking, mainly by air. A route is being planned across that vast distance which will run, so far as is known at present, by a combined Russian-German concern. In 1931 it will be possible also to go from Moscow to Tashkent by air—and here we are getting nearer British interests—a distance of 1,860 miles.

The centres of aviation established by Russia in Asia are, first, at Tashkent, from which lines branch out to Samarkand, Termes and Kabul. When the link between Tashkent and Moscow is complete it will be possible to go from Moscow to Kabul in four or five days.



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Secondly, there is a centre of aviation on Lake Aral, from which lines run through Khiva and Charjui. The third centre is in Siberia, where an air route links Semipalatinsk, Sergiopol and Alma-Ata. The most important link, I repeat, is that from Moscow to Tashkent, which will eventually join up practically all the centres I have mentioned and give Russia access by air to the whole of the northern frontier of Afghanistan, to Mongolia and the great province lying north-east of it, namely, Sinkiang. The line from Tashkent to Kabul is now being operated once a week throughout the year.

There have been some curious features in the operation of these air lines that could not have been foreseen, but are none the less of interest. One would imagine that the cold at certain times of the year would be intense, but as a matter of fact in an unheated aeroplane the temperature in mid-winter at a height of some thousands of feet is found to be 10° C., while the temperature on the ground is many degrees below zero Centigrade. That is a curious phenomenon, but is fully established and certainly not explained on the ground of heat from the engine. I suppose most people would say that aviation would be practically impossible because of the cold in Mongolia and Siberia during the winter, but that is not so.

I want next to draw attention to the fact that the development of Russian civil aviation dates back at most seven years. In 1923 the total length of Russian airways was, approximately, 1,000 miles. In that year 1,433 passengers and 30,750 kilogrammes of mail and freight were carried. In 1928 the number of passengers had increased six-fold, while freight was eight times as great. In spite of the climate and the difficulties that might have appalled aviation enterprise, there has been an astonishing development in a period of five years.

The oldest Russian company dealing with air traffic has been in operation only since 1922. Up to October, 1929, that company had covered with its aeroplanes just under two million miles—joy-rides are not included—and had carried 12,600 passengers and 84,000 kilogrammes of freight. The air mails company which works from Moscow to Berlin is so well organized that mail can be conveyed from Moscow to Berlin or *vice versa* in one day, and is so carried with the greatest regularity. Those who have done the journey from Moscow to Berlin by other methods of transportation will realize the gain conferred by this mode of transport.

The Russians regard aviation as an important colonizing agency, and, obviously, it is so. People who live in lonely out-of-the-way places, such as the backwoods and open spaces of Canada and Australia, are naturally more contented if they can get news, letters, the doctor and the nurse without delay. All over Asia one finds the same state of affairs. One of the greatest uses to which aviation has been put in

Siam is in connection with ambulance work. As a colonizing agent people, quite naturally, regard aviation with the utmost favour. When they hear the humming of an aeroplane engine overhead they do not think of a bomber, but of the doctor or the dentist, their letters or the nurse. That makes a vast difference to the point of view. We who are accustomed to most excellent transportation services by rail and have race tracks for motor-cars provided at public expense, do not appreciate what the aeroplane may be in the way of a colonizing agent.

I do not conceal from myself or from anyone with whom I discuss these matters seriously that the effect of developing commercial aviation is bound, in the end, to be considerable from a military point of view. I would like to foresee a time when British aeroplanes with British pilots were having daily access to places beyond our north-west frontier in India, not for the purpose of dropping bombs, but merely for the purpose of familiarizing the inhabitants with our personnel. I know of no other way of enabling the inhabitants of these otherwise inaccessible places to become familiar with our manners, customs and representatives. The moral effect and the enhancement of national prestige as a result of seeing aeroplanes arrive daily and punctually in such places cannot be overestimated.

I do not know how they get the money—I wish I knew the secret—but the Russian companies are running their aeroplanes at a very low cost to the public. I should think a high percentage of the ticket must be paid from Government funds. For example, you can go in a Russian plane from Moscow to Persia for £13 5s. I think you will agree that is very cheap.

It is interesting to note the programme of development that the Russians have in mind. Three new air lines have been added to the Russian network of airways in Asia during this summer. The total length of Russian airways, including the lines from Moscow, is now 11,445 miles. In the whole British Empire there are only 20,000 miles, which it is hoped to raise to 36,000 miles in 1931. One of the Russian lines runs over the Caucasus to Baku via Tiflis and completes the former air connection between Vladikavkaz and Baku. Two others run through Siberia, the one from Moscow to Irkutsk being the first step towards establishing services to Japan and China, the other connecting Semipalatinsk with Alma-Ata in the Soviet Republic of Central Asia.

During 1930 Russia is going to add 4,340 miles of new air line, and in 1931 a further 3,100 miles will be added; in 1932, 5,500 miles and in 1933, 1,550. When all those lines have been completed Russia will have 25,935 miles of air-routes in regular operation. Speaking from the point of view of the Air Ministry, I submit that that is a proof of progressive thought on the part of the Russian people or their Govern-

ment, or both. No one can afford to neglect any means of transportation so speedy and, relatively, so reliable.

What do those 26,000 miles mean? They mean linking up Moscow by means of a network of air-lines with the northern frontier of Afghanistan, and a line through to Kabul. They mean linking up Russia with the Black Sea and the Caucasus, with branches to Tehran and Baghdad. Mighty tentacles, of great significance to the British.

There is, I believe, a general impression that the Russians are unable to build aircraft or organize air communications. That is an entire mistake. I have a note to this effect: the Soviet air lines, with the exception of those operated by the Deruluft, which are flown by German as well as Russian pilots, are flown entirely by Russian personnel. A number of excellent pilots have recently been trained in Russia, and some of those pilots have recently carried out some very remarkable long-distance flights. The Russians have made considerable strides of recent years in aircraft and air-engine construction, mostly following the German model. Many types of purely Russian design have already been produced. The best known and most popular type in Russian air-traffic is the Kalnin aeroplane, on whose technical features I need not enlarge.

Now I want to refer briefly to the activity of other nations in Asia. Most of the German plans are still very much in the air. Up to date, Germany through Junkers and by arrangement with the Russian Government has combined with Russia to operate air routes, but there has been a certain amount of friction, and I can well understand it because I know from experience what delicate and intricate negotiations are inevitable in any attempt to plant people of one country on another's territory. For the moment the German firm of Junkers is trying to get a footing in the Far-Eastern extension, and already plans have been elaborated for a combined railway and air line from Peking to Shanghai. For the moment, however, I can see very little materializing in that direction, but I have not the least doubt that Germany, with characteristic persistence, will win through sooner or later. For the moment there does not appear to be any really effective competition.

The French have not made any definite progress in Asia, but they have many plans under consideration. At present they send their mail as far as Baghdad, and then the British take it on to India; but there is nothing to stop the French later on taking their own mail through India to Karachi, from whence it will go either by rail or in Indian aeroplanes across India; from there it will go to Calcutta, from thence to Rangoon, and down to Singapore. The Dutch have already a very excellent system in operation in the Dutch East Indies. But for the moment France, for very much the same reason as ourselves, and

indeed Germany, have not been able to really touch the heart of the problem of Central Asia.

As regards less advanced countries where aviation is concerned, there is very little to say. In Siam there are one or two lines. In 1922 they had 363 miles of air routes. In 1928 there were 794 miles in operation, but the number of passengers showed no increase, although miles flown and freight carried more than doubled. Actually the number of passengers carried by plane in Siam appears to be decreasing. The Siamese are willing to trust an aeroplane to take their letters or their goods, but not their persons.

Chinese aviation is, in the figurative sense, very much in the air also. Chinese lines are planned linking Canton, Hankow, and Peking, with a branch from Hankow to Shanghai. The Chinese are already operating a line between Nanking and Shanghai, and also between Hankow and Shanghai, but they are doing so with the assistance of an American private firm. I understand that the Chinese recently broke their contract with the Americans, but the latter are persisting in carrying on even though the Chinese do not care to keep their side of the bargain. The reasons are perfectly obvious to anyone who has studied aviation on its business side. The Americans hope to sell their aeroplanes in China, and they will even carry on at a loss with that object in view.

Japan has been curiously backward in the development of aviation. An air service was opened on April 1, 1929, but the official report on that is that the results have so far been most disappointing. They are projecting a route across from the Southern Island to the mainland of Asia. Their one line at present is from Tokio to Osaka, and then across to a point in Manchuria.

That is all I have to say in detail. In conclusion, I would like to say I have not attempted to paint a rosy picture of our prospects in Asia or, at any rate, of our achievement. With the exception of what Great Britain is doing in Iraq and on the North-West Frontier of India and what we have proved we are capable of doing in those regions—that is most important and will not easily be forgotten—we are practically doing nothing in Asia. We are planning a small civilian air line between Hongkong and Shanghai. Here I must remind you that in all these parts of the world—the Near East, the Far East, and China—the Air Force is and has been active; but so far as peaceful penetration is concerned and the pushing of the British aircraft industry in Asia, I do not mind stating, frankly, that personally I should like to see a great deal more activity on our part. Having expressed that pious hope, I am not able to make any constructive suggestions at the moment.

I have endeavoured to point out the difficulties of establishing air-

routes securing access to a great continent like Asia in the absence of direct contiguity such as that enjoyed by Russia. Our problem is infinitely more complicated. In fact, there are times when one feels that the solution is impossible. Where I feel distinctly optimistic is in this direction: there is no doubt that the British build the best engines, whether the marvellous contraption such as the engine that the Rolls Royce built for the Schneider Trophy or the sort of engine now being used by the Dutch East India Company. When I was in Antwerp recently and visited the aeronautical exhibition I found that the Bristol Jupiter engine was being manufactured, under licence, by the Belgians. The design and every credit that could be derived from the manufacture of that engine was due to the British. In the Dutch East Indies an Armstrong-Siddeley engine is in use on the Dutch machines.

There is the line of development, but the moral is that the Empire depends for everything on the Home Country and its action. Our Dominions are magnificent, but they have not the necessary population. Australia and Canada are now making rapid strides in the development of commercial aviation; they have wide spaces and need such facilities. But we in this country shall never be able to compete as regards price unless we go in for mass production. We can, and I think do, produce the best article in the world, but we have to compete with a large number of rivals in all parts of the world. I have not the least doubt in my own mind that we can successfully achieve a considerable measure of air transport penetration through our engines and the design of our planes if we can produce more cheaply—if there were a sufficiently large home market outside the Air Force to encourage our manufacturers to spread themselves and “go large.”

The moral for all this is: that whether we approve of aviation or not, whether we feel it is an “infernal nuisance” or not, we cannot fail to recognize that it has come to stay, and that it is making the most astounding progress. I remind you of the figures I have quoted. It is not possible to stay the march of human progress, however disagreeable and disturbing it may be, and our home market can only really flourish if the entire population of this country takes an active and intelligent interest in aviation. I do not mean to say that a few select people are not already doing magnificent work, but I suppose at the Air Ministry we receive some thirty letters a week from impatient citizens who object to the noise of aeroplanes. One of our ancient seats of learning has been protesting for some years against the proximity of an aerodrome to the place in which undergraduates absorb knowledge, though the latter appear to like the presence of that aerodrome. We want the best people in this country to take an active and intelligent interest in aviation. By that I do not mean that everybody should fly. On the contrary, I do not believe it would be possible for us all to fly at the moment, but

I always think of the comparison with the way in which Great Britain built up her sea-power. I remember the late Dr. Page talking of the British people having achieved their great position in the world because they had the habit of the sea. At the time we acquired sea supremacy I do not suppose 20 per cent. of the population had ever seen the sea. Nevertheless, they realized that, first of all, the sea was a means of developing commerce; that it was a highway; that it was a trail which they might follow with gain to themselves for business purposes, and that it was the first line of defence. Thus for hundreds of years the population took an active and intelligent interest in sea-power. I do not wish to discourage them from continuing to take that active interest in sea-power, but I would like them, for two very excellent reasons, to view the aviation problem in the broadest and most sympathetic spirit, because, undoubtedly, the air is now our first line of defence. The development of British aviation may not only revive the old Empire spirit, which has been, perhaps, drooping, by bringing scattered parts of the Empire closer together, but it should be possible to develop in this country a very great aircraft industry feeding a vast Empire air transport system. That will create a new industry. Instead of the few thousand now employed in the manufacture of aircraft I can foresee a time when hundreds of thousands will gain an intelligent livelihood out of the manufacture of aircraft. We should thus build up something corresponding to our Mercantile Marine, whose value to the Fleet and to defence cannot be overestimated. (Applause.)

DISCUSSION.

STAFFORD BEY: Lord Thomson has told us that British aviation cannot obtain facilities for flying over other countries. How is it that the German machines go daily from Berlin to Persia?

Lord THOMSON: They have the same kind of arrangement with the Russian Government as we have with France, Germany, the Balkan States, Greece, Egypt, and so on, on our route to India and Persia. In connection with our route to India we had to conclude agreements with about nine countries. Germany has done the same with Russia. Moreover, you have to remember that Germany stepped in at the right moment and provided Russia with the expert assistance which in 1923 Russia could not herself provide.

STAFFORD BEY: It does not mean that other countries are getting better facilities for travelling over each other's territory than we get from them?

Lord THOMSON: On the contrary, I should say we have no reason to complain, but we have no facilities from Russia so far for the simple reason that they were not immediately on the horizon from our

development point of view. We are, of course, developing rapidly. We shall, I hope, have a route through to the Cape by the end of next year, going all the way by air in eleven to twelve days. I have described our route to India, and it is hoped that by the end of 1931 we will go through to Australia. That, as you can imagine, depends on arrangements with a good many people, also on the necessary funds.

Lord LAMINGTON : I would like to ask Lord Thomson whether in our line of flight from our country to the East there are spare machines in case of breakdown and personnel able to repair machines at each place.

Lord THOMSON : I should doubt if there are many spare machines on the Imperial Airways route at present because of their bad luck last year, but undoubtedly provision will be made for them. I should add that Imperial Airways run their line independently of the Air Ministry except that they are subsidized and occasionally come to us for assistance, while we now and again supply them with a plane. It is the object of that company to have its service absolutely regular, and every conceivable safeguard will be provided.

Lord LAMINGTON : Do the Russians carry their passengers more safely than do Imperial Airways ?

Lord THOMSON : I would not like to make comparisons ; they are rather odious. It is, however, a remarkable fact that if you travel on the Continent most people, whether British or not, prefer to travel in British planes which have to pass very severe air worthiness tests, and I rather think our pilots have endeared themselves. They are most reliable men.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER : Is it a fact that the great increase in aviation in Persia is due to the extraordinary efficiency of Junkers ? My son, who is in Persia, informs me that during the three years they have been operating the air service they have not had a single accident. That is one of the reasons for increased popularity. Another is the extraordinary discretion with which Junkers have chosen their personnel. The Persian is an extraordinarily good judge of character, and is apt to quickly form an opinion of those with whom he comes into contact. The Germans, knowing this, have chosen very excellent people to represent them in the air service.

Lord THOMSON : I can confirm that and would like to pay this tribute. It is not only a question of being fair, but one can afford to be generous and give praise where it is due. The Junkers Company's performance in Persia has been quite remarkable.

The CHAIRMAN : If there is no further question anyone wishes to ask I am sure you will agree with me that we have had not only a very interesting and very valuable lecture, but we have had a great deal of

information, a certain amount of warning, and much enlightenment, while the lecturer ended on a note of encouragement. We have learned from him that our material is the best in the world. We know from our own knowledge that our personnel should be the best in the world, and that by united effort we should certainly carry through and achieve the great success which Lord Thomson has sketched as being within our power. You will, I am sure, join with me in a hearty vote of thanks to our lecturer. It is seldom we have the honour of a Cabinet Minister to lecture to us, and it is seldom that we have had a great subject more clearly and concisely put forward. We thank you very much, Lord Thomson. (Applause.)

CENTRAL ASIA UNDER THE SOVIETS*

BY ABDUL QADIR KHAN

FROM the dawn of history Central Asia has attracted the eyes of the world. For over two thousand years the Mongol hordes, Alexander's armies, and those great conquerors, Chingiz Khan and Tamerlane, have invaded the rich and fertile lands situated in the heart of Asia. In modern days the arms of Imperial Russia were carried to these regions in the hope that one day the Czar would be master of Asia.

Since the Bolshevik régime the importance of the problem of Central Asia has revived. One of the most extraordinary experiments ever known in political history is being worked out in those mysterious lands of Turkistan—that of a strongly centralized policy towards the Mongol peoples pursued by a Communist Government.

The circumstances in which I had good opportunity to see the transformation taking place in the most ancient regions of the East were set forth in a series of articles I contributed to *The Times* last month, and I need not repeat them here. I will only say that in 1920 I travelled via the Khyber Pass and, after a short stay in Kabul, made my way towards the Russian border; passing through the picturesque snow-covered valleys of Afghanistan, and crossing the mighty passes of the Hindu Kush, I entered Russian territory at Takhtabazar. The journey from Kabul was made on horseback in eighteen days; it is now accomplished by the Soviet Air Service in less than a day.

This air service has been in operation for two or three years now, running from Termez to Kabul. It is connected with the various air lines now operating in Central Asia, and brings Kabul within two or three days of Moscow and the West. The train journey via Merv and Bokhara brought me to Tashkent, which is the great economic centre and military headquarters of the Soviet Government in Central Asia.

In Tsarist Days.—The regions now called the Bolshevik Central Asia are vast, though the native population is not estimated to be more than eight millions. The lack of homogeneity in these, Uzbegs, Turkomans, Kirghis and Sarts, is the result of successive invasions. The various tribes speak different languages and have cultures of their own. They rear good cattle, and by means of irrigation grow cotton on a large scale, and they cultivate beautiful vineyards. The women are proud of their skill in fine embroidery, and share in the work of weaving and carpet-making. All the tribes are Moslem, and are (or were) faithful to the traditions and customs of Islam. All their court procedure is based on

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on March 26, 1930, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the chair.

the teaching of the Koran. The cities of Bokhara and Samarkand have been famous as seats of learning and culture, and fine literature and poetry, as well as beautifully illuminated manuscripts, have been produced.

By the latest decade of the nineteenth century Imperial Russia had annexed most of Central Asia, and Tashkent became the capital of Russian Turkistan. Not far from the old Turki city a modern town was built, with new roads, parks and boulevards, while no expense was spared in linking the frontier with up-to-date transport and stations of efficient military forces. While the Imperial Government controlled external affairs and the defence of the country, local customs and the Moslem law remained to a great extent unchanged. The Russian Governor-General never interfered with the Moslem Emirates and Khanates in the conduct of internal affairs.

Holy Bokhara, as it was called, was the capital of the Emirate Bokhara. It was a prosperous commercial centre, and its hundred mosques and medrisses with their learned professors attracted students of Moslem theology from all over Central Asia. There was considerable trade between Bokhara and India via the highway of Afghanistan. Through the markets of Peshawar the caravans turned northwards loaded with Manchester cloth and other articles in exchange for the carpets, silks and furs they had brought to India. The entire loss of this trade under Bolshevik rule is one factor in the attrition of Lancashire piece goods trade via Karachi.

The Bolshevik Revolution.—When Moscow became the Mecca of the Communists, the gospel of Marx and Lenin was propagated all over Russian Turkistan by the drastic methods of the Soviet Dictatorship. After military *coups d'état* in Bokhara and elsewhere the Red troops established their authority, and all over Central Asia there was a terrible massacre of mullahs, merchants, landowners, and all those who were considered obstacles to the spread of Communism.

Lands and other property were confiscated. There was a ruthless campaign to do away with all that belonged to the so-called reactionary past. A new East was to be brought to life, and Central Asia was to serve as the first example.

Religion, for reasons obvious to students of the writings of Marx, was next attacked. Holy Bokhara and other cities now became the centre of atheist teachings. The mosques and medrisses were transformed into club-houses for boys and girls, while the priests were persecuted and martyred as the most dangerous enemies of the State. Women who for centuries had followed the tradition of being veiled were to become the free citizens of the Soviet, and the veil was proscribed. Those Moslems who revolted against this tyrannical interference with private life were shot everywhere as "counter-revolutionaries."

The virile tribes did not give way as easily as the new invaders had

imagined when they first assumed power. A "Holy War" against the Bolsheviks was declared, and which to the world is known as the "Basmachi Revolt." The movement was defeated finally by the mighty forces of the Red army when, in 1923, the Kremlin ordered Kaminoff, the war Kommissar, to direct in person the attack against the rebels in the mountain of Farghana. Enver Pasha, after he had seen the trend of the Baku Conference in 1922, joined the Basmachis as their commander-in-chief. Even he could not make the revolt a success, and was killed fighting.

Political "Freedom."—Desirous of not incurring Moslem resentment in other parts of Asia, where they wish to penetrate in the guise of friends, the Central Power in Moscow decided to make a show of the



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political freedom that "once oppressed" people in Asia enjoy in the Soviet paradise. Consequently, Central Asia was divided into small Soviet republics, as Uzbekistan, Turkemanistan, and Tajikistan, with delegates of each republic represented in the Central Executive Committee in Moscow. This was the beginning of a "Constructive Socialism" in Central Asia. Theoretically the Soviet Republic stands for the will of the people, as there are members from towns and villages. In practice, owing to the key position being held by the Communists, they are under the dictatorship of the Central Executive which rules from Moscow.

Air.—In this connection the linking up of Asia by air plays a great part. Whereas fifteen years ago it took weeks to get a conference with Moscow, this can now be arranged in a few days.

This Soviet experiment in the art of self-government has been far

from a success amongst a people who have no previous experience or training in administration. Only those citizens can vote or be elected who are not of priestly origin and do not hold land or property or capital other than what has been given by the State. The illiterate elected members have no sense of responsibility, and can do very little to promote the interests of their voters. They abuse power for their petty personal ends, or to gain favour with the bureaucracy. They resort to most cruel methods of avenging old feuds or grudges on former employers or cousins who were affluent in the old days. In spite of all propaganda, the Communists of Central Asia have shown very little regard for the principles of Lenin, and their only ambition is to get the best share out of the spoil whenever they have opportunity to plunder as local rulers in the provincial or village Soviets.

Propaganda.—It must be admitted that wonderful efficiency has been shown by the Soviet authorities in establishing new institutions for education, where the youth of Asia is being trained in the science of Bolshevism. In the Universities of Tashkent, Bokhara, and Samarkand thousands of young people are taking special courses in constructive Communism. The education is in the vernacular in each region, but Russian is also taught. In the villages, where illiteracy is predominant, new methods of instruction and propaganda have been devised by radio and cinema, which reaches even into the remote mountains of the Pamirs. Nowhere in the world more than in Central Asia is there greater wonder that modern miracles have taken the place of ancient magic. Through these instruments the wonders of the Soviet rule are brought home to millions of Uzbeks, Tadjiks, Turkomans, and Kirghiz, most of them living in the solitude of the mountains, to whom all this is like black magic. What a contrast this is to the neglect of broadcasting in India! The Bolsheviks have not as yet, however, realized their dreams of changing the Eastern mind. Those devoted Moslems who have escaped from the terror of the Soviet in the cities are fighting the new régime, though isolated and scattered in the different parts of the country. Tearing the veil away from the women has been responsible for great loss of life, as self-respecting Moslems would not allow their wives to come out in the street shamelessly, and were punished ruthlessly.

Economic Changes.—After strengthening their power by arms and propaganda, the Soviet rulers in Central Asia have decided to exploit the resources and riches of the soil. The confiscated lands are now being worked up by tenants under State organizations of constructive farming. For centuries these regions have been fertile owing to the fact that certain chemicals in river-drawn mineral beds in the mountains keep the earth sweet indefinitely. The rich fields of Ferghana are famous for cotton growing. The Bolsheviks have realized how

useful the exploitation of these fields can be to the Treasury of Moscow. Cotton is therefore the basis of Soviet economic plans for Central Asia. The control of cotton and of all economic life under Moscow cuts across the political boundaries of the separate new republics. Though Samarkand, Dushamba, and Ashkabad are the political capitals of these republics, Tashkent still remains the centre of economic rule. The organ through which Moscow expresses its dominance in Tashkent is the Economic Council of Central Asia. The chairman of the Council (with dictatorial powers) is appointed from Moscow. Under State monopoly tractors have been put on those lands. The Soviet co-operative societies in the villages take charge of the produce, while in exchange the producers get implements and necessities of life that can be spared for them. In the towns silk and cotton factories are under construction, where collective manufacture will take place. The factory hands are to be organized in trade unions to lay down sound and safe foundation of the "Eastern Proletariat." It is of importance to note that the "Central Economic Council" in Moscow controls the productive forces of Central Asia with the ultimate object in view to link the economic ties under the big "Moscow Trust." The result of this new organization of the Soviet in Central Asia is that the fate of the peasants and industrial workers is controlled from a distance and all personal touch is lost.

I remained over two years in the Russian territory, and finally returned to India via the Pamirs. The route which I was compelled to take was one of the most perilous in Asia. After visiting once more the cities of Samarkand and Kokhand I took the last train journey to Osh, the military station which lies at the foot of the mountains. From there with a company of Russian Relief Force I crossed the glaciers of the "Roof of the World" under most trying conditions, and reached Kharog, the military headquarters of the Russian Pamirs. From there in ten days I was fortunate to reach Chitral in safety. The route I took from the Russian outpost in the Pamirs was through Panj-Shikr and Wakhan and crossed the Indian frontier at the Baroghal Pass (12,500 feet).

Military Teaching.—During my stay in Tashkent and later while travelling on my way back through the Pamirs, I noticed that while the energies of the present rulers are devoted to the creation of a Communist order in Central Asia, as a model to be followed by other Eastern countries, they do not neglect the preparation of youth for the possibility of immediate war against their enemies. While up-to-date methods of warfare are utilized in all sections of the army, whether artillery, cavalry, or infantry, the country where once they depended on camel transport now has a network of air routes and air services playing a great rôle for communication and transport.

Every effort is made to dramatize the struggles between the wicked rich and the virtuous poor in other countries. The young men know that military forces are organized to defend the Soviets in Asia, and when necessary to extend help to any other country struggling for the victory of the "world revolution." It is amazing how these ideas are inspired by the State-controlled institutions spreading Bolshevik teaching all over Turkistan and presenting the doctrines of Lenin as the modern salvation of mankind. This is the religion which is to supersede all others. Nowhere is youth given so much authority as in the land of the Soviets. The future belongs to the rising generation, who have been brought up in the revolutionary institutions and in a fanatical enthusiasm for Communism. To fight for the new faith is the sacred duty of each of them.

After several questions had been asked, Lord Allenby closed the meeting by thanking the lecturer for a most interesting, instructive, and enjoyable lecture. (Applause.)

THE EXCAVATIONS AT KISH*

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CONCLUSIONS REACHED
IN 1928-29.

ON April 7 Professor Langdon gave a most fascinating lecture on the archæological work carried out at Kish. He dwelt more especially on the very important finds of the last two years in the prediluvian strata, and the conclusions reached in consequence, which have thrown much new light on the early races which combined to build up the civilization on the banks of the Euphrates.

The lecture was illustrated with slides.

Briefly surveying the work of the previous seasons, Professor Langdon said :

Last winter was the seventh consecutive season of our excavations at Kish. A brief résumé of the places in which we have worked on the ruins of this great metropolis may be useful to my audience in order to make clear the special contributions of last season's work, when we reached virgin soil and revealed the earliest civilization of man in Western Asia.

This great capital and metropolis of Sumer, where history can now be traced from neolithic times, when the Sumerians first established a city on the bank of the Euphrates, grew steadily in importance during 4,000 years or more. In the days of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus and the Persian Empire, it extended over an area five miles long from the great fortress on the west, eight miles from Babylon, to the far eastern end of the great ruins of Sudeira, where still stands a Parthian tower. The Abbasid dynasty of the Middle Ages is also well represented on the ruins of the forgotten Babylonian temples, palaces and houses ; the plain is furrowed with great desiccated canals of the Caliphs of Baghdad.

There is a wonderful view from the top of the Sumerian stage tower in Ehursag Kalamma or Eastern Kish looking across the Abbasid canals, the ruins of one of the residential quarters, fortresses, and the old bed of the Euphrates to the lofty tower of the temple of the war god Zamama of Sumerian religion.

1922-23 : The first season was devoted to studying the huge temple of the war god in Western Kish, where Mr. Mackay pitched the camp in 1922. He exposed the entire face of the lower stage of this tower, and traced the southern side of the temple.

1923-24 : With the opening of the second season (1923-24) an event

* In the unavoidable absence of Viscount Allenby, the chair was taken by Sir Denison Ross.

transpired which changed the future course of our excavations. More intimate knowledge of the surface of the many mounds of Kish led to an important discovery. Traces of plano-convex bricks and peculiarly ancient pottery on the surface of a small mound just west of the great temple ruins in Eastern Kish persuaded Mr. Mackay and Colonel Lane to dig there. When I arrived in December they had already discovered a great Sumerian palace. That season was marked by the recovery of inlay panels, copper, gold and silver objects, and human remains of a great cemetery. It was also during that season that we located a large collection of cuneiform tablets in a college of priests in this area, from which fragments of the Epic of Creation were recovered; also a fragment of the astronomical observations of Venus, which enabled Dr. Fotheringham of Oxford to complete his studies on the chronology of ancient Babylonia.

1924-25: Mr. Mackay devoted the third season (1924-25) to finishing the excavation of this palace. From the great cemetery, for which the ruins of this palace were already used from 3000 to 2800 B.C., a flood of light has been thrown on the manners and customs of the period when the Semitic race began to gain ascendancy in this already ancient Sumerian capital.

1925-26: I returned to the excavations in the fourth season when Mr. Mackay attacked the huge ruins of Ehursag Kalamma, and henceforth our whole efforts have been made on this sacred area. Those who have not seen the colossal ruins of a great Babylonian temple area will find it difficult to imagine the grandeur of these lofty and colossal ridges and high stage towers now covered by 2,500 years of sand-laden storms. The ridges themselves rise 30 to 40 feet from the plain and extend 400 yards or more north to south. From the south side of their débris two ancient stage towers rise above the tops of buried temples. The tower which we first attacked was built in plano-convex bricks about 2900 B.C. It is a solid mass of bricks 280 yards square at the base. As we approached these ruins with a wide sweep of trenches no one could have imagined the depth at which the foundations of these buildings lay. As Mr. Mackay drove past the great stage tower across the ruins of a Sargonid temple on its north side, he approached the huge central ridge. Here in January, 1926, the walls of the temple of the earth goddess Ninmah of the Sumerians and Babylonians began to appear.

During this fourth season I myself was continually engaged on excavating the early Proto-Sumerian site, Jemdet Nasr, over 17 miles away. How important the painted pottery and pictographic inscriptions from that site are for explaining the later discoveries on the temple hill will soon be apparent.

1925-26: The fifth season opened in November, 1926, under the

direction of Mr. Charles Louis Watelin. Nearly the whole of this season was spent in uncovering Nebuchadnezzar's reconstruction of the great temple on the top of the central mound. This is the largest and best preserved double temple excavated in Babylonia. Built by Nebuchadnezzar and finished by Nabunidus, the last king of Babylonia, this enormous building was in the very act of being repaired when the kingdom fell to Cyrus the Mede. The ground plan is larger than St. Paul's Cathedral, and a second smaller temple joins it beyond its great court on the east.

I come now to the sixth season (1927-28), when Mr. Watelin began his remarkable effort to excavate the lower stratifications of this great Tal. He began on the area north of the stage tower, gradually removing the huge mound and ruined temple of the Sargonid period. His deep trenches left the walls of Nebuchadnezzar standing on the edge of an abyss over 180 yards square. He descended through the ruins of the Cassite, Hammurabi, and Sargonid periods to the early Sumerian civilization, 30 feet below the foundations of the temple and 50 feet from the top of the mound.

A wide portion of the mound was now cleared, and we could see a large number of historical periods. To the right rise the ruins of the great tower, whose top now stands 100 feet above the lowest trenches dug in 1927. When it was built by the Sumerians about 3000 B.C. it must have risen at least 200 feet above the plain. Right through this whole area Mr. Watelin was working 15 feet below the foundations of this tower. He has also gone through, at plain level, a thick red stratum of bricks, which covers the whole area on which not only the tower but all the sacred buildings of that period were built. When in future seasons these deep excavations are extended eastward, this red stratum will certainly continue over the whole area and under the great temple. Unfortunately, as this thorough piece of exploration continues into the central mound, the whole work of Nebuchadnezzar on the top must be pulled down. Its foundations stand 20 feet above the wide red platform on which the Sumerians and Semites 2,500 years before Nebuchadnezzar erected their towers and temples.

THE PRE-DILUVIAN STRATA

In was in this season (1927-28) that Watelin discovered a stratum 1½ feet thick running right across the mound beneath the red stratum, laid down by a great deluge which destroyed the city. I shall come to this and other evidences of the Babylonian deluge shortly. It is evident from tombs and inscriptions found in the red stratum that the whole temple area—more than 500 yards square—was rebuilt after this great flood, and some time about 3000 B.C. Below this deluge stratum Mr. Watelin came upon a different kind of civilization. It was here, begin-

ning 10 feet below plain level and proceeding downward 25 feet to water level, that he came upon the brick tombs of kings and queens and great persons of the age before the deluge. In one of these tombs the four-wheeled chariot of the king, the four oxen which drew it, his driver and several of his retinue, were found with the king's skeleton. Here as at Ur there was direct evidence of the horrible custom of sending the whole immediate retinue of a king into the land of no return that they might serve him when his soul and theirs descended to the dominion of the earth god and the land of Arallu. The royal tombs of Kish, at least in this area of the mound, are not so magnificent as those discovered by Mr. Woolley at Ur. There they are built of stone. At Kish they are made of unburnt brick, and perished sadly in the earth.

1928-29 : I now come to the seventh season and the nominal title of this lecture, 1928-29. Mr. Watelin was joined among others by a remarkably good anthropologist, Mr. T. R. Penniman of Oxford. Already in 1927-28 four lines of light railway were working at plain level from the north end of the mound complex, carrying away the top layers, and approaching the Nebuchadnezzar temple, but obviously the railway cannot be run down into the deep area in which we were now working. Basket boys climb up a series of steps to dump the earth from the lower levels, and stairways are left for the boys to mount to the trucks which come into the excavations above.

Last year we were able to keep 200 men and boys at work on this wide and deep area, while 120 continued on the higher level at the top. The excavators cleared a long street with houses on each side down to the present water level, 20 feet below plain level and 18 feet below the great flood stratum. In the tombs of this lower level pottery, totally different from that found in, and immediately above, the red stratum and the deluge stratum, occurred in abundance. Stone vessels and beautiful copper work mark this pre-diluvian civilization as one of the great ages of ancient times. Tombs just above water level showed the extraordinary equipment placed beside the noble dead before 3500 B.C. It should be said at once that all the pottery and copper implements excavated by Mackay at the old Sumerian palace and now well known to scholars occur also in this temple series, but in, or just above, the red stratum. In the lower tomb graves are none of the champagne-cup-shaped vases, none of the great pots with busts of the mother goddess on their handles, nor the huge spouted pots, nor the pitcher with a handle, which characterize the graves before the deluge stratum. You see here the kind of pot laid with the dead in the age of the palace cemetery, and when the Sumerians laid down the great temple platform and rebuilt the Temenos area. The spouted pot has been found below the red stratum, but the vessel peculiar to the earlier civilization is a plain vase, with carinate lip, often decorated with rope pattern on the lip

and collar. Below the deluge stratum there is always a curious object, taken by us to be a censer. Made of a single piece of clay, usually 2½ feet high and hollow from top to bottom, standing on a wide, round, spreading base, the clay is moulded upward with a graceful inward curve, again spreading slightly toward the round top, which ends in a carinate collar. About 8 inches from the base begin horizontal rows of triangular perforations right up to the top, through which the incense smoke could come out.

We found a large number of these extraordinary objects in the pre-diluvian stratum, and one may now be seen in the Ashmolean Museum. They are never found after the flood.

But I am convinced that there is, despite all these divergences in pottery shapes, a continuous civilization from below the deluge stratum upward. Not only does the spouted pot continue above the deluge stratum, but the shapes of the copper swords are identical. We found copper knives in a tomb almost on water level, some of which had fine handles in a filigree work which is not later than 3500 B.C. From a woman's tomb in this deep level comes a copper toilet set, from which Mr. Watelin could extract her four implements. There are a small double-edged knife; a delicate pin ending in a concave, semi-circular shovel, whose use I cannot imagine; a small, broad-bladed knife, widened toward the base; a sharp copper pin. Now these same vanity cases were found in the palace contemporary with the red stratum. I cannot stop to tell you of more than an infinitesimal portion of the antiquities found in 1928-29, for it is necessary to hasten on to the discussion of the evolution of races and civilization so profoundly affected by them. The stratum now under discussion covers the period 3800 to 3000 B.C. From about 3500 comes a spouted copper pot, found lying in a copper bowl, and from an earlier period an excellent piece of copper work, a tripod stand of woven wires supporting a deep and delicate marble goblet.

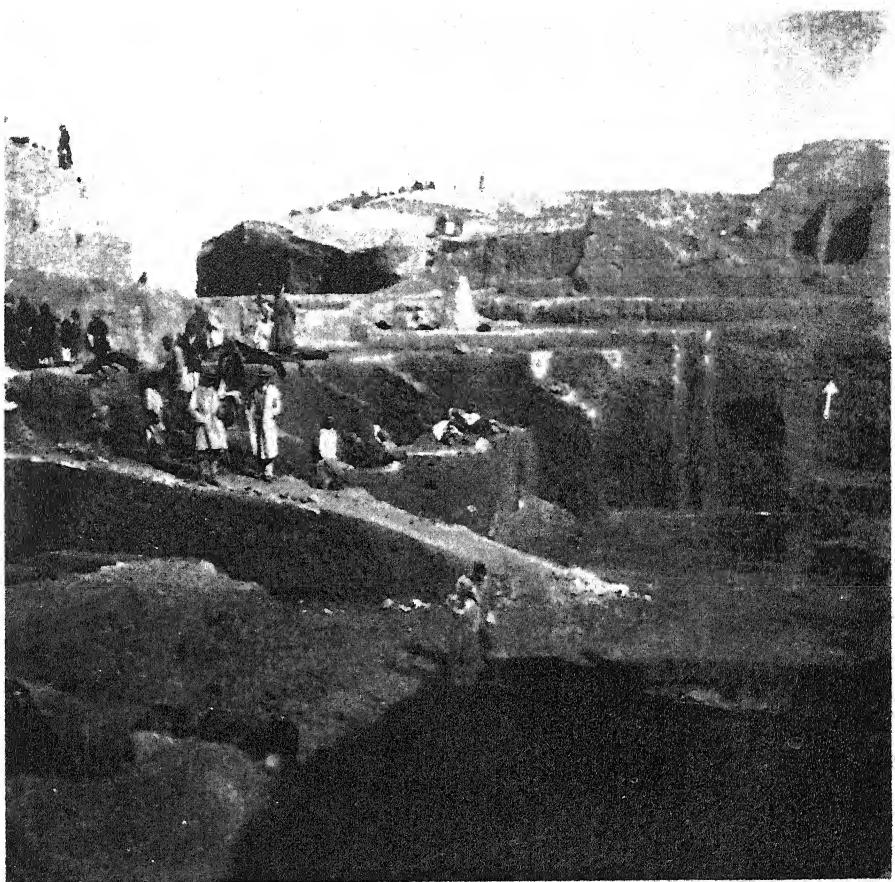
In one of the deepest trenches, in scattered fragments, lay a terracotta model of a charioteer driving seven animals, four in the front row, and three in the row before the two-wheeled chariot. There seems to be little doubt but that these are horses, despite the great antiquity of the stratum in which they were found. It has been long stated as certain that the horse makes its appearance in the history of civilization not earlier than 2300 B.C. Be these horses or not, the fact remains that the word for horse occurs on Sumerian pictographic tablets from Jemdet Nasr, which in my opinion are as early as 4000 B.C. At all events, models of horses were found in the palace. Clearly this animal was tamed and adapted to the use of man at an extremely early period.

I must now ask you to look at the picture of the deepest excavations of last season from a general point of view. On the temple side are the

foundations of buildings on the present water level; on the left the incline for the basket boys to carry the earth to the railway trucks above. We are here still working 9 feet above virgin soil, although the excavation is 56 feet below the platform of Nebuchadnezzar and 80 feet below the level of the mound. It is well below the present water level, and pumps have to be used continually. The walls of the houses are of the most ancient type of plano-convex brick. About 15 feet above the floor, the stratum laid down by the great flood runs straight across the whole. At the bottom, moreover, are traces of two smaller floods some 500 years earlier; the débris of the older floods appears in the streets but not inside the houses on the same level.

From the evidence now before us there can be no possible doubt: a stratum, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, of sediment precipitated in still water runs right across the whole; nowhere is this stratum pierced, and the obvious conclusion is that the population was driven out by a great riverine disaster.

By inscriptions found in the red stratum above it, this inundation of the cities along the Euphrates took place about 3300-3000 B.C. All the important cities of early Sumer lay along the Euphrates, and if this overflow at Kish obtained along its entire course it practically destroyed or drove out the greater part of the Sumerians and Semitic population. That the flood did not extend over the whole country is proved by the following facts as on the second plan. Mr. Watelin and Mr. Penniman made and completed in detail this plan of the stratifications at Kish. The line a foot and a half below plain level shows the great flood stratum. Five metres further down water level has been reached. In the right corner is a shaft 8 feet wide driven down to virgin soil. Now at the top of this shaft some fragments of painted ware have been found precisely like the fine polychrome ware which I excavated at Jemdet Nasr seventeen miles away. Excellent specimens of this remarkable age of ceramic have now been found 22 feet below plain level and just below modern water level at Kish. Moreover, tablets in pictographic script precisely like those at Jemdet Nasr have been found in upper levels at Kish. They can come from no other period than that of the painted ware, just at the end of the neolithic period. In other words, what I found at Jemdet Nasr at modern plain level in quantities is found at Kish 22 feet *below* modern plain level. Professor Sollas, by means of the latest maps of this area, has proved that even to this day Jemdet Nasr, where no flood deposit is found, lies 25 feet higher than Kish. The relative heights taken from sea level must have been greater in 3300 B.C. In other words, the slopes of the Euphrates Valley were greater then than now. The flood did not reach Jemdet Nasr, and probably extended no more than 10 to 15 miles from both banks in this area. Geological reckonings may prove that a riverine disaster of this



NORTH SIDE OF WESTERN TRENCHES ON TEMPLE MOUND AT KISH. FLOOD STRATUM
MARKED BY AN ARROW.

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SOUTH SIDE OF WESTERN TRENCHES ON TEMPLE MOUND AT KISH. NEO-BABYLONIAN
TEMPLE ABOVE IN BACKGROUND.

kind may have spread wider further down the river. It was far down the Euphrates, at Shuruppak 100 miles below Kish, that Sumerian and Babylonian records placed the legend of Ziusudra or Xisuthros and the escape in an ark.

The most troublesome aspect of this question arises from the excavations at Nippur, which also lay on the Euphrates below Kish, and not far above the home of the Sumerian Noah. Apparently those excavations are almost as deep as ours and as extensive. No report of a similar flood stratum has been made from there. One must speak cautiously about the excavations at Nippur. No geologist was on that staff. Moreover, no detailed study of the strata has been made, and it is hard to say whether they even reached a sufficient depth. I need not go into any discussion of the Babylonian and Hebrew stories of the flood. They are clearly based on an historical catastrophe. At Hierapolis, the Greek Bambyce, in Northern Syria, according to Lucian, there was also a story of the flood. Bambyce lay 18 miles west of the Euphrates and 110 miles east of the Mediterranean sea coast. Lucian says that here there were statues of Zeus and Hera, and between them stood a peculiar image of gold, which the Syrians called Semeios or "Symbol." On its top perched a dove, and each year this "Symbol" was taken to the Mediterranean Sea to bring water. This sea water was poured into a cavern beneath the temple. The story ran that when Deucalion's ark floated on the waters of the deluge a cavern miraculously yawned at Bambyce and received the waters of the flood. In memory of this sign of divine intervention he founded a temple to Juno over the cavern, and instituted the annual ritual of bringing water from the sea to pour into the cavern.

A bronze coin of Hierapolis has been found which undoubtedly represents this myth. Zeus or Adad sits on a throne to the right of a small ark on which perches a dove. In the Babylonian legend of the flood a dove was sent forth on the seventh day after the ark touched Mount Nisir. The same reference to a dove occurs in the Hebrew version, and I think there can be little doubt but that the curious building on the coins of Hierapolis really represents the ark. A Roman standard has been added to it. Various attempts have been made by numismatists to explain this symbol between the god Adad and the goddess Atergatis of Bambyce. None have been accepted, and I suggest that the true explanation is to be found in this famous tradition of the flood in the valley of the Euphrates. Bambyce, 18 miles from that river, of course did not exist in the early Sumerian period. The story among the Syrians as told by Lucian comes to us from the second century of our era. The history of Bambyce, ancient Nappigi, can be traced to the ninth century B.C. This form of the flood story bears every mark of being borrowed from Babylonia with a strong local

colouring difficult to explain. It is certainly an ancient tradition in that region not far from Harran and Padan Aram. Both of these places play a considerable rôle in early Hebrew history.

EARLY RACES IN KISH

For seven years we have been bringing home to Oxford skulls and skeletons that our anthropologists might study the physical characteristics of the people who lived at various periods in Kish. In 1924 Mr. Buxton proved that the skulls from the palace are predominantly dolichocephalic or long-headed. Some brachycephalic or round heads were found. The same is true of all the graves in or above the contemporary red stratum at Kish. This we took to mean that the Semitic element from 3000 to 2800 B.C. was already predominant in Accad. Now we have a large number of human remains below the deluge stratum right down to water level—that is to say, extending back to 4000 B.C. These have been studied by Mr. Penniman and found to be preponderantly brachycephalic, although the long-headed man is already here; Mr. Buxton declares that right back into the deepest tombs the population of Kish was of mixed races. What the results will be when skulls are found in Watelin's efforts to reach virgin soil and a period 5000 B.C. can only be conjectured. He is now working with pumps to keep his shafts dry in a final effort to reach the first civilizations of man on the banks of the Euphrates. (Applause.)

It seems now proved that the Armenoid or round-headed Sumerian type of man was greatly in excess of the dolichocephalic type in the very early period, and that the position was reversed after 3000 B.C. proves the increasing importance of the Semite. This we knew from inscriptions, but what we do not yet know is whether the Semitic race arrived in that land and made their first appearance in human history at a period so extremely early. The fact is that from all present indications the Semite had arrived among the Sumerian population of Mesopotamia so early that they appear to be almost coëval with the Sumerians themselves. They are easily the oldest race in the world today; for the Sumerians perished utterly at the end of the third millennium B.C.

I have already spoken of the curious fact that objects of most remote antiquity are sometimes found at high levels in the mounds of ancient cities. The ancients had the same antiquarian interests as we. They are known to have possessed museums, and to have preserved monuments of their remote past. In the trenches above the red stratum, where the expedition is now clearing the great temple ridge, was found the terra-cotta head of a statue, the torso of which has not been recovered; this head was a pure Armenoid, brachycephalic skull and true to Sumerian type. Now the remarkable thing about this head

is that the hair and full beard are indicated in black paint. The skin is painted pale yellow. The Sumerians called themselves the "black-headed race," and I think in this we possess a true representation of a Sumerian of 4000 B.C. The yellow skin is difficult to explain. Mr. Buxton takes it to indicate an olive-coloured skin. The irises, the eyebrows, the lashes are black. In no case is this a Mongolian type, despite the skin. That is definitely ruled out by the shape of the head and face.

We have among other cuneiform inscriptions one which at last gives us the name of the great temple rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar. It is Ehursag Kalamma, as I suggested it would be six years ago. An inscription of Merodachbaladan has been found, which says that he restored it for the mother goddess Ninlil, none other than Nintud or Aruru, the earth and mother goddess of Sumer, who is said to have created man from clay.

We found many figurines, which are supposed to represent the great mother goddess, patroness of birth; of her a cuneiform tablet says:

"In her left hand she carries a child,
Which feeds at her breast.
With her right hand she caresses it."

THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

Last winter by means of hydraulic pumps a wide part of the area was excavated to virgin soil. The area became a small pond as soon as the pumps were removed; it is now certain that the period of painted ware of ancient Sumer lies 1 metre below modern water level, 7 metres below the Sargonic level, or 45 feet below the platform of Nebuchadnezzar. A thin stratum of this ware runs right across the excavations and is found *in situ* nowhere else. Naturally in these water-soaked depths, built upon by successive generations for nearly 4,000 years, we shall never obtain complete works of that remote age of ceramic art, made at least 700 or 1,000 years before the flood; but the fragments which we have found here prove beyond all doubt that the ware which I found at Jemdet Nasr belongs to that remote period. Our pumps this winter enabled us to reach virgin soil over a wide area, 6 feet below the point where painted ware ceases. Man used only stone and flint implements in the days from 6000 to 4000 B.C. Watelin excavated several thousand flint borers, razors, javelin heads, gravers, from these deep trenches. (Applause.)

Sir DENISON ROSS congratulated the Society on hearing such a wonderful account of a most successful piece of archaeological discovery. The expedition which Professor Langdon had directed, led by the small amount of evidence on the surface of the mounds of the ancient site of

Kish, had laid bare the buildings and tombs of one civilization after another; they had found evidence of the great deluge and of an undreamed-of civilization which preceded it, until now they were working on the first settlements made by men in the neolithic period. It was a wonderful piece of work, and there was still more to be done. He wished he could show his appreciation of the fine quality of the work done by these men working in that pestilential climate year after year; what they had discovered had revolutionized the knowledge of the history of the ancient world. He thanked Professor Langdon very much indeed for the very great pleasure he had given them that afternoon. (Applause.)

CHRISTIANITY IN CENTRAL ASIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES*

BY PROFESSOR PAUL PELLIOT

THE LECTURER : My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked today to lecture on Christianity in the Middle Ages in the Middle East. I shall have at the same time to touch on Early Christianity in the Far East because the two subjects are inseparable.

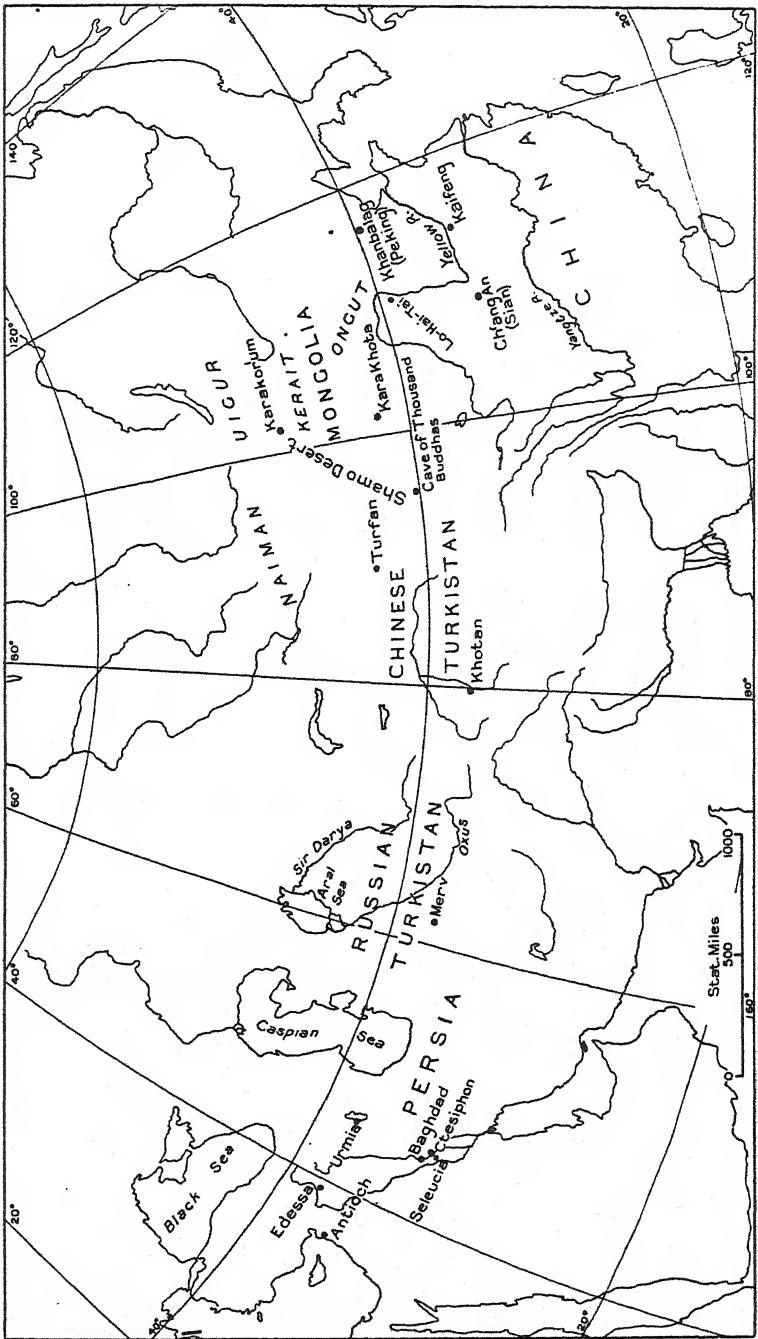
There are several roads of penetration from the West to Central Asia and to the Far East as well as the sea route, but the main road in the Early Middle Ages was through Chinese Turkistan or to the north of it. Before starting my lecture, I should like you to look at certain places on the map. Taking China first, I must point out that the capital of China from the seventh to the tenth or eleventh century was the celebrated Hsi-an-fu, which at that time was called Ch'ang-an. Notice also the great bend of the Yellow River, because at the north-eastern corner of this river was, in the Middle Ages, a Christian tribe called the Öngüt, about whom I shall have more to say later ; also Peking, which in the time of the Mongol Dynasty was called Khanbalag—that is, the Emperor's capital in the Turkish language of Central Asia, and is the Cambaluc of Marco Polo.

Mongolia Proper.—The Öngüt were on the southern border of the Shamo sandy desert, while the main Mongolian tribes were living on the north ; the Mongolians proper, the Keraits, and the Naimans, in succession from the east to the west. Coming westwards, we reach the region of the Seven Rivers or Semirechia, where in the last fifty years some ancient Christian cemeteries have been discovered. In Chinese Turkistan proper the only two regions to which I wish to call attention are (1) Turfan in the north of Chinese Turkistan, and (2) the district of Khotan in the south. Then passing more to the west we reach Russian Turkistan, where there was an archbishopric at Merv, east of the Caspian Sea. In Mesopotamia the Christian headquarters were at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and north of it the churches of Edessa, Antioch, and so on. These are the main places I shall have to quote, and which I want you to locate on the map.

When about one century after the discovery of the road to the Far East by the Cape of Good Hope the Jesuits set foot on Chinese soil for

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on April 30, 1930, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the chair.

the first time, they knew from various traditions, and particularly from the travels of Marco Polo, that Christianity had already, either by sea or through Central Asia, reached China at an earlier date, and they were very eager to find in China traces of those early Christians. After some years the most active and most intelligent of them, the real founder of the Jesuit Mission in China, Father Ricci, reached Peking in 1601 and began to make enquiries about the existence of ancient Christian communities in Northern China or in the countries of Central Asia bordering on China. But those attempts proved fruitless, until one day in 1607 a strange man came to the church of the Jesuits and was well received by the Fathers, who showed him round and took him to the altar. On the altar there was a painting of the Holy Virgin holding in her arms the Infant Jesus and having at her side John the Baptist, and the Fathers were extremely surprised when they saw the man fall on his knees and pray to the image. Immediately they thought that they had at last met with one of the descendants of the early Christians of whom Marco Polo had spoken at the end of the thirteenth century. But the illusion was short. The man was a Jew, and he had mistaken the Virgin with the Infant Jesus and John the Baptist for Rebecca and Esau and little Jacob. But in spite of that error they learned that the Jew, whose name and race have been found in the Chinese texts, had come from Keifeng, an ancient capital of China, and could give the Fathers important information about the survival—both in his own place and some of the other places of Northern China—of communities, not numerous any more, of adorers of the character Ten. Now in Chinese the character Ten, which is made by two lines crossing at right angles, has been from the seventh century downwards the name of the Christian Cross. Those adorers of the Cross were the remnants of the earlier Christian communities. But various causes prevented Ricci from pushing his enquiries further, and he died three years later without having gathered any more information on these early communities of Christians in Northern China. Afterwards a very strong persecution began which lasted for some years. Later, when the Jesuit church was revived in 1625, a rumour reached the eastern coast of China that in Hsi-an-fu, that ancient capital of China from the seventh to the tenth century, a big inscription in stone had been discovered which related the fortunes of Christianity in the Far East from the beginning of that Chinese church down to the time of the erection of the monument. That is the celebrated Syro-Nestorian inscription of Hsi-an-fu. Immediately the missionaries and their native converts were very eager to set about deciphering, translating, and reproducing the text of the inscription. At first nobody doubted its authenticity. A quarter of a century later, however, a man called George Horn thought it was not genuine; indeed, he attributed it to a fraud of the Jesuits. By his doubts he started a



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controversy which lasted almost two centuries, in which many eminent men took part, including Voltaire and Frederick the Second of Prussia. In the nineteenth century Ernest Renan and others said that the testimony of the inscription ought to be discredited. As a matter of fact, there is no doubt that the inscription is perfectly genuine. The monument has been translated some thirty times. The last was quite recently, and I think it is only when the new translation and the new historical inscription by my friend, Mr. A. C. Moore, appears, that we shall be able to say that for the first time a good translation and a good history of the inscription has been given. Until now, in spite of all the efforts of the previous enquirers, they have not been able to ascertain either the place where the monument had been erected or its purpose. Personally I have no doubt that the inscription and the huge monument were erected on the very spot where it was discovered in 1623 or possibly 1625—that is, in the suburbs of Hsi-an-fu, in the very spot where the first Metropolitan Christian church had been built in China shortly after the arrival of the first missionary to China, A-lo-pēn, the Nestorian. As to the purpose of the inscription it has been supposed by some to be a memorial to the Christian monks and priests who had belonged to the Christian community in Hsi-an-fu and had died in that place; but that error arose because the inscription had not been properly read by the former translators.

There is no doubt that the monument was erected at the end of a retreat of fifty days which had been paid for by a wealthy Christian, and the main idea of the inscription was to commemorate the gift of that benefactor. Who that benefactor was is also shown in the last part of that very long inscription. In the Chinese text there is an eulogy of a man called I-ssū. Perhaps our predecessors have not known what to do with that I-ssū, but in the Syrian part we see that the inscription was erected at the request and expense of Yüzbozēd, who was an Armenian and Christian from the town of Balkh in Northern Afghanistan. The monument first relates the principal tenets of Christianity. In a purely Chinese rhetoric it gives an account of the Creation and then of the Temptation, the Fall of Man and the Redemption. It is mostly in antithetic and parallel sentences such as these: Speaking of the Creation by God the inscription says, "He traced the cross, He fixed the far directions and stirred the evil spirit to produce the two prejudices. Darkness and Void were transformed, and so Heaven and Earth were born. Sun and Moon were put into motion and so days and nights existed," and so on. Then, "Through the work of the divided body of our Messiah and the wind of our Triune Messiah, the work of Redemption was accomplished." Again we have a body of priests, the Christian priests. We have such indications as this, "They let their beards grow as a symbol that they had outward activities. They

shaved the summit of the head as a token that they had not entertained earthly passions." You see that these sentences are absolutely in agreement with the usual Chinese rhetoric, in antithetic couplets, there is always one word in the first sentence answered by a word in the second. The tenets of Christianity are perfectly plain in the whole inscription, and also the fact that the Christianity is not the orthodox Christian faith.

What sort of a Christianity entered China through Central Asia at an early date? There is of course a legend about the Apostolate of St. Thomas, who was said to have gone to India, and eventually, according to lay texts, would have passed from India even to China. By the way, though Mr. George Horn was suspicious about the inscription of Hsi-an-fu and thought it a fraud of the Jesuits, he himself carried St. Thomas much further, and thought he could prove that St. Thomas had converted the Indians of South America. But the story of the early Apostolate of St. Thomas in China is only a legend of the late Middle Ages. As to India, I do not want to enter into any controversy now, but personally I do not doubt that the story of the Apostle St. Thomas going to India was started in the church of Edessa in the fourth century A.D. and did not exist any earlier. Anyhow, Christians who reached China in the first half of the seventh century were not acquainted with the Christians of St. Thomas as such, and did not come from India. They came through Central Asia and they belonged to the Nestorian creed. What, then, is Nestorianism? In the first half of the fifth century there was a patriarch of Constantinople called Nestorius whose ideas were disapproved by the Council of Ephesus in 429; Nestorius, dispossessed of his See, was sent to exile in Upper Egypt. Some twenty years later the Council of Chalcedon took up a similar position towards an opposite heresy, the heresy of the Monophysites or Jacobites. No one is able to say what Nestorius really believed; but the men who were said to be his disciples, and who mainly belonged to the Church of Antioch, maintained that there were in Christ not only two Natures but two Persons. How we are to reconcile that with common sense is another matter. The opposite heresy, the heresy of the Monophysite Jacobites, was that on the contrary there was one Person and one Nature. The Nestorians were banished from eastern Mid-Arabia and had to seek refuge in Persia. Being debarred from any possible propaganda towards the West on account of the position of the Orthodox Christian Church, they strayed to the East, and the history of Christian propaganda in Central Asia and in the Far East from the fifth century down to the late Middle Ages is almost purely the history of the Eastern propaganda of the Nestorian Church of Persia. In Persia the Nestorians became in some sort a National Christian Church. I do not mean by that that Christianity under the Sassanian Dynasty was the official creed of

Persia, but the Nestorian Church had taken some appearance of being a Persian National Iranian Church. It is this Nestorian Church of Persia which, after having started a certain number of bishoprics and even archbishoprics on the way from Central Asia in 635, reached finally the capital of the Chinese T'ang Dynasty at Hsi-an-fu.

The Syro-Nestorian monument at Hsi-an-fu narrates the fortunes of the Nestorian Church of China from the entrance of the first missionary, A-lo-pén, in 635 down to the year of the erection of the inscription at the cost of Yāzdbōzēd in 781. We see that during that century and a half there had been some ups and down in the fortunes of the Christian Church of China, but it had undergone a revival some thirty years before the erection of the inscription. That revival was due to political circumstances. In the middle of the eighth century, that is some thirty years before the erection of the monument, a very serious revolution had broken out in the capital of the Emperor, Ming-ti. Ming-ti was one of the most gifted Emperors of China, a man of great literary and artistic taste, but he brought trouble to the dynasty. He was obliged to leave the capital and go to the Western Province of China, and in the north-western part of the Empire, close to the various tribes of Mongolia and Chinese Turkistan, he started levying troops to reconquer the capital. To the appeal of the new Emperor, who had thus started collecting troops in Li-Ho, soldiers came from Mongolia, from Chinese Turkistan, from the eastern Iranian countries, and even from the Arab countries, and Yāzdbōzēd, the man who paid for the erection of the Hsi-an-fu inscription, was one of these men from Eastern Iran who had come to the rescue of the Chinese dynasty in 756. That is why he had won some sort of favour with the new Emperor, and it is that favour which Yāzdbōzēd turned to the profit of his co-religionists, the Nestorian Christians of Northern China.

Manicheism.—At the same time as that Nestorian branch of Christianity proper, another creed, which is very often said to be simply a Christian heresy, reached China also—that is, Manicheism. I cannot here enter into the tenets of this religion; I will simply remind you that they maintain the permanent existence of two principles, the principle of light and good and the principle of darkness and evil. That so-called heresy, really a religion by itself, had been started at the end of the third century in Mesopotamia and spread quickly to the east and west. In the West it reached the shores of the Atlantic, and you know that St. Augustine for nine years was himself a Manichean. In the East the Manichean clergy reached China from the outside at the end of the seventh century or even earlier. Manichean priests who had come from the West through Central Asia were formally established in the two capitals of the Chinese T'ang Dynasty, when, a few years after the

rebellion of which I have just spoken, in 762, another rebellion broke out in the eastern capital, Lo-Yang, and the Chinese Emperor called to his help from Upper Mongolia the Uigurs, the Turks of the Uigur clan. The Khan of the Uigurs came to Lo-Yang, but there he met some members of the Manichean clergy and was very much impressed by their faith and by their discipline: when one year later, in 763, he went back to his original dominions in Upper Mongolia he took with him some of the Manichean priests from this eastern Chinese capital and proclaimed Manicheism as the State religion of the Uigur Empire. This is the first time that a form of Western creed became in some sort a State religion in Central Asia or the Far East. But the help thus given to Manicheism by the Uigur Khan had a counterpart. The fortunes of Manicheism became more or less the fortunes of the Uigur Empire itself, and when the Uigur Empire went to pieces in 841, it gave the signal for a persecution of Manicheism in China proper. Four years later, as the Chinese did not make much distinction between Manicheism, Nestorianism, and all the Western creeds, a general persecution of all foreign religions was decreed, and it is very likely that at that time, as the result of the decree for the persecution of 845, the Hsi-an-fu inscription was buried in the ground when the Nestorian Metropolitan Church in Hsi-an-fu was destroyed. The inscription had been in existence only about sixty years, and was in the ground from that date down to the year of its accidental discovery in the first half of the seventeenth century; this will account for its wonderful state of preservation.

After the persecution of 845, some of the creeds which had before this taken deep roots in Chinese ground could flourish again—Buddhism, for instance, and even Manicheism, because Manicheism had already in China a great many Chinese adepts—but Christianity in its Nestorian form was, as we can see from the names of most of the priests in the Hsi-an-fu inscription and from the names of the Nestorian Christians in China, of foreign origin, and the Christian Church did not recover from the blow it had received in 845. After that date we only meet with a few occasional references to Christianity: I have discovered a text about a Christian oculist living in the ninth century in Western China. There have been travellers also who have mentioned one or two Christians in China even at the end of the tenth century. The name of the Messiah appears in the Taoist Chronicle of the eleventh or twelfth century. But that is all.

So that it would seem that Christianity, after flourishing in the seventh and eighth centuries, had left China, and would not reappear if it were not that it survived in Central Asia. In Central Asia we know of a number of Christian cemeteries or graveyards discovered of recent years, and also Christian settlements have been discovered in various parts of Central

Asia; there were four graveyards in the region of the Seven Rivers, Semirechia, to the north-west of Chinese Turkistan; and there is mention in the Persian texts of the tenth century of various churches in Chinese Turkistan, and particularly churches in Khotan. More than that, we have the remarkable discoveries which have been made by the German missionaries in the region of Turfan in the northern part of Turkistan, under the guidance of that excellent friend of ours, of whom we have to lament the untimely death a few days ago, Professor Albert von le Coq of Berlin.

The excavations he made in Turfan have yielded an enormous number of texts in various languages, Syriac, Persian, Turkish, with some portions of the Scriptures; it is true that the most interesting texts are Manichean rather than Nestorian, but there is also important Nestorian material. I must add that documents have been unearthed to the south-east of Turkistan of the same date, and sometimes even an earlier one, on the borders of China proper in a cave which had been walled up about 1035. They were discovered by chance some thirty years ago and Sir Aurel Stein and myself divided the spoils. Amongst the many manuscripts brought back by Sir Aurel Stein and myself from the caves of the Thousand Buddhas we know there is a Christian manuscript in Chinese called "Hymn to the Holy Trinity by whom one reaches salvation," and that is translated from Syriac into the Chinese style at the beginning of the T'ang dynasty. At the end of it there is a list of all the portions of the Christian Scriptures which at that time—*i.e.*, the eighth century—had been translated into Chinese; and the man whose name is there is the same man as he who wrote the inscription at Hsi-an-fu, whose activities we also know from another source. He was a man from the Iranian countries, who had translated Buddhist texts into Chinese, a rather curious occupation for a Christian priest. This is the only Christian text which we have really recovered from the caves of the Thousand Buddhas. Since that time four manuscripts have been mentioned or published in China and Japan. They are rather difficult to understand, and are written in a dialect which is not quite the dialect of the manuscripts which I brought back from the caves. I have still my doubt as to their real origin.

So far we have spoken of literary remains found in China and in Turkistan, but now we come to a later period of the history of Christianity in Central Asia, and almost the Mongol times. In a Chronicle written at the end of the thirteenth century by a Jacobite writer, Bar Hebraeus, there is a mention of a letter which had been sent in the beginning of the eleventh century, about 1007 or 1008, by the Nestorian Archbishop of Merv, on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, to the Catholicos (that is to say the Patriarch) of the Nestorians in Seleucia-

Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia, saying that the Kerait Turks had been converted to Christianity, but that they could not follow the prescriptions of the Nestorian Church as to the periods of fasts, as they lived on milk and could not abstain from milk even in time of Lent, so they wanted special exemption, and the Archbishop was writing on the subject to the Nestorian Patriarch in Seleucia-Ctesiphon. This is the first intimation we have of the conversion of the nomads of Upper Asia to Christianity, and although that unique testimony, coming as it does from a Jacobite writer two and a half centuries after the event, could be doubted, nevertheless we can check it by the history of the Keraits. We know the names of some of the Kerait rulers prior to the date of Genghis Khan—that is, prior to the end of the twelfth century—and it had already been suspected in the first half of the nineteenth century that one of them was called by the Turkish form of Mark, a Christian name. His successor was named Quriagus, also a Christian, as that also is the Turkish form of a Christian name. Cyriacus was the ruler of the Keraits in the twelfth century. They were certainly Christians, a fact proved also by the subsequent history of the whole tribe. I shall tomorrow, when speaking of Genghis Khan, say something more about the legend of Prester John, but, whatever be the origin of the legend of Prester John, the fact remains that at the end of the thirteenth century the name of Prester John was applied to the ruler of the Kerait tribes; and also most of the members of the Keraits whom we can trace in the course of history in the thirteenth and even the beginning of the fourteenth centuries were Christians. So that there had been a very strong Christian Apostolate amongst the nomads of Upper Mongolia going on from the eleventh to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. This is confirmed from other sources too. Do you remember the beginning of the history of the Mongols, of their appearance in Eastern Europe and Middle Europe? Do you remember how in the first half of the thirteenth century the Christian princes of the West, already so much dismayed by the almost entire loss of the Holy Land, which had been conquered by the Moslems, were startled by the news that a new foe had made its appearance from the wilds of Asia? A people of fierce riders had invaded the plains of Southern Russia and soon afterwards overran Silesia and invaded Hungary, whose king Bela had to seek refuge in an island of the Adriatic Sea. The sea alone had been able to stop the advance of the Tatar horsemen. Then all of a sudden the invaders retired to Southern Russia and Christianity had some years of respite. What the Christian princes did not know was that the Mongols had retired on account of the death of one of the Mongol Emperors. The succession to the throne has always been one of the stumbling-blocks of new empires. In spite of the departure of the Tatar invaders the Pope tried to find some means to avoid the recurrence

of such a calamity. The Dominican Order had been started, and its members were very eager about preaching the Gospel in the countries of the East; the Pope decided, at the beginning of the Council of Lyons in 1245, to send two missions to the Mongols, one of Franciscan Friars under John of Plano Carpini and the other of Dominicans under Ascelinus. John of Plano Carpini started about Easter, 1245. He went rather a long way through Germany and Russia, and finally he reached a camp called the Yellow Camp, about one day's journey from Karakorum, the capital of the Early Mongolian Emperors in Upper Mongolia. There he saw three Ministers of the new Emperor Küyük, and of those three, two were Christians.

That is enough to show that the first Mongolian Emperors had no preconceived hostility towards the Christians. If they had carried havoc on the population of Eastern Europe, of Poland, and South Germany, it was because they felt they had been sent on earth to enjoy universal power over the whole earth; this can clearly be seen by their letters to the Pope. Also some of their ambassadors had been treacherously treated in the Western countries. The orders of the Mongolian Emperors to the Kings of the West to submit had not been obeyed, so that they started on a campaign of conquest. But, on the other hand, they were perfectly willing to treat with due regard the priests of all creeds and all communities. Ten years later than the embassy of John of Plano Carpini another Mongol Emperor, Mangu Khan, received Friar William of Rubruck, an envoy sent by St. Louis of France. There was at the time a controversy between the priests of various creeds—Buddhists, Lamaites, Moslems, Christians, and so on—and the Emperor Mangu ended the controversy by saying that all the religions were like the five fingers of one single hand. The Mongols felt that the priests of all religions could possibly be helpful, and that at any rate their rule would be benefited, and they therefore treated the priests of all creeds with much tolerance. But John of Plano Carpini brought to the Mongol Emperor a letter from Innocent the Fourth which could not be to the taste of Küyük. Innocent the Fourth reproached the Mongol Emperor with massacres and enjoined him to become a Christian. The curious fact is that the Mongol Emperor answered the letter. Some extracts from that answer had been known for a great many years, but it had been thought that the original had disappeared. However, a few years ago a friend of mine brought me a photograph of a document which had been found in the Vatican. It was an Arabic letter but seemed to be in Italian, and as there was something in Uigur or Mongolian character, it was brought to me for my advice. When I looked at it I saw it was the original letter from Küyük to Innocent the Fourth, written by the grandson of Genghis Khan, brought back in 1246 by John of Plano Carpini to the Pope, Innocent the Fourth, and had been kept hidden in

the Vatican archives until that date. I have translated and published it. We know from Friar John's narrative that the Emperor Küyük had a special seal engraved by a Russian artisan called Cosmas, which is still on the letter.

The intercourse between the Mongol sovereigns and the Western princes went on for more than half a century. Very soon the Christian princes and the Mongols had realized that they had a common enemy, the Moslems, the Mamluks of Egypt, who prevented the Christians from holding the Holy Land and prevented the Mongols from advancing through Persia to the west of Asia. So we find that many attempts were made from the middle of the thirteenth century down to the beginning of the fourteenth century to unite Mongolian and Christian forces for action against the Mamluks of Egypt. One very curious feature of that intercourse is the mission of Rabban Sauma to the West. But here I must first come back to the tribe to which Rabban Sauma belonged. I have told you that the main Christian tribe in Upper Mongolia was the tribe of the Keraits. They were living north of the desert not so very far from the region of the Karakorum. But south-east of the desert, at the north-eastern corner of the great bend of the Yellow River, there was the seat of another tribe called the Öngüt—Öngüt being the Mongolian plural of Öng, the ethnical name of the tribe. These people were Christians. Marco Polo mentions them. I have written a whole monograph, which is yet to be published, on the princely family of the southern Öngüt. I can trace them for a good many generations, for I have discovered the funeral inscriptions of their princes. One of them in Marco Polo's time was the man Marco Polo calls Prince George. Prince George seeks descent from Prince John, says Marco Polo, and lives in the country of Tenduc, which is exactly on the north-eastern corner of the great bend of the Yellow River. That Prince George is well known to us from other sources. Marco Polo left China probably in 1292, and some years after his departure, in 1295, a Franciscan monk, Brother John of Monte Corvino, reached Peking. This was the first attempt of the Roman Church to start a mission in Northern China, and almost immediately John of Monte Corvino made a convert of Prince George of the Öngüt, whom he brought back from the Nestorian to the Roman faith—but only for a short time, as in 1299 Prince George was killed in Mongolia. He left a young son still in the cradle. John of Monte Corvino tells us in one of his letters, dated 1305, that the son was called Giovanni, from his own name; and in the Chinese history we see the son of Prince George was called Yovan. I shall tell you the history of that Giovanni and his son, but I want to tell you something about a member of the same family, a sister of Prince George. A few years ago a French Consul in Mesopotamia saw a manuscript of the Gospels in Syriac written in

letters of gold on dark paper, and at the end of it was a mention that the manuscript had been written in 1298 for a sister of King George of the Öngüt, King of the Christians and so on. That King George was simply the George of the Friar's letter. I have also found an inscription devoted to the memory of that very woman, as she was the wife of a member of the Imperial Family, and they had a sort of appanage in Western China, the Kansi Province, the Lo-Hai-Tai where Genghis Khan died. It is on the main road from the West to Eastern China, and it is probable, on account of the proximity of the great road of the caravans, that the manuscript of the Gospels wandered to Mesopotamia, and has been preserved.

Before leaving the Öngüt I must say a few words about two members of the clan. About 1223 a man was born in Peking, the son of a visitor of the Christian Church in Peking at that time, and was baptized under the name of Bar Sauma—that is, Son of the Fast. That man when of age was married, but he wanted to live the life of a monk and soon retired to the mountains. That was probably about 1255. There he became well known as a holy man, and disciples came to him from all parts. Twenty years after the birth of Rabban Sauma, as the man was called, a two weeks' journey from Peking in the country of the Öngüt, at the northern part of the great bend of the Yellow River, another Christian was born and baptized in the name of Markos. That Markos when he was about twenty years of age wanted to leave his native place and his parents, and he went to the neighbourhood of Peking, to the place where Rabban Sauma had retired, and became his disciple. After some fifteen years the two men decided to start on a pilgrimage to the holy places of Nestorianism in Mesopotamia and to the Holy Land. I have no time to discuss whether they had or not a mission from the Emperor Khubilai, who was reigning at that time in Northern China. I think that although they were not really political envoys or ambassadors from Khubilai, they really had some commissions from the Emperor, but not political ones. That is to say, we know they had some dresses which they were either to hang on the Holy Sepulchre, or to put on it and bring back to China. My own opinion is that they had simply received a commission from the Emperor Khublai, on account of the Christian ladies of the palace, who were very numerous, to bring back to Peking silk dresses which had touched the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. That was an errand they could not carry out. Stopped by troubles in North-Western Mesopotamia, they stayed in that country, and one of them, young Markos, had the incredible adventure to be elected as the Patriarch or Catholicos of the Nestorians under the name of Yaballaha III. in 1281. His companion, Rabban Sauma, became a man very much respected both by the clergy and also by the Mongolian dynasty which had been

started in Persia after the fall of the Khalifat in 1258. In 1287 the Patriarch and Mongol King of Persia both sent Rabban Sauma on a mission to Western Europe, first to Byzantium and then to Rome. He went to Rome, where there was at that time no Pope, and the Catholics wanted to know from him more about his creed. But the man, who was not a theologian, did not trouble about this. He had only to carry to the Pope the words of the King of Persia and the Patriarch, and he himself wanted to see the church and the tombs of the Kings of France. He went to see King Edward of England in Gascony; he went to Paris and was received by King Philip the Fair; he speaks of the Abbey of St. Denis, "where are the tombs of the Kings of France, and where there are three hundred monks who eat and drink at the cost of the King." He was taken to the Holy Chapel, and there King Philip the Fair took up a Christian reliquary, so says Rabban Sauma in his journal, and showed him the crown of thorns which the Jews put on the head of our Saviour when they crucified Him. After that Rabban Sauma came back to Persia. I would advise you, if you are interested in the intercourse between East and West in the Middle Ages, to read the account of the travels of Rabban Sauma, who was born in Peking, visited Rome, and visited the Abbey of St. Denis and the Holy Chapel at the same time as Marco Polo of Venice visited Kubilai Khan.

The LECTURER then showed some slides of the Hsi-an-fu inscription, and of letters and safe-conducts given by Mongol princes to travellers. Küyük's letter to Pope Innocent IV. was also shown; the text of this is in Persian, written in Arabic script, but the beginning is in Turkish. The seal is in Uigur character, but in the Mongolian language. This letter, the lecturer explained, was an excellent example of the complex of languages used at the court of the early Mongol emperors in Karakorum.

Other interesting slides showed Manichean wall paintings and miniatures and other paintings from Central Asia, some of which had been influenced by the Buddhist art of the period. A Buddhist fresco was also shown of Buddhist figures with the disc of the sun and the crescent of the moon of Manichean symbolism.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking the lecturer, said how much he had learned and how greatly he had enjoyed the lecture; to him and to a great part of the audience it was a new and most interesting subject, and he thanked the lecturer most heartily for coming to deliver it. (Applause.)

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE PALESTINE DISTURBANCES.

ON Wednesday, May 7, 1930, in the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Mr Leonard Stein lectured to the Society and its friends on "The Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances." Earl Peel, President of the Society, in the chair.

Lord Peel recapitulated the terms under which Great Britain had accepted the Palestine Mandate. The question, he said, was in a three-fold sense an international one. Firstly, because the Mandatory power had to report yearly to the League of Nations at Geneva; secondly, because the Arabs all through Arabia were naturally interested in their kinsmen in Palestine; and thirdly, because the millions of Muslims in India were watching their co-religionists. The Zionist question was also an international one. Before introducing the lecturer he said that Mr. Stein would speak frankly from the Jewish point of view: the Society had already heard an Arab speaker. Mr. Stein's intimate and varied experience on the staff of the military administration at headquarters in Cairo just after the war as a liaison officer, as political secretary to the Zionist Executive, and as counsel for the Jewish Agency gave him authority of many kinds in speaking of the relations between Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

Mr. Stein, in his preliminary remarks, said that he did not profess to speak as a detached observer. He was frankly Jewish in his sympathies, but hoped to be, if not impartial, yet fair and temperate. Further, he was not speaking in any official capacity in connection with the Zionist Executive; and, finally, he was not proposing to make any dramatic or sensational pronouncement. His aim was to deal with the salient parts of the Report and to analyze them. The formidable array of papers he had in front of him were to be his authority in supporting any statements of fact he might make.

The Report, he went on, might be divided into two main parts: the first dealing with the action or inaction of the Palestine Government in connection with the disturbances, and how far the measures taken were adequate; the second dealing with the Arab-Jewish problem. He intended to speak only of the second part, leaving the first entirely untouched, except in so far as to associate himself with at least one of the findings of the Commission—that no praise could be too high for the British police.

The findings of the Commission in examining Arab-Jewish relations

were, in substance, that on August 23 the Arabs made a ferocious attack on the Jews, that the immediate causes of the disturbances were a series of events beginning with the so-called "Wailing Wall" incident of September 24, 1928, and that the underlying cause was a series of Arab grievances dating back to the issue of the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Mr. Stein set out to analyze these findings, to criticize them in the light of independent evidence, and to construct his own interpretation of the events and their causes.

As to the actual character of the events of August 23 and the following ten days, the Report was decisive and unambiguous, and, apart from an elaborate document issued by the Arabs attempting to set up a case against the Jews as the originators of the outbreak—a document proved 100 per cent. untrue by the calling of witnesses—no doubt had been thrown on this conclusion. Mr. Stein purposely drew attention to this document, not because it was to be seriously considered as evidence, but as a warning against acceptance of Arab statements of fact without independent verification.

In its decision as to the immediate causes of the disturbances Mr. Stein was of the opinion that the Commission had made a serious error of perspective. Readers of the Report would get the impression that long before these incidents there had been deep resentment against the Jews, and that these events only added a little more fuel to the fire. In his belief, what really happened was that September, 1928, opened an entirely new chapter in the history of Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine. Was it true that, immediately before that date, the relations between the Arabs and the Jews were extremely unsatisfactory? He found a great deal of evidence to show that it was not true. Among this evidence was a most striking series of statements made by High Commissioners from 1925 to 1929, several of which Mr. Stein proceeded to quote. In 1925 Sir Herbert Samuel said that the spirit of lawlessness had ceased, and that the atmosphere was no longer electric. In 1926 Lord Plumer was responsible for a very drastic reorganization of the forces of defence and security; the garrison was withdrawn and the Palestine and British gendarmerie both disbanded. Lord Plumer could not have taken these steps had he not believed that the political situation had improved. In 1928 the Palestine Administration, in its Annual Report, said that the year passed with a continuance of the improvement in tranquillity noted in 1927, except for the Wailing Wall incident of September, 1928. In July, 1929, Sir John Chancellor made the personal announcement at Geneva: "I think I can say that the relations between the two communities continue to improve." In 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, and even in July, 1929, successive High Commissioners were assuring the world generally that the political situation in Palestine was showing steady improvement. It was a

curious thing that these statements were never referred to in the Shaw Report.

Mr. Stein emphatically believed that, if *odium theologicum* had not been injected, Arab-Jewish relationships would have continued to show improvement. The key to the situation, in his opinion, was indicated in the remark of Captain Quigley, one of the senior British officers of the Palestine police: "They could never get the people of this country to cause disturbances except on a religious matter." The true picture, therefore, was not of a Palestine seething with unrest until 1928; the true picture was of a Palestine fairly quiet, fairly peaceful, not at all in a state of turbulence or agitation, until its religious feelings were played upon.

There was no doubt as to what was the cause of these feelings being roused. It was clear from all kinds of evidence that a very large measure of responsibility rested with the Moslem authorities as engineers of the disturbances. Mr. Stein quoted various incidents and statements in support of his conclusion, notably the appearance, on November 1, 1928, in a paper closely associated with the Moslem Supreme Council, of a pictorial representation usual among the Jews, so tampered with as to seem to be evidence of Jewish designs on the Moslem holy places. A note to this effect was added, and there was omitted writing showing that the picture was made in 1912. Further, there were deliberate attempts on the part of Moslems to goad and incite and infuriate the Jews in the calling of the muezzin at unusual times and in places where it would cause most annoyance and mortification. It was plain that the Arabs were deliberately incited to believe that the Jews had these designs; according to the evidence of the Arab police officer who was present in the Haram area on August 23, the crowd was addressed by an Arab speaker, who said: "The Holy War is inevitable, and we will kill all the Jews who wish to take the holy places from us."

In analyzing what the Report considered to be the underlying causes of the disturbances, Mr. Stein again pointed out that, in his view, the Commission was entirely wrong in its perspective. The Report stated that the immigration of Jews was the cause of the economic crisis of 1926-1928, and that this immigration was inimical to the Arabs. In the first place, Mr. Stein quoted Sir Stewart Symes, who said in June, 1928: "The crisis was, of course, on a very small scale." Secondly, there was a most astonishing omission in the Report of four factors—drought, earthquake, cattle plague, and locusts—which might be considered to have been largely responsible for such economic crisis as did exist. Finally, there was no evidence that the Arabs as a community, or even one single Arab, suffered at all as a consequence of Jewish immigration. In the case of land, too, there was no evidence

to support the finding of the Commission that a cause of the disturbance was the number of dispossessed Arabs.

Summing up, Mr. Stein found that the Report could not be taken at its face value, containing as it did such superficial and misleading statements, and that the only wise course was a suspension of judgment. He much regretted the Report. With the authority of a Blue Book it would mislead public opinion.

The Chairman expressed the appreciation of the meeting, and thanked Mr. Stein for his most able lecture. There being no discussion, the meeting adjourned.

EXCAVATIONS AT UR, 1929-30.*

MR. WOOLLEY had just returned from his eighth visit to Ur of the Chaldees, where this season's work had brought forth great results. This visit had been the most interesting, and, historically, the most exciting and varied, and he had now got plans of buildings illustrating every phase in the history of the town from the sixth century B.C. back to a period which cannot be dated, but which is called the pre-flood era. A vast amount of data had been collected for making clear the plan of the city, tracing out its walls and fortifications belonging to the city in 2000 B.C., for the dating of the royal tombs, and the acquisition of better evidence for the pre-flood era.

The defences of Ur could now be explained. The length of the surrounding wall was nearly two and a half miles; and essentially it consisted of a rampart of mud-brick, solidly built to a height of about twenty-six feet, and varying in width from fifty to ninety feet. This rampart widened at intervals into forts, and a line of houses was also built upon it. It was discovered that the great rampart had also served as a retaining wall to the high terrace upon which the whole interior of the town was built, and also as a revetment of the banks of canals which ran round the city. The place was now a desert, but in the time of Abraham it had been well supplied with water. The site was very exposed, so there was now no continuous line of houses, but a temple had been discovered in a fairly well-preserved condition.

The temple dated from 1990 B.C., and was built by Rim-Sin, one of the Kings of Larsa, in honour of the water-god, Ea. Much of it was destroyed, but its identity was proved by the discovery of a foundation box containing a copper figure of the King carrying a basket of mortar on his head: at the feet of the figure was a stone tablet bearing the name of the King and that of the god.

The excavation of another and smaller temple, built by Nebuchadnezzar, was marked by one of those fortunate accidents which occasionally occur in the archæologist's work. Whilst clearing below floor level, a workman noticed a difference in the colour of the bricks, whose surface he was scraping, and a white line between them. The redder bricks were the wall bricks and the greyer were the pavement foundation, and the white line was whitewash from the walls; on this evidence it was possible to work out the whole plan of the building.

* Notes on a lecture given to a joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Central Asian Society on May 21, 1930, General Sir Percy Cox in the Chair.

Underneath this temple were found the remains of five other buildings, one built over the other. On the fourth level an important discovery was made—namely, the remains of a column of mud bricks. In spite of several discoveries, the bulk of archæologists have been loth to believe that the column was known in early Mesopotamia; that it was known is further proved by this column, which dates from the third dynasty of Ur.

At the end of the season another discovery was made. Towards the north of Ur was a great harbour, which probably was connected in some way with the service of the temple. Here the excavators attacked a small mound, which was found to conceal a large building erected by Nebuchadnezzar and restored by Nabonidus. The walls of this temple, still standing, twenty feet high, were made of mud brick with a facing of burnt brick. The site was very exposed, and lay in the track of the summer sand storms; so, to protect it against reburial, a temporary roof was laid over the temple; today it was the one religious building of ancient Babylonia into which one could enter and forget that it was a ruin.

Work on the cemetery was now finished. Previous excavations had resulted in the finding of rich treasures of gold: this year again good gold objects were unearthed, together with other things, such as a child's toy—a cow, which rather resembled a Staffordshire porcelain cow, probably the oldest toy yet discovered. But the work of the present expedition was not so much to discover new treasure as to settle the dates of the civilization already proved, and this, the speaker thought, had now been done with almost complete certainty. Below the royal tombs graves of a much earlier type were found, underlying a stratum containing a great number of early pictographic seal-impressions; most of the latter were of an entirely new kind, and adorned with a linear design similar to those found in Persia by the French many years ago.

The pottery from this older cemetery, including examples brilliant red in colour and highly burnished, was of the Jemdet Nasr type. One pot was found covered with an inverted leaden cup, which marks the earliest use of that metal as yet known. The bodies had been buried in a curious position; the hands were before the face, as usual, but the legs were so tightly flexed that the heels came up to the pelvis. This difference must have been caused either by lapse of time, or by a change of religion and perhaps of race.

To obtain more evidence of the earliest civilization, a town site was selected, and a pit, twenty-five yards by sixteen, was dug. Denudation had here been very active, so that even the surface layer represented a period as early as 3200 B.C. Eight successive layers of buildings were found. The pottery in the second layer resembled the earliest found in

the royal cemetery, but that in the fourth layer was decorated in a two-colour design. This effect has been obtained by covering the articles before baking with a creamy substance, which was wiped off in patterns. Below this a new type of bright red pottery was found, and below this again the red, black, and yellow type of Jemdet Nasr. Potters' kilns also remained, and even fragments of a wheel, but in the lower levels the pottery was made and turned by hand.

The buildings were all of good quality with walls of mud brick, and clearly stood for considerable periods of time. At first the bricks were fairly small and round-topped and laid in herring-bone style, but lower down a small, square, flat-topped brick was used. Deeper still there was another change, and flat bricks, sometimes over a foot in length, were used. Some of these were made of cement; this is the earliest known use of cement for building purposes.

The oldest piece of sculpture that Ur has yet produced was found at a depth of twenty-eight and a half feet from the surface. This was a stone figure of a wild boar. A stratum of clear sand, the work of the flood, was next found, and below this an irregular stratum, which showed signs of continuous occupation. Lumps of clay were found here, concave on one side, but marked on the other with parallel lines, the impressions of reeds. Near by were bricks, so people before the flood lived both in reed huts and in brick buildings. Organic mud, due to the decay of water-living plants, lay below the habitation level, and under this came the clay subsoil. This was well below sea-level, and was the bottom of a marsh, which later dried up. Close by there must have been an island.

Civilization after the flood was of the same type as that which preceded it, but weaker and more degenerate. Some of the graves found were unique. The position was again different, the body being laid on its back, rigidly extended, with the feet together, and the hands folded on the pelvis. Offerings were frequently found at the head or the feet of the body. Vessels of painted clay, many of them shaped like a teapot with spout and handle, were found here, and in some of the graves were clay figurines. One figure was of green clay, and represented a woman and child. The latter's head was flat and inhuman. Other figures were of white clay and adorned with wigs, but all the figures were female, and either nursing a child or resting their hands upon their thighs. The bodies were well executed, but all the heads were inhuman. This may possibly mean that the figures had some religious significance, and represented, probably, a goddess or a demon.

Mr. Woolley said that by means of the excavators' steps it was possible to walk from the lowest level, representing an antediluvian civilization, past the various layers, each of which represented a period

in history, to Nebuchadnezzar's temple. This year they had achieved success as never before in straightening out the tangles of history.

Sir Frederic Kenyon, in thanking Mr. Woolley, said that the work at Ur had been most valuable. There was now a framework for the whole history of Sumeria, and the interest and importance of the vast addition to our knowledge gained by these excavations was clear. He paid a tribute to the extraordinary care and skill shown by the members of the expedition.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Wednesday, June 11, Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby in the Chair.

The General Report for the session was read by General Sir William Beynon :

In accordance with Rule 35 of this Society this twenty-ninth Anniversary Meeting has been called to receive and consider the Annual Report of the Council and auditors and to deal with the recommendations for the appointment of members of the Council and officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the Chairman's address and for deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society.

This is the fourth Anniversary Meeting to which I have had the honour of making the Report, and I am glad to say that the progress made by the Society is cheerfully satisfactory. The membership is increasing, the papers read at our meetings are drawing larger and larger audiences, and the JOURNAL is keeping up its high standard of interest.

We have elected 126 members during the year, and 83 more members of the Persia Society are retaining membership of the amalgamated Society. Our membership is now 1,300.

During the year we lost 18 members by death and 37 by resignation. Amongst the former I mention with deep regret the names of Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Gilbert Clayton, Sir Thomas Holdich, Professor Kay, General Sir Charles Monro, and Sir West Ridgeway, and to our great regret, and only a day or two ago, Sir Thomas Arnold, all old and valued members of this Society whose loss is deeply deplored.

Turning now to the main duties of this meeting, the election of Council, etc., I have the following proposals to put before you for your consideration :

Under Rule 14 the Right Honourable Earl Peel retires from the office of President of the Society, and the Council have elected Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby to succeed him.

The Right Honourable Earl Peel has been elected an Honorary Vice-President.

The Council have not yet elected a Chairman in place of Viscount Allenby.

The Council have elected Mr. G. Stephenson to fill an existing vacancy as Vice-President.

This meeting is called upon to elect the following officers of the Society :

The Honorary Treasurer, Sir Edward Penton, and the Honorary Secretary, Colonel H. Stevens, retire on completion of two years' service and are eligible for re-election. The Council recommend they be re-elected.

Miss Ella Sykes retires from the position of Honorary Librarian, and the Council recommend the election of Sir Raleigh Egerton in her place. This Society is deeply indebted to Miss Sykes for the valuable services she has rendered.

Three members of Council retire—Mr. G. Stephenson, Mr. A. Rose, and Sir Charles Marling, who resigns.

Mr. Rose comes up for re-election, and is recommended by the Council.

Colonel F. M. Bailey and Colonel J. K. Tod are nominated by the Council to fill existing vacancies, and your decision is required for the election of these three gentlemen.

With your consent these elections will be put *en bloc*, unless any member wishes them to be voted on individually.

Nominations were put to the vote and carried *nem. con.*

The Accounts (appended) were read by Colonel Stevens.

The Honorary Secretary gave a warm vote of thanks to the Secretary, which was very much appreciated.

The CHAIRMAN then summed up for the year as follows :

Since the Anniversary Meeting of last year, the Society has linked up with its old friend and friendly rival, the Persia Society, whose name has been incorporated in the title. Eighty-three members of that Society have joined, we hope, permanently.

The membership has increased, apart from this, fairly steadily ; and in consequence the Society's activities have been enlarged. Small informal meetings have been held, with varying success ; the papers given have been invariably of a first-rate quality, but attendance at some of the meetings has been very small. It is proposed to continue these meetings on trial for another session ; the Council owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Strickland, who has worked hard to get good speakers.

Lectures have been held at the halls of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and of the Royal Society ; we are grateful to both these Societies for their hospitality. It would help us very much if, later on, we could have a hall on which we had first claim, but at present there seems no possibility of this.

The JOURNAL has maintained its reputation, and JOURNAL subscriptions increase steadily ; the Council wish to express their thanks to those members who have so very kindly given their time to review books for the JOURNAL. We cannot yet afford to offer any payment for reviews, and we even ask for review books back again, in order to get

them for our Library ; the reviewing is therefore a " free gift," and it is of the greatest help to us. I may add that we are very proud of the first-rate quality of the reviews ; they are invariably written by those with real knowledge of their subject who are competent to pass judgment on the books they undertake to review.

Since we have come to 77, Grosvenor Street, members have made much more use of the small library, where we still suffer badly from want of space. Colonel Yate left us a most useful collection of books, mainly on Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and Sind. Our Honorary Librarian, Miss Ella Sykes, has worked hard to keep up the supply of review books, and she has also given to every number of the JOURNAL a list of articles on Asiatic subjects which have appeared in the various quarterlies and magazines. This is much appreciated by members abroad as it enables them to keep in touch with current writers. We are losing her as an Honorary Librarian, but she has promised to continue this useful list, and we hope she will keep closely in touch with the Society. I should like to thank her very heartily in your name for all she has done. Her brother, Sir Percy Sykes, is presenting the Society with the head and horns of the *Ovis poli* which he shot in the Pamirs in 1915 ; no more appropriate gift could be given to the Central Asian.

With regard to general affairs in the East, the newspapers are full of recent troubles, and I need not dwell on them.

We welcome the first part of the Report of the Simon Commission. It should go far to educate our countrymen, and to clarify our ideas and opinions on the questions relating to India. I spent six weeks as a tourist there last winter—my first visit—too short a time to form opinions. But I learnt how ignorant I was ; and I know that many of my fellow-Englishmen are as ignorant as myself about India. It is of utmost importance that we should know as much as can be known about that great Empire for which we are responsible. How otherwise can we formulate a definite policy ?

And here is a point I should like to make. Sir Francis Young-husband, lecturing to the Society in 1910 and speaking of the need of a good policy in the East, said : It is not sound business to be continually at the mercy of events. Events, he said, could be largely foreseen, and if troubles were coming they could be provided for by those who knew the countries and the peoples. We who have served in the East have all suffered because this dictum was not heeded. If this Society can do anything to gain a fair consideration for Eastern questions, to make known the judgments of the men who best know what should be done ; if we can save our Eastern dependencies and friends from legislation passed by politicians with their eyes directed towards voters, instead of honest consideration of the questions in hand ; if above all we can get a

clearly defined policy, honestly and openly expressed, which will allow all officials to know where they stand, we shall surely have done something to help our countrymen who are working under such great difficulties and those who have to solve the most difficult problems—problems of vital consequence to our country's future. Let us of this Society do all we can to bring these things about, putting our personal interests aside, remembering that history holds no excuse for those who let things slide. It is not sound business to be continually at the mercy of events. (Applause.)

IMPRESSIONS OF MODERN TURKEY.

THE modern age is characterized above all else by rapid change, and nowhere is this characteristic more apparent than in some parts of the Nearer East; it is, perhaps, even emphasized by the fact that we have been brought up to speak of the East as stable and unchanging. At the present day, however, this is decidedly not the case—at any rate, as far as appearances are concerned, and superficial appearances count for a good deal, though they are often scoffed at by the critical observer. In Turkey, more than in any other country in the Nearer East, have outward appearances changed in the last ten years. The wide and sweeping reforms and high ideals of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha are known to all of us. They are scoffed at by some, are admired by many, and are worshipped by more than a few, but their actual efficacy is questioned by their admirers as well as by the Western critics of New Turkey.

The nature of the major reforms, such as the abolition of the fez and the adoption of the Latin alphabet, are well known, but it is only those who have visited Turkey within the last few years who can tell how amazingly thorough they have been. A personal experience may serve to illustrate this point. The new alphabet was adopted in November, 1928. I arrived in Turkey in April of last year, 1929, and was amazed at the new notices and new newspapers. But I was still more amazed when I went to the bazaar at Istambul to order a pair of shoes, for the shoemaker, a simple tradesman with little education, took down my order in Latin characters. Haltingly it is true, but I doubt that a European of the same education would have been able to take down an order in Arabic, even with far more practice.

Shortly afterwards I left for Trebizond, travelling overland, and everywhere, even in quite remote towns or villages, the authorities and leading people showed the same spirit. The peasant remains unchanged; he appears in general to be content with the present régime, but he has suffered so much in the past and is by nature so apathetic that he would probably be equally content with any Government which allowed him a certain liberty and which did not over-press him with taxation.

The older men, both in town and country, seemed to live their old lives, discussing and arguing endlessly over matters of local interest, only occasionally mentioning the new state of affairs. But the men of middle age held more varied and more active opinions. The large majority of them doubtless follow the swing of the pendulum without enquiry, but among them is a fairly large minority who have definitely

espoused the new cause, and these form a staunch body of supporters who will remain faithful to the Ghazi and to his teaching before the most formidable odds. Most important of all is the younger generation, those who have been brought up in the spirit of the new régime ever since they have been able to think, and it is on these people, on the youth of the country, that the principal energies of the Angora Government are centred : it is on them that the future of the country depends, and the success or failure of the movement will to a great extent be determined by the adequacy or inadequacy of their education.

In almost every case which I was able to observe personally and in most that I have heard of, the school teachers are most ardently inflamed by the spirit of the new ideals, and they seem to be fulfilling their most important task with energy, sincerity, and longsightedness. It may be said that the educational scheme is too ambitious : that it is wrong to attempt to teach a people to fly before they can walk. But even in Western Europe such a criticism is not always justified, and Turkey has always been a country where the ideal must be far beyond the actuality. The law of the country, for instance, is extremely severe, and were it enforced literally, life would become intolerable. But it is not literally enforced, and it is not always rigorously obeyed, even by those who have assisted in its making. It is an ideal which should be striven after, rather than a rigid restraint which cannot be escaped. Owing partly to the climate, partly perhaps to other causes, the average Turk is not energetic, and hence he must aim high to accomplish the average. To start at eight o'clock in the morning, he must be convinced that it is quite impossible to start after six. And so in more important matters his intentions or ideals must be superior to what can actually be accomplished. He must also be continually encouraged or his energies will flag. " You have done well," said Ismet Pasha in a famous speech, " but you must do better."

And truly, there is still a great deal of work before the " People's Party," for it is no light matter to change the outlook of a nation. I have already stated that superficially the change is immense, and I have attempted to stress the fact that appearances count for a good deal. Most critics will be unanimous on the former point at least, but when we delve deeper, opinions become extremely conflicting. On the one hand are those—and Turks as well as Europeans are numbered among them—who see no actual change in the conduct of affairs, even at Angora itself ; on the other are those who admit that much of the old spirit, characterized by listlessness and corruption, still survives, but that the change in higher circles is already considerable, and that soon it will have made itself felt in every walk of life and throughout the country. There are those, too, who are blind to all but the Western honesty and competence of some of the officials, both major and minor, of

the new régime. But on a fair consideration it appears that of the three it is the first class who are the most shortsighted, and, unfortunately, England is far too well represented among this section. The lessons which we have already had to learn should surely be enough to convince us that the Kemalist régime is not an organization which can be neglected, not a power which can be lightly scoffed at. Nearly ten years have elapsed since we were first shown the errors in our judgments and the falsity of our policy, and in ten years a very great deal has been accomplished in Turkey.

The veil persists in country regions; the eastern vilayets are practically inaccessible to Europeans; the peasantry is in general apathetic; the eastern regions are definitely opposed to the agnostic principles of the new Government; in certain circles bribery and corruption are as rife as ever. But genuine efforts are being made to combat dishonesty; the larger cities are unanimous in their support of the reforms; the outlook of the inhabitants is changing daily, not only in Angora but in such old Moslem towns as Konia, Kaisariyeh, or the Moslem quarters of Stambul; and such Levantine trading cities as Smyrna and Galata have definitely and once and for all cast aside their Eastern garments and assumed a Balkan or even a central European character. Motor-cars and European clothes are partly responsible for this transformed appearance, but most important is the adoption of the Latin alphabet, the effect of which is moral as well as commercial and literary. Notices and newspapers can now be read by any who have a slight knowledge of the Turkish language, a tongue which will undoubtedly, in the not very distant future, take the place of the unpleasant Levantine French. The casual traveller no longer feels completely lost in a land of dreams and horrors; if he does not actually feel at home, he is no more at sea than in such a country as Hungary. The change which is so evident to the eye is gradually sinking deeper, and if things continue on the same lines as at present, it will not be so long before the seed will begin to sprout. How it will finally ripen only the future can disclose.

The severest criticism of the new régime is probably to be encountered in the business circles of Constantinople, for it is on those circles that the restrictions, daily becoming more severe, have acted with the greatest effect. These circles are fundamentally non-Turkish. Some years ago a friend of mine in Constantinople sent his servant with a five pound note, instructing him to find a Turk in the bazaar who would change it; having changed it he was to return home in a cab with a Christian driver. After some hours the servant returned, hot and perspiring, but still bearing the five pound note. There were no Turkish money-changers and no Christian cab-drivers! The same was true of the whole of Turkey, for all business was in the hands of Greeks,

Armenians, or Jews. The Turks had no aptitude for business, and until quite recently they have had none of the practice that is necessary to conduct successful affairs in the modern world. They will doubtless learn in time—in fact, they are already beginning to learn, and the complete efficiency of such purely Turkish concerns as the Asiatic Railway, the Seyri Sefaine Navigation Line, and the Bosphorus Ferry-boat Company bodes well for the future. But in the meantime there is somewhat of a vacuum, and the Government show by the imposition of unreasonable customs dues and an unequal taxation how determined they are to curb foreign importation and to keep out all who may compete with the Turk. From the Nationalist point of view they are undoubtedly right; from that of the Turkish economist, their course of action is more questionable, while from that of the international trader they would appear to be entirely in the wrong. How far Turkey will be able to manage the business concerns of their country and how far Turkey will become self-supporting remain to be seen. The question hinges to a great extent on the quick development of industry within the country, a policy upon which the Government is at present determined.

This, however, is probably one of the weakest points in their programme. The whole world is at the moment suffering from over-development, as the amazing numbers of unemployed in the great industrial centres show only too clearly. In Western Europe it is only in France that there are few unemployed, since not only was the land never deserted as in England, but also a return to the land is there an essential feature of town life. The French are content to leave the amenities of their towns, their cinemas and dances, and to settle in a small cottage in the country, provided it is their own. The English are not, and from what I have seen of the youth of Turkey I think that the same applies to them. Few who have once seen Stambul from within—I do not mean the peasant who spends a few days there to sell his goods, but the youth who has learnt to go to the cinema or to drive a taxi—would ever care to return to the old agricultural life. It would thus seem a fatal step for Turkey, whose land is so well suited for agriculture in every way and whose people are born and bred to the country life, to attempt to enter into the industrial whirlpool which looks near to sucking Western Europe into its depths. Even if she does not attempt competition, it would seem a false step for Turkey to attempt even to provide for her own needs, when she can exchange to such advantage her own natural vegetable and mineral wealth for the industrial products of other countries. For her to enter into competition in the export market would be fatal. Yet industry, like a game of chance, is a hard task-master, and when once set in motion the god of wealth and over-production is hard to check. The casino of Yildiz was shut

down, according to popular rumour, because the richer and more powerful Turks were one and all on the verge of bankruptcy. Let them take warning and treat industry with the utmost care.

It may be that this idea of industrial development is one that will hold the field for a time only and that, when the country feels itself once and for all free from the Greek influence it so much abhors and from the old imprisoning "capitulations" it so much dreads, the scheme will be dropped. If this is the case we can sympathize, even if we do not approve. If, on the other hand, the policy of industrial development is continued we can hope for good results, but we must be prepared for failure.

Hardly as important as industry in this modern world, but still nevertheless a vital factor, is religion. The movement away from the powerful religious control of Islam in the days of the Sultans and the Caliphate has been severely criticized by Moslem and Christian alike. The most obvious illustration is the abolition of the fez, a very far-reaching move, comparable to the shaving of beards in Russia under Peter the Great. But equally striking is the aspect of the city of Angora, the new portion of which contains not a single mosque. The once all-powerful Evkaf, too, is losing much of its importance, and it seems that this iniquitous and much-abused office will soon be no more. For that one can thank God, but the decline of religion is a matter very different from the destruction of a religious abuse.

It is said that were the Moslem faith to return with all its old force, the population would flock back to the mosques and desert the flag of Republican Turkey. But religious faith when once lost is not easily recaptured, and one of the marked tendencies of the post-war age is a desertion of the old gods. Atheism or agnosticism is usually the result. In Turkey the general tendency seems to be to look upon the religious as harmless fools. In some cases, however, we see a moving devotion to an ideal, to communism, for instance, as in Russia, or to the Ghazi. Miss Ellison recounts a story of a young student girl who was asked if she did not find life more complicated without a definite religious faith. She replied, "We have the Ghazi, what more do we need?" Such a spirit can take the place of religion, and it seems that such a spirit is by no means rare in Turkey. If it is instilled deeply into the minds of the youth of today, there is every reason to suppose that the great leader's reforms will survive their initiate and will flourish after his departure as strongly as ever.

This spirit of devotion, which at the same time implies one of effort and sincerity, is more typical of the generation which is just growing up than of that of a few years ago, where the chief gods are too often raki and motor-cars. The Turk is too thoughtless of the future to idealize money, but just because of this he is far too apt to idealize

pleasure and to regard it as an end in itself, not as a recreation after some serious effort. It is his love of pleasure and repose which has for centuries put the Turk in the power of the energetic Greek as far as business is concerned.

It is thus above anything else a serious effort that is required from every man and in every walk of life. This effort must be continuous. At the present moment it is only a very real effort which will pull the country through the serious financial crisis which is affecting Turkey as it does the rest of the world. The lack of money and the general poverty are at the moment an extremely urgent matter, especially in the towns. Hope for this year rests with the crops, and much of the hope for the future must rest with the farmers. They are often idle folk, and the Government should turn their attentions to them rather than to the creation of industry.

At the moment, however, the question of finances is a personal as well as a State matter, for the distribution of salaries seems hardly just ; the politicians and teachers would seem to receive more than their due share, whilst certain services, the police especially, remain disgracefully underpaid. Until a fair balance is achieved, the old system of bribery is bound to continue.

It may be that the task of coping with the iniquity of the present generation is too great to be eradicated by the ardent teachers of reform ; but it must be remembered that the youth of the land learns from friends and parents as well as from his school teachers, and the son of a poorly-paid official who has to bear numerous severe expenses out of his own pocket will probably listen more readily to his father than to a conscience whose efficiency is not provided for by heredity.

The future is in the hands of all, but at present the effort is not borne by all. The strictest measures have been adopted by the Government both to equalize the burden and to put their opponents at a disadvantage. These measures have in some cases been unwise, but on the whole the authorities have acted rightly. They must, however, be careful not to kill where a cure would be possible, for any waste of energy is bound to make itself felt. Until today the strain has been borne successfully by the few, and in general only that which is undesirable or out of date has been destroyed. Should matters continue in the line they have so far followed, there is every hope for the future. But the burden will be heavy for many years to come, and success lies with the youth of today. " You have done well," said Ismet Pasha, " but you must do better."

AFGHANISTAN SINCE THE REVOLUTION

By ABDUL QADIR KHAN

IT is a good omen for the peace of Asia that after a year of civil war and revolutions, with most disastrous consequences, conditions in Afghanistan have once again settled, and after the fall of the bandit Amir of Kabul in October, 1929, King Mohamed Nadir Shah has been successful in establishing law and order through a strong central Government.

The efforts of the new régime during the last eight months have been largely concentrated towards bringing normal conditions of life and in reorganizing the administration of the country under strong authority. The results so far show that to a very large extent the new king has succeeded in his difficult task of reconstruction. The tribes as a whole seem to support the present Government of Kabul, and with their help the progress of the country towards internal unity and strength can be looked for—at least if the tribes do not waver in their confidence and devotion to Mohamed Nadir Shah.

After the fall of King Amanulla's Government the country fell into terrible chaos and tribal strife. The rule of Bacha Saqao in and near Kabul finally became unbearable; and with the help of the southern and eastern tribes Nadir Shah, after leaving Southern France to serve his country at that difficult crisis, entered Afghanistan through the Khyber Pass, and with his four brothers defeated the usurping bandit, and on October 7 entered victoriously through the gates of Kabul. This victory, which was made possible by the loyal co-operation of his brothers (notably Sirdar Shah Wali Khan), has given King Nadir Shah and his family a prestige of heroism and patriotic sacrifice. Consequently the tribes insisted on electing him their king.

It should be borne in mind that the revolt of the Shinwaris and other dissatisfied elements in Eastern Afghanistan was the beginning of the reaction that followed later by the Kohistanis under Bacha Saqao against King Amanulla. It was finally the Shinwaris and the tribes in the south that were the important factor in establishing the present Government. At the present moment on the eastern border Mohmands, Khugianis, Shinwaris, Surkhordis, Afridis, Taghas, Babakhail, and Solemankhail, who during the Revolution fought for King Nadir Shah under his brother, Sirdar Mohamed Hashim Khan, are happy and content. In Eastern Afghanistan, where Nadir Shah made his headquarters in the summer of 1929 to mobilize a force against the bandit Amir, nearly all the tribes have given their allegiance to the new king.

The Jajis, Mangals, Ahmadzais, Waziris, most of whom formed part of the victorious army in capturing Kabul, have nothing to say against their own leader, save that some of the Khans may not be altogether pleased at the restraint shown in respect to the spoils of the victory.

In Kandahar, after Amanulla Khan's departure, Ghilzais, Kharots, and Durranis, as well as Solemankhail, joined hands with the forces of Nadir Shah. They also are content with the new régime.

In the north-west in the province of Mazar Sharif conditions are again normal. After the abdication of King Amanulla, Gholam Nabi Khan, the Afghan Minister in Moscow, entered through the Russian frontier at Patakesar and became temporarily the ruler of Afghan Turkistan, but was forced to leave for Russia by Said Hussain, the Chief Lieutenant of Bacha Saqao. When the news of the impending fall of the Bacha Government came to Mazar Sharif, Said Hussain made his way back to Kabul, and was half the way there when the capital was entered. In the absence of Said Hussain, a supporter of Nadir Shah, Abdul Qayum Khan took Mazar without serious bloodshed, and is still the Governor of that province.

The Western Province has remained very quiet. Abdul Rahim Khan, the Governor of Herat, through tactful hand, waited on events till Bacha Saqao was driven away from Kabul, and no change was made when the new Government took possession. Abdul Rahim Khan retains the confidence of King Nadir Shah. It may be noted that in the provinces of Mazar and Herat the population is come from the Uzbek and Tajik races, and is mostly peace-loving, and therefore did not take any part in the civil war.

An amazing episode regarding the end of Bacha's rule may be recorded. As soon as the news of his flight became known in the Kohistan, the tribes of Kohdamin to which Bacha himself belonged became hostile to him, and refused to help in his efforts to regain the throne he had usurped for some time.

This desertion proved so tragic to the fortunes of Bacha that when Said Hussain hurried back from Mazar and tried to enlist a lashkar to march on Kabul only fourteen men were found to follow him.

After his accession King Nadir Shah called a Jirga, when a cabinet was elected, with Sadr-i-Azam the Prime Minister, and the new Government took over the administration of the country. The Kohdamins, the followers of Bacha, appealed for mercy, and assured the Government of their loyalty. They disclosed sensational charges against the ex-Regent, Mohamed Wali Khan, and the ex-Director of the Military College, Mahmud Sami. They asked that these two officers of State should be charged with treason against King Amanulla. Both of them were put in prison, and a committee selected by the National Assembly made long investigations. They were finally proved guilty.

Mohamed Wali was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, while Mahmud Sami was shot. To serve as a warning for similar disloyalty the Afghan Home Office has issued a Blue Book, disclosing the misdoings of these two arch-enemies of the State. This has had a good effect on the people, who are beginning to learn the folly of civil war, and every effort is being made to bring the country to pre-revolutionary stability. While the co-operation of the religious leaders has been a complete success, the laws of Shariat suitable to the present necessities of the people have been introduced, though none can doubt that civil laws will be soon put into practice, and thus both will go side by side, according to expediency.

A new constitution is being drawn up with a view to the country being ultimately put on the basis of constitutional government.

During the internal strife there was one remarkable fact which may indicate the real character of the Afghans to the Western public and their attitude towards the European visitor. While Kabul saw three kings in one week and the bloodshed that followed during the civil war in Ghazni, Kandahar, Kabul and elsewhere, those European and other foreigners who remained in Kabul were quite safe, and no harm was done to the women and children. When one reads so much of the dreadful fate that met the foreigners in Afghanistan in the past, the causes of the present change of spirit are worth understanding. During the troubles in 1929 there had been no interference with the internal affairs of Afghanistan from any outside Power. As long as this policy remains in force the Afghans will have no reason to be inhospitable to their guests, whatever may be their race, creed, or religion.

It cannot be overlooked that the disturbed political situation in India, particularly in Peshawar, and the restlessness of the frontier tribes must have a profound effect upon all sections of the population in Afghanistan. While the Afghan Government has not the least desire to interfere in internal events in India, the religious passion and tribal sympathies that may arise are beyond its control. Many people make a wrong distinction between the Pathans and the Afghans on the north-western frontier borders. In fact, they are all one and the same, except for the political boundaries by which they are divided. Therefore the problem of the frontier can be wisely settled only with due regard to the national sentiments of the Afghans. The people of Afghanistan have natural sympathies with all the Eastern peoples, and more particularly with India. The friendly attitude of Indians towards Afghanistan during the civil war is not forgotten. It is in the interest of Afghanistan to see India peaceful and progressive. The closure of the main route through the Khyber Pass causes great dislocation of Afghan trade, and thousands in India have been deprived of fresh fruit and other articles brought by the Afghan traders.

BORIS ANNENKOFF: A CENTRAL ASIAN BAYARD

A FEW years ago there was a photograph in the illustrated papers of Boris Annenkov, taken during his trial by the Soviet authorities. The general, a fine, tall, slim man, was dressed in the usual Russian style, with blouse, breeches, and long boots, but his face lent interest to his commonplace dress and common surroundings.

Boris was born on his father's estate near Kieff in 1887. He was the only son, and the son, too, of his old age, for General Annenkov was sixty years old, a distinguished engineer, and a personal friend of Alexander the Second. The boy, after being educated at the Imperial Pages School at St. Petersburg, and then at the Nikolai Cavalry School, joined a cavalry regiment at Kieff, but owing to a quarrel with another officer, transferred to a regiment in Turkestan, where he stayed for eight or ten years.

Boris was a wealthy man, and like most Russians, a generous one; and so when the war came he availed himself of the leave given him by the Grand Duke Nicholas and raised a force of his own. He was the only person allowed to do so, and his body of irregular horse, led with dash and skill, inflicted much damage on the enemy, and won a name for itself. For his services the commander was awarded many distinctions, amongst which were the Cross of St. George, a gold sword, and the rank of colonel.

The revolution found him on the frontier, but despairing of accomplishing anything where the rot had already begun, he determined to go to the East, and to do what he could to stem the flood of Bolshevism. So with only fifteen men, all disguised as Kirghiz, he set out. Avoiding the Bolsheviks, and doing what damage to them he could, he made his way across Russia, and finally reached the Ural Mountains. There he waited three months for his followers to join him, but the difficulties were too great, and only twenty managed to do so. Then came the news that the Emperor and the Imperial Family were at Tobolsk, so with his thirty-five men Annenkov set out to rescue them.

The enterprise might well have seemed hopeless to the average man, but then that was just what Boris was not. Still disguised as Kirghiz, with their arms hidden under their voluminous sheepskin coats, and a machine gun and ammunition carried in harmless-looking bales on pack horses, the party reached the forest near Tobolsk with very little difficulty. Annenkov left his men outside the town, hidden in the trees,

and with only two men he entered Tobolsk, and lived there for two months disguised as peasants. He had two friends living with the Royal Family, Prince Dolgomouki and Dr. Botrin. He got in touch with them, and learned that the Emperor was ready to escape if it could be managed. The plan decided on was to go first by horse and then by sledge to Archangel. All was prepared, and even the day and hour were settled. Fate, too, was friendly, as the two Bolshevik regiments in the town were suddenly ordered to the Omsk district, as Admiral Kolchak's army was threatening Tobolsk. A guard of only fifty men was left over the prisoners, and the venture would have proved an easy one; but only a day before the date fixed for the rescue a letter signed by members of the Imperial Family, and received by Annenkov, announced that the health of the Czarewich was not good enough to enable him to travel, and that the Emperor had decided to stay in Tobolsk till the advent of Admiral Kolchak. Fatal delay, and fatal, foolish excuse! Annenkov read the letter, burst into tears, and at once left the town, weeping all the way, for well he knew what the decision meant. He then wrote strongly to the Emperor, imploring him to reconsider his decision, as now was the one and only chance of escape, and told him quite frankly not to trust to Kolchak. The Czar answered that he and his daughters would like to go, but that the Empress was unwilling do so, on account of her son. Annenkov used to keep the Emperor's letter in a leather bag, and wore it round his neck.

When he realized that it was useless trying to persuade the Royal Family to escape, he started for Omsk, where want of funds to raise a new force obliged him to apply to Kolchak, who sent him to fight the Bolsheviks in Semirechia, where the Second Corps seemed to be doing nothing whatever.

After picking out 1,500 men, Annenkov marched through the Tomsk province, and reached and captured Semipalatinsk, three weeks before the Second Corps arrived there. He then formed a force of nine regiments, and set out for Semirechia, as he had heard that the Bolsheviks had armed 25,000 peasants in that area. After attacking and dispersing this body, he continued to advance, and spent three months in clearing the country of the enemy. Finally he reached the Alatau Mountains, where he rested for two months. Admiral Kolchak sent him some reinforcements from the Second Corps, but both officers and men were tainted with Bolshevism, and were no help to Annenkov, who had to disband the greater part of his force. The halt in the mountains, however desirable it may have seemed at the time, was a mistake. If only an advance on Tashkent had been made, to a district where the people, particularly the Mohammedans, were opposed to the revolution, there would have been a fair hope of success. As it was, the revolutionary forces increased in power, rot set in amongst Annenkov's own men, who

began to surrender to the enemy, and the General had to seek refuge in Chinese territory.

At Kulja he gave up his arms to the Chinese. His idea was to join Bakitch at Chuguchak, and later Baron Ungarn at Urga; but on learning that the Chinese had given the Bolsheviks leave to enter Chinese territory, and capture Bakitch and his force, he was in a quandary. Meantime, after two engagements between Bakitch and the Bolsheviks, Urga was captured and Ungarn's force destroyed. This encouraged the Chinese to round up Bakitch, of whose army a remnant of 500 men marched to Urumchi, and joined Annenkov there. With his own following and these men Boris went to Guchen, to the east of Urumchi, and prepared to march overland through China to Manchuria, by way of Kansu. The Chinese authorities, however, arrested both Annenkov and his second in command, Denikoff, and though the latter was soon released to look after the men, the wretched Annenkov was kept a prisoner for two years.

The rest of the story is soon told. Annenkov was at last released, and allowed to settle in Kansu, where he and Denikoff started a farm near Lanchow, and lived contentedly for two years.

The advent of the "Christian" General Feng was the death warrant of these two brave men. They were both arrested, laden with chains, and sold to the Bolsheviks, who promptly executed them—the one award they have for all their enemies, gallant men or highway robbers.

URUMCHI

THE capital of the Chinese province of Sin-Kiang, the New Dominion, is usually known to Europeans, Mongols, and Moslems as Urumchi. The official name is Tihwa, or "Auspicious change," whilst the Chinese usually call it Hung-miao-tsü, after the Red Temple above the river near the Manas road, a name which is the translation of the Mongol word Urumchi.

The town itself lies roughly north and south in a valley running down from the Tian Shan where that range begins to fall to the comparatively low pass at Ta-pan-cheng, through which the main road from the south passes.

The city is thus situated just where the traffic from the prosperous regions of the south must pass it, and is also able to tap the stream that flows east and west along the caravan roads on the north of the mountain range.

The town is certainly favourably placed at the junction of three main routes, but there ends the sole advantage of the site.

Zungaria, the region north of the mountains, has never been properly settled, and has always been a prey to the factions of its truculent and ill-disciplined population. It is largely occupied by Tungans, and the numerous ruins show how rebellions have ravaged the whole countryside. The remaining settlers are immigrants, and their one idea is to get away and back to China, Russia, or Kashgaria, and the Tungan remains the only domiciled landowner.

As a matter of fact, the position of Urumchi is neither convenient politically nor central commercially. The rich parts of the province are far away to the south, while to the north there is nothing until Mongolia is reached, and the presence of a large and disaffected Tungan population, capable of defeating the Government forces (as they have done before), is a ceaseless anxiety to the rulers.

The climate is execrable. The short summer is alternately wet and dusty: the long winter is intensely cold. The town lies in a hollow, with no water supply and no drainage, and its appearance after rain or during a thaw is difficult to describe. The streets are then a mass of viscous, black mud, with an overpowering stench, and so deep is the quagmire that animals have been smothered in it. There are no made roads and no pavements, and, of course, no conservancy.

The dust in summer, the countless flies, and the surging sewage are nauseating. Winter, indeed, is the best time for the tourist to visit the town, as all these horrors are then frozen hard. In summer an

irrigation canal is turned into the town and serves for all purposes, but the nearest good water is three miles away.

The traveller, on entering the town from the south, passes through the Yang Hang or foreign quarter, often called the Factory or Russian concession. Bastard European houses line the broad unmetalled track, and present to Western eyes a squalid appearance, with their make-believe shops, dingy exteriors, and ramshackle architecture. The street is tattered and dilapidated, impoverished, and clearly sham, though probably just now far better than many a main street in a large Russian town.

The Soviet Consulate with church (now closed) is in this street. At the north end a gate leads into the Sart or Mohammadan quarter, which is not much better, though looking less out of harmony, than its Russian neighbour. No Mohammadan comes to Urumchi to stay. He is a "musafir," or "traveller," and the sooner he can make some money and get away the happier he is. It is this widespread feeling of impermanence that makes the city what it is.

The walled Chinese town is next entered. There is one fairly good street, but the whole town is over-built and congested, a wilderness of alleys and byways, heaps of filth, stagnant pools, and tottering houses.

But above all, Urumchi is a town of yamens, and in every street one of these large, dingy, half-ruined official buildings exists, with a group of ragged soldiers and pariah dogs at the gate. The late Governor's yamen was no better than the others, though the new ruler has now cleaned and tidied it.

The Chinese shops are large and well-stocked either with the trash of Bolshevik factories or the poor produce of the Tientsin and Shanghai bazaars. Very few real European wares can be procured, and the price is colossal, which is not to be wondered at when the numerous duties, transport charges, and risks are taken into account. There are practically no British and few Indian goods in the shops, but there should be a fair market for them. The Chinese and Mongols are always ready to buy anything they fancy, and they can afford to do so—as witness the expensive silks, huge looking-glasses, china-ware jars, and other expensive trumpery, filling the bazaars of Urumchi. Indian tea, cigarettes, medicines—anything that cannot be procured locally (and really there is little to be had except rubbish)—should be easily disposed of. Silk and light articles are imported by letter post at foreign postal rates.

Although Urumchi may fail to charm or attract, it is politically important. Indeed, it is perhaps not overstating the case to say it is, just now, one of the most important towns in Asia, as it is the receptacle of all news or gossip. The disturbances in Russia, Persia,

and other neighbouring countries have driven many refugees to Chinese Turkestan, and Urumchi has the largest and most varied share. These refugees keep in touch with events in their native places, and much curious information can be obtained.

There are several British subjects in Urumchi, including missionaries of the China Inland Mission, the head of which is the Rev. G. W. Hunter, one of the best-known and best-liked men in Central Asia.

The Russians number about 2,200.

There is also a Catholic Mission, under a German missionary society.

The total population of the town is not more than 60,000, and the Chinese predominate.

Urumchi has one great advantage—within a day's march are some of the loveliest valleys in the Tian Shan, where it is possible to forget the stinking bazars of the intrigue-ridden town. A river flows past Urumchi, but, incredible though it may seem, it has no name at all. The Red Temple is on a bluff on the right-hand side of the river, and nearly opposite is a sort of park with a statue of the late Governor Yang. The highest part of the town is still called the Manchu city, and outside one of its gates the wireless station has been built. A postal commissioner lives in Urumchi, and, in addition, there are all the usual officials of a Chinese provincial capital.

The town has a good supply of coal a few miles away, the forests of the Tian Shan are within reach, and the local crops should be sufficient; yet it is for many reasons an expensive place to live in, and its amenities are indeed few, though they include a little electric light, five or six very groggy motor-cars, and a soda-water machine.

Yet in December, 1885, when Mr. A. D. Carey visited the town, he described it as a cluster of nine or ten separate small-walled towns. Liu Joshwe (still remembered in the province) was the Governor-General, and received him very kindly (*Proc. R. Geog. Soc.*, New Series, vol. x., No. 12, December, 1887).

It will thus be seen that Urumchi has far to go before it comes up to modern requirements; but with all its faults it is an interesting centre of Central Asian life, and whatever else the people may be, they are hospitality itself.

AFGHANISTAN AND NADIR SHAH.

IN the reign of Amir Habibullah, Mohamed Nadir Shah was promoted from a Colonel to the rank of Commander-in-Chief, and in the reign of Amanullah Khan held the post of War Minister till 1924, when he was eventually appointed by the ex-King Amanullah Khan as Afghan Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris. In 1926, being laid up with illness, he left for treatment for the south of France. When the general rising of the people took place and Amanullah Khan was forced to abdicate, his brother, Inayatullah Khan, proclaimed himself king. But he also, after three days' reign, abdicated, and handed over Kabul to the rebels.

Mohamed Nadir Shah, although in delicate health, left the south of France, hastened to save his country, and entered the Afghan soil on March 9, 1929. After fighting for seven months and three days with the ignorant mass of rebels, who were already in possession of Kabul and most parts of Afghanistan, he was finally successful in routing the rebel forces and saving Kabul and the whole of Afghanistan, which was plunged in civil war, from destruction.

On October 15, 1929, he was elected King of Afghanistan by the representatives of the nation and the leaders of the tribes. Mohamed Nadir Khan objected to this election, but the nation persisted that they would have no other for their king but Mohamed Nadir Shah. Mohamed Nadir Shah on the persistence of the nation accepted the sovereignty of Afghanistan. Thus the nation from that very moment proclaimed him as His Majesty Mohamed Nadir Shah, King of Afghanistan.

The civilized Governments who had friendly relations with Afghanistan confirmed the Government of His Majesty King Mohamed Nadir Shah.

King Mohamed Nadir Shah, while announcing the course of his actions, reaffirmed the Treaties, laid down the system of education, constituted the law, and elected a Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister, after having formed the Cabinet, gave the rights of investigating the Cabinet affairs to the Grand National Assembly, and announced the Cabinet and the Prime Minister as responsible to the representatives of the nation.

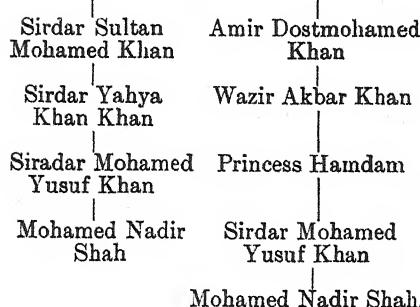
The family of King Mohamed Nadir Shah, which is composed of three descendants of Mohamedzaï and Sadozai kings, is as given on p. 341.

His Majesty Mohamed Nadir Shah is in his forty-fifth year. He is a learned man and can talk in five languages—viz., Persian, Pushto, Urdu, English, and French. He is a distinguished soldier, an administrator and well acquainted with the feelings and sentiments of his

nation, a lover of knowledge, very keen on agriculture and the progress of the country. He has collected a vast store of information during his travels in Europe. He is active, generous, and trains and controls the nation like a teacher, and he is always eager to promote the cause of civilization in his country.

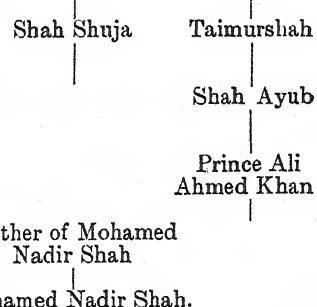
Mohamedzai descendants :

Sardar Painda Khan



Sadozai descendants :

Ahmed Shah Durrani



THE ROYAL FAMILY.

Queen : a cousin-daughter of Sirdar Mohamed Asif Khan and descends from the same family to which His Majesty King Mohamed Nadir Shah is connected.

Sons and daughters : Prince Mohamed Tahir, aged fifteen years. Four daughters, aged thirteen, eleven, ten, and eight years respectively.

Brothers of His Majesty : (1) His Royal Highness Sirdar Mohamed Aziz Khan. (2) His Royal Highness Siradar Mohamed Hashim Khan. (3) His Royal Highness Sirdar Shah Wali Khan. (4) His Royal Highness Sirdar Shah Mahmood Khan.

CABINET.

His Royal Highness Sirdar Mohamed Hashim Khan, Prime Minister. His Royal Highness Sirdar Shah Mahmood Khan, Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief. Siradar Faiz Mohamed Khan, Foreign Minister. (The Ministry of Interior is controlled by the Prime Minister). Fazal Umar Khan, Minister of Justice. Mohamed Ayub Khan, Minister of Finance. Ali Mohamed Khan, Minister of Education. Mohamed Akbar Khan, Minister of Commerce. Abdul Ahad Khan, President of the Grand National Assembly. Mohamed Akber Khan, Director of Health.

THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

In Afghanistan, besides the permanent Grand Assembly, there is a Loi Jirga (Grand Council), which is formed every fourth year. The King opens and presides over this Council in person. The members

who participate in it are over twenty years of age ; they are educated and enjoy the confidence of their people ; they discuss and settle all matters relating to law and help the Government in discharge of their duties. After the termination of this Loi Jirga (Grand Council) a re-election of the National representatives takes place, and the newly elected members enter into the Grand National Assembly, where they continue to work in the capacity of members of the said Assembly for four years.

The Grand National Assembly which works permanently is constituted of fifty members, twenty-five of whom are composed of Government officials and the rest of elective members.

REFORMS INTRODUCED BY HIS MAJESTY KING MOHAMED NADIR SHAH.

The right of electing a President for the Grand National Assembly has been granted to the body of National Representatives. The Grand National Assembly constitutes law, and has the right to reconsider the proposals put forth by the Government. Whenever there happens a great difference of opinion, the Assembly can invite the King to the Assembly to review the matter and give his decision.

Cabinet : The Cabinet is controlled by the Prime Minister, and is responsible to the King and the Grand National Assembly. The proposals of the Cabinet are put before the King, and are enforced after having received his approval.

Ministers : The Ministers of the State work permanently in accordance with the duties entrusted to them.

Colour of Afghan Flag : Black, red and green, lined vertically, and the ensign (arch and pulpit) printed in the centre of the flag.

Orders for Distinguished Service : Almar-i-Aala, Sardar-i-Aala, Sardar-i-Aali Istore, Shujaat (courage), Istiqlal (independence), Wafa (loyalty), Loi Khan, Fath-i-Kabul (Conquest of Kabul), Fath-i-Kandahar (Conquest of Kandahar).

Diplomatic Corps : All the Ambassadors, Ministers and Consuls of the friendly Governments are presented.

Population and Area : The area is 731,009 square kilometres, and the population 10,000,000.

Army : Young and strong recruits are taken from every tribe for military training and for serving in the army.

His Majesty King Mohamed Nadir Shah has organized an army which is equipped with the latest arms. Afghanistan is well provided with aeroplanes, guns, machine guns and rifles of the latest European types.

Communications : The country is well connected by telegraph, wireless and telephone systems, internally and with foreign countries.

Newspapers Published : In Kabul, *Is'lah* and *Anis* ; in Herat,

Ittifaq ; in Kandahar, *Tuloo-i-Afghan* ; in Jalalabad, *Ittihad-i-Mashriqi*.

EDUCATION.

The present Afghan Government is very keen in matters educational, and intends to push it throughout the common mass of the people. Steps have already been taken to bring the matter to a practical point. A large number of books and other educational necessities which were lost during the revolution have been regained and the primary and high schools have already been opened.

In regard to the system of education, necessary reforms have been introduced which, it is hoped, may prove more efficient. At present three foreign languages—viz., French, German and English—are taught in the colleges and primary schools.

Universities are not yet opened, but nevertheless the Government is endeavouring to provide means for the opening of the universities. Some of the Afghan students who during the revolution were obliged to return to Afghanistan the educational department thought it advisable to send back to the places of their education—*i.e.*, France, etc.—to complete their studies.

DIPLOMATIC SITUATION.

Afghanistan deals on equal terms with all the friendly Governments without any preference or distinction, and reciprocates their friendship and honourable attitude.

Afghanistan's interest is based entirely on peace and goodwill. All the members of the Diplomatic Corps are presented in the Royal Afghan Court without any distinction. Afghanistan appreciates and reciprocates the friendship of her allied and neighbour Governments.

Afghanistan for about one year was in a state of agitation and revolution, and has consequently sustained great material and spiritual loss, and has given great sacrifices. At present the question of internal reforms and improvement of the country is engaging the sole attention of the heads of the Administration. The Afghan nation, contrary to their former views, now think upon the Government as one of their own, and are straining every nerve to redress the loss caused by the revolution.

In every part of Afghanistan the people compete with each other in subscribing and collecting funds to hasten the progress of the country. Peace and tranquillity reign throughout Afghanistan. Roads have been fairly repaired, and the doors of Afghanistan are open for trade. The Government, however, is endeavouring to repair the roads on a more sound principle in the near future to help the economic development of the country.

A. S.

NOTES

THE INDIAN EMPIRE SOCIETY.

THE attention of members is called to the Indian Empire Society, which has recently been formed. Its aims are :

To organize, consolidate, and diffuse accurate information in regard to all matters affecting the welfare of the Indian Empire, in order

1. To secure towards the peoples of British India, without distinction of race, creed, or caste, the discharge of the responsibilities, moral and financial, incurred by this country since the assumption of control by the Crown ; and in particular, while conserving existing territorial rights, to safeguard the rights of the peasantry, artisans, and industrial workers, and of the minority and backward communities, who are incapable of protecting their own interests under any elective system.
2. To ensure the faithful observance of the Treaties and Sanads which link the Indian States to the Crown.
3. To insist on
 - (a) Security, external and internal, which is vital to the progress of India ;
 - (b) The maintenance in the administration of the highest standards of integrity and impartial justice, which are the greatest needs of her peoples ;
 - (c) Such conditions as shall ensure the continuous recruitment to the public services of a British element adequate, by reason of its strength and qualifications, to guarantee the discharge of these obligations ; and thus to promote "the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples," for which the British Parliament has declared itself responsible.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Acceptance of the following principles :

- (a) That the Society should be a non-party organization.
- (b) That the primary aim of the British administration in India should continue to be as defined in Queen Victoria's Proclamation—viz., "To administer the Government of the country for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein" ; and that, to this end, any constitutional advance should be subject to the conditions laid down in the Aunouncement of 1917 and embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919, and in particular to the provision that India should remain an integral part of the British Empire.
- (c) That the British connection should be of so binding a nature as to ensure the adequate discharge by his Majesty's servants in India of the responsibilities referred to in the "Aims and Objects" of the Society.
- (d) That all measures directed to promote constitutional development should be strictly subordinate to the fulfilment of our primary obligations.
- (e) That members should pay a subscription of 10s. per annum, or £1 if they wish to receive the publications of the Society.

THE TRANS-PERSIAN RAILWAY.

The Trans-Persian Railway has now two small sections completed, but the most difficult and most expensive section through the mountains has not yet been started. *The Times* correspondent in a most interesting article published on June 7 says :

"The future of the great Trans-Persian railway scheme is rather uncertain. Designed to run from Bandar Shapur on the Khor Musa leading to the Persian Gulf to Bendergaz on Ashurada Bay at the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea, the easiest parts only, at each end, have so far been built by a German-American syndicate. The syndicate stopped work on May 1 because the Persian Government was £600,000 in arrears in its payments, and now, as a counter-move in the dispute, the Government has denounced the contract.

"In November last the northern section from the Caspian to Sari, about 80 miles, was opened for traffic and is in service. In January the Shah went to Dizful to open the southern section of 156 miles from the Persian Gulf to Ahwaz to a point north of the Dizful-Khurramabad road, 25 miles south of the mountains. The special train in which he 'inaugurated' the line was twice derailed owing to floods after heavy rains, and finally the engine caught fire.

"The rest of the projected line in between, linking north to south, is in abeyance. The Persian Government may feel an—for it—unwonted reluctance to incur the heavy expenditure of £40,000,000 or so needed to carry the line on the same scale through the varied mountainous country between Dizful and Aliabad. The southern section has been built partly by a group of four German firms and partly by an American firm with 20 per cent. British and 20 per cent. French participation.

"Up till now the work on both sections has been done in flat and comparatively easy country. There has been a lot of bridging, but the chief problems have been the supply of materials, the control of organization of labour, and the maintenance of health. In the northern section the task of the German engineers was aggravated by the remoteness of their base and by the difficult nature of the harbour. One quarter of their material was purchased in Russia, but the rest had to be transported overland from Germany to Baku, and thence by Russian ships. The Bay of Ashurada, at the edge of the sandy Turkoman Steppe, is surrounded by marshes, and is so shallow that a wooden jetty more than a mile long had to be built so that the largest ships of the Soviet-owned Caspar line could come alongside.

"BRITISH STEEL BRIDGE.

"The American engineers in the south have been able to bring most of their materials directly by sea to their base on a protected deep-water inlet. The new port—the Persian Government decided to ignore Mohammerah, probably because Iraq still claims control over the Shatt-al-Arab River up to the Persian shore—will have to be built on land reclaimed from the tidal mud-flats, which will be very costly. From Bandar Shapur the line runs due north to Ahwaz, and crosses the Karun River by an imposing bridge, more than 1,100 yards long, of steel lattice work on concrete piers. The entire superstructure of this bridge was made of British steel, and is so designed that an irrigation dam could be fitted into it. From Ahwaz the line runs northwards on the edge of the desert to the west of the Ab-i-diz River.

"All further construction must involve penetration into difficult moun-

tainous regions. From Aliabad the northern line must run southwards across the Elburz range by way of the Firuzkuh Pass (7,380 feet). In the 300 miles to Teheran, nearly 100 miles of railway will pass through high mountains, involving 25 miles of tunnels. From Dizful in the south the projected line runs northward for 120 miles to Bahrein, across several parallel ranges of rugged limestone mountains, inhabited only by nomadic Lur tribes. There are 18 miles of easier country from Bahrein to Burujird, and then there is a choice of two routes—either through Daulatabad, Hamadan, and Kazvin to Teheran, 374 miles altogether, or, branching off half-way between Daulatabad and Hamadan, direct to Teheran, saving 55 miles, but necessitating branch lines to towns west of the route.

"RUSSIAN DOMINATION."

"The Persian Government might save as much as £10,000,000 on the £40,000,000 by building the remainder less expensively, but it does not seem inclined to abandon the grand manner. The revenues available for railway construction are insufficient to finance a work of this magnitude. In May, 1925, legislation was passed imposing a heavy additional tax on imported tea and sugar in the form of a 'monopoly.' This monopoly produces more than £1,000,000 a year, which is being devoted to the railways.

"One of the chief objects in building this railway is to break the economic domination of the Russians on exports from the Caspian provinces. Agricultural products could be carried to the Persian Gulf, but it hardly seems likely that such produce would be able to bear the heavy land transport charges. The northern section of the line would in any case have to struggle hard against the competition of Soviet trading organizations on the coast and Soviet steamers on the Caspian. The prospects of the southern section are more favourable. It will help the Government in dealing with western and south-western tribes, and the pipe line which the Anglo-Persian Oil Company contemplates laying from Abadan would give an impetus to the new port."

The Tehran papers have little of interest to add. The line was to run from Bandar-Shah on the Caspian, through Suri, Aliabad, Tehran, Qazvin, Hamadan, Burujird, Dizful, Ahwaz, to Khor Musa, and was discussed in the JOURNAL of October, 1927, when the first contracts were made. The gauge of the line is 4 feet 8½ inches.

The Persian Press dwells at some length on the unfair exploitation of their trade and their merchants in North Persia by the Soviet. The agreement which they made has turned entirely in favour of the Soviet, who settle the prices of buying and selling, not unnaturally, entirely in their own favour. The merchants who are almost ruined have appealed to the Persian Government; representations have been made to the U.S.S.R. representatives, who reply that owing to their constitutions no other method of trading is possible. It is a serious and difficult position for Persia.

MOSCOW AND THE YEMEN.

THE *Matin* during the last week in May had a series of articles by M. Bessedovsky on Soviet efforts in the Far East and in other parts of Asia. In Arabia in 1928 the Imam Yahya of Sana was afraid of trouble on his borders, from the Wahhabi on the one side and from the Sultan of Kuwait on the other. He was in need of arms and munitions and of aeroplanes with mechanics and pilots ; the artillery he had from Italy dated from 1866. In return for modern equipment from Moscow he proposed friendship and commercial concessions. He made it clear, however, through his envoy, Hasan Pasha, that he had no intention of making war on Great Britain, which they had hoped

This was not enough for Moscow, and under cover of a so-called German Society, the Wostwog, controlled by the executive of the Third International, a delegation, headed by Astrakoff, an experienced Soviet agent, was sent to deal with the Imam direct ; permission for the expedition was obtained through the Russian Consul at Jidda, Khakimoff. After visiting Sana, M. Astrakoff went to Abyssinia to put life into the Soviet advance there, already begun by Khakimoff, but although he was courteously received, he got no satisfaction, and returned to Sana. The Imam declined to open diplomatic relations on the pretext that he had no diplomatic service, but he concluded a commercial treaty which was kept secret for fear of its causing an outcry in Britain ; it was, however, published later by the editor of a Soviet paper, who was sent into exile for five years for his indiscretion.

According to M. Bessedowski, 20,000 dollars were spent on propaganda in Arabia, and centres were established amongst the tribes and money sent to the Communists in Palestine. Word was given to wage war against the Zionist organization, which was described as Imperialistic. Khakimoff, the Russian Consul-General in Jidda, a Turk of Kazan, who speaks excellent Arabic, was appointed Soviet representative at Sana and the centre of all Soviet activity in Arabia.

REVIEWS

SIR ARTHUR NICOLSON, BART., FIRST LORD CARNOCK: A STUDY IN OLD DIPLOMACY. By Harold Nicolson. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. xvi + 456. 10 illustrations. Constable. 1930. 21s.

Members of the Central Asian Society will certainly bestow special interest on the record of the life of his father which Mr. Harold Nicolson has interwoven with "A Study in the Old Diplomacy." Lord Carnock, Nicolson as he is called throughout, was Chairman of the Society from 1919 to 1923, and to the end of his life he followed closely all its proceedings, though prevented in the last years by growing infirmities from attendance at the Lectures. It was perhaps the period of his activities in Persia as British Chargé d'Affaires from 1885 to 1888 that more than any other gave definite shape to his ideas and convictions regarding British policy in matters relating to Central Asia. In later years, during his residence at St. Petersburg as H.M. Ambassador from 1906 to 1910, he was in a position to give final effect to his belief, acquired twenty years before at Tehran, that the steady advance of Russian influence towards the Indian frontier could be met much more effectively by a general political understanding between the two countries than by any mere demonstrations of force at points of contact. It had been the prediction of Holstein, the power behind the throne at Berlin, that England would never reach an understanding with her natural enemies, France and Russia. This confident forecast was belied in 1904 by the Entente with France. It was completely brought to the ground by the Convention with Russia, which Nicolson signed at St. Petersburg in 1907.

At the Conference of Algeciras in 1906 Nicolson's attitude had made it clear to the world that England was resolved to give full effect to her Treaty engagement to stand by France in matters affecting Morocco. At St. Petersburg in the following year it was largely through the personal influence already at that early date acquired by Nicolson over Iswolsky that the enormous difficulties presented by the problems of Tibet, Afghanistan, and Persia were successively overcome and embodied in the Convention referred to above. The details of the resolute stand made by him on these two historic occasions are lucidly related in the work under review. They make engrossing reading, and they bear testimony to a main characteristic of Nicolson's diplomacy which stands out clearly in every crisis by which he was confronted. He was eminently fair in his dealings with the representatives of other

countries who might hold views conflicting with his own. Thus, while so effectively supporting France at Algeciras, he was more than once accused of displaying an excessive anxiety to meet what he regarded as the justifiable pretensions of Germany. Similarly at St. Petersburg he lost no opportunity of making manifest his determination that, so far as depended on himself, the understanding with Russia embodied in the Convention, and fortified in the following year by the meeting between King Edward and the Czar of Russia, should display no hostile point against Germany, with which country he was anxious that Russia, while drawing closer to France and England, should maintain the most friendly relations. One gathers that it was with him an overmastering conviction that the peace of Europe could not remain secure so long as the powerful combination of the Triple Alliance stood face to face with the much more loosely compacted group of what came to be called the Triple Entente. The cause of peace required, as he saw the situation, a no less close connection between the members of one group than existed between those of the other. The danger to peace resulting from the indefiniteness of the relations between Russia, France, and England became, indeed, unpleasantly manifest in the critical years 1908-1909.

The crisis forced upon Europe by the precipitate action of Count Aehrenthal in the former year in respect of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been with difficulty surmounted only by the abject submission, as Nicolson regarded it, of Russia to the curt demands presented by the German Ambassador to Iswolsky, calling upon Russia to abandon her support of Serbia and to compel that country to humble itself by accepting unconditionally the demands of Austria. The Central Powers emerged triumphant in 1908. Nicolson's unceasing endeavour from that time onwards was to use his influence towards a more effective consolidation of the understanding with France or Russia. By these means, he felt, and by these only, could peace be rendered reasonably secure.

From the date of his appointment as Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office (1910), Nicolson urged that the Ententes should be defined in terms leaving no doubt that France and Russia and England would co-operate in resisting all aggression by Germany. Once this could be made clear, an understanding with Germany for the removal of all future causes of friction might well become possible. The causes which, for good or for evil, impeded the realization of such a policy are set forth in the concluding chapters of the work under review. The author ascribes them in the main to the restrictions inevitably imposed on the Foreign Secretary by existing divisions within the Cabinet. However this might be, the Agadir crisis, which occurred in 1911, did bring about indirectly a definition by the British Government of the extent to which they conceived themselves to be

bound to that of France. Agadir had led to a Treaty by which France secured full recognition by Germany of her claims to predominance in Morocco. Germany felt humiliated, and to counter what she regarded as a diplomatic defeat she enacted the so-called "Novelle," an enlarged naval programme of an alarming character. It became necessary as a measure of self-defence to transfer a large portion of the British Mediterranean Fleet to the North Sea. An understanding with France followed, in accordance with which France assumed the task of protecting British interests in the Mediterranean in return for a British engagement to protect the northern coasts of France against an attack from the north or east. This Naval Convention, based on an important minute submitted by Nicolson (p. 372), was, of course, elaborated with the full concurrence of the Cabinet, which was led somewhat later on to enquire what precisely was the nature of the undertakings, if any, by which we were bound to afford aid to France in her hour of need. The all-important exchange of notes between Grey and Cambon followed on October 22, 1912 (pp. 373-74). There was no actual promise of armed assistance, but there were to be consultations in case of aggression regarding the measures which the situation required. At all events, there was now something in writing which both sides could accept.

It was to the naval agreement of 1912 that the French Ambassador, M. Paul Cambon, expressly appealed when he called at the Foreign Office on August 1, 1914, to ask what support France was to expect from England (pp. 419-21). Grey gave immediately the written assurance that we should protect the French coast in the event of a naval attack.

If Nicolson's desires were never completely met, the form of words embodied in the notes were calculated to give him some satisfaction, and it proved useful in the hour of crisis.

Having failed, however, in his endeavours to make the preservation of peace possible by means of a well-defined and openly proclaimed alliance between the Entente Powers, Nicolson more than once expressed a wish to exchange the Foreign Office for a diplomatic post rather than continue to act as principal adviser to the Secretary of State in matters relating to the war. He remained at his post, however, during the first two years of the war, and finally retired from public life in June, 1916. Lord Hardinge, back from India, then took his place at the Foreign Office. For some time Nicolson had felt out of sympathy with the main current of public opinion regarding such matters as propaganda, blockade, and the popular version of the events by which the war had been brought about. After his retirement into private life, and until his death in 1928, his comments on passing events continued to show a detached point of view. He was not easily moved from his own independent judgment by the popular outcry of

the day. Thus he was led to express approval of Lord Lansdowne's famous letter in 1917 : "He was appalled by the Treaty of Versailles." He avoided, however, any expression of his views in public after he had ceased to fill a position of responsibility.

Mr. Harold Nicolson judges, somewhat severely, the "old diplomacy," but he points to his father as an example of the "old diplomacy" at its best. It showed up well, he considers, during the London Conferences by which in 1912-13 peace was preserved through the Balkan wars under the guiding hand of Sir Edward Grey. At Versailles he believes the old diplomacy might well have done better, if given a free hand, than did the group of statesmen who assumed control. But the spirit by which the old diplomacy was fundamentally inspired he entirely condemns, and he holds that by it a world was built up in the centuries preceding the one in which we live which could not but end in catastrophe. England does not escape blame for the ultimate event. By embracing in her Empire all that was best worth having, she found herself, when the Great War came, in a condition of complete satiety. She was "sitting digestive in her chair . . . protected against all imprudence by the repletion, passivity, and, I should add, the selfishness of old age." Germany, on the other hand, "young and hungry, was manifesting the unwisdom of adolescence," as indeed the Elizabethans had done in their day. In the period immediately preceding the war Germany, no doubt, was among those most to blame, but he is inclined to hold Austria and Russia more guilty still (pp. xv-xvi).

As an historical sketch based evidently on much personal research and leading up to the present time, this book will afford food for reflection. Many of the statements it contains may well stimulate a search for further evidence to support or confute some of the opinions and statements which appear in the text. But Mr. Harold Nicolson retains throughout the interest of his reader in telling once more, and with special reference to materials left by his father, the story of the critical years which preceded the war. He seeks to be just to all concerned. That, indeed, was his father's attitude throughout—a frame of mind which he found no impediment to the single-minded presentation of his country's case in the many important negotiations in which he bore a part. Surely much of Nicolson's success in diplomacy was due no less to the respect and affection which his truly lovable character commanded than to the technical skill displayed in his admirable despatches.

The author gives us a masterly sketch of the situation existing in the newly reformed Foreign Office when his father joined it in 1910. He sees in the activities of that department a certain duality of purpose, ascribable to the divergent methods of action preferred respectively by

Sir Eyre Crowe and Sir William Tyrrell. The dilemma in which the Secretary of State thus became involved is graphically delineated, and no attempt can here be made to summarize the resultant situation as set forth by the author. Mr. Nicolson's happy literary gifts often enable him to describe in terse and striking language the personalities whose action he reviews. After some criticism of Sir Edward Grey, he brackets him with Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, as being "alone of pre-war statesmen, morally unassailable." Poincaré he associates with a policy of *revanche*, which has been strenuously disavowed by that eminent Frenchman.

It will be noticed that the last of the sections into which this work is divided is entitled "The Anglo-German Entente," at first sight a strange designation for the period including the Agadir crisis and the Balkan wars and terminating in the world war. The explanation seems to lie in the sequences of insurance with one group of Powers and re-insurance with the other by which the years in question were marked. If relations with France were strengthened by Agadir, by the conversations and exchanges of notes alluded to above, and by the naval conversations with Russia, there were also, on the other hand, certain visits to Berlin and an important Treaty, initialled though not finally signed and concluded, relating to Mesopotamia, the Baghdad Railway, the Persian Gulf, and the Portuguese colonies, which indicated a desire to restore, if still possible, a friendly relation with Germany. Conciliation proved impossible between these methods, both equally designed to preserve the peace, but the sustained endeavour to disarm German hostility while remaining entirely loyal to the Entente is apparently regarded by the author as having been the predominant preoccupation of the British Government between the years 1910 and 1914.

The book is illustrated by some charming portraits.

MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

GREATER ITALY.

THE EXPANSION OF ITALY. By Luigi Villari. 9 x 6. Pp. 290.
Map. Faber and Faber, Ltd. 15s. net.

Every great country naturally tends to expand; this is no novelty, and it is neither good nor evil, but inevitable. In the case of modern Italy expansion has been handicapped by historic and economic difficulties, and above all by the fact that other nations were first in the field with the most promising territories. Today, with her rapidly growing population, the need for a wider area for her people is more acutely felt than ever. But as she is going through a process of

national reconstruction, she certainly does not seek foreign complications, and she does not dream of encroaching on the rights of other countries. The one thing that the Italians of today do resent is that their legitimate aspirations to expand should be regarded as wicked imperialism by those who have practised imperialism with success, and thus extended their influence over half the world.

Whilst there may be differences of opinion as to whether Italy's intentions are pacific or the reverse, the above remarks, the sense of which is taken from M. Villari's foreword, correctly and fully suggest the contents of his latest book. Again, although some may think that the author has put the case for his own country almost too strongly, he (the author) has certainly produced a straightforward and instructive book. Furthermore, M. Villari, whose high reputation is well known, has obviously been an eye-witness of many of the developments about which he writes, he has been extremely careful about the accuracy of his facts, and he is well up-to-date in what he says. Consequently, it is essential for anybody interested in the past, present, or future positions in the Mediterranean and its borderlands to read and to study a volume, the contents of which clearly represent the opinions of those whose views are paramount in the Italy of today.

Space obviously prevents any detailed comment upon such a volume. The author, who knows his subject extremely well, begins by discussing the Italian tradition in the Near East and the expansion of the population. Upon the first of these questions he rightly says that public opinion was deeply disappointed by the results of the Berlin Congress, that the French danger drove Italy into the otherwise unnatural Triple Alliance, and that, when the time for war against Turkey came, neither assistance nor sympathy was available in Germany. Equally interesting, too, is it to know that between 1901 and 1928 the total population increased from 32,000,000 to close upon 41,000,000, that in 1913 Italian emigration amounted to 872,000, and that, as a result of the war, Italy obtained much less than half the area and less than one-quarter of the population secured by Serbia.

About one-third of the book is devoted to the Italian War gains in the north and north-east, and the problems bound up with these gains, concerning which much more is known than about the Italian positions in Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Albania. A useful chapter of the book is devoted to the Italian position in East Africa, and the problems of Tunis and Libya are carefully discussed. According to the author, the Tunisian situation is a most unfortunate one, and Italy herself is partly to blame for not having seized the opportunity when she had it. This lost opportunity led to the occupation of Libya, but that occupation is not a real compensation, for, even if Tripolitania and Cyrenaica prove valuable colonies, they require de-

velopment, which had already taken place in Tunisia to a considerable degree at the time of the French occupation.

There are two big questions in the Eastern Mediterranean—namely, those of the Aegean Islands and of Turkey. M. Villari puts the former very plainly, and gives us all the up-to-date information required upon the subject. It is clear from his account that the Italians have done a great deal for the development of their twelve islands, and particularly for Rhodes, and it is perfectly obvious that they have no intention of leaving areas of present and future importance to them. With regard to the Turkish Question, upon which the author is particularly well informed, we are provided with a searching and legitimate criticism of Allied policy. After browbeating the Turks when they seemed hopelessly defeated, and after their (the Turks') victory over the Greek army, the Western Powers granted them at Lausanne all that they demanded!

The Italian attitude towards the Albanian Question is very clearly and, on the whole, fairly set forth. But here there are also several statements which are not only highly controversial, but also fresh at any rate to the present writer. For instance, it is suggested that instead of retreating towards Salonica in 1915, the defeated Serbian Army retired through Albania, perhaps in the hope of immediately securing an outlet upon the Adriatic. Again we are told that the Serbs are afraid that some day Croatia, Dalmatia, and Montenegro may break away, and that in such a case a descent upon Albania would give the Serbs a coastline of their own. It is difficult to say what may be in the minds of the rulers at Belgrade, but some of these remarks appear a little far-fetched, and it seems a pity that they have been included in a volume which is highly authoritative, important, and valuable.

H. CHARLES WOODS.

CRIME IN INDIA. By Sir Cecil Walsh. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. 287. Benn. 10s. 6d.

Sir Cecil Walsh, K.C., late of the Allahabad High Court, has been tempted by the success of "Indian Village Crimes" to publish a second series of judicial stories under the title of "Crime in India." He assures us that the narrative has not been supplemented by additions from other cases than those described, and the obscurity in which certain of his problems are left fully bears out the statement. It would have been easy to round them off, but by giving the simple or complicated facts the author has presented a more convincing and equally entertaining account. The book makes good reading.

From the exalted level of the High Court it is perhaps natural that a Judge should observe chiefly the defects of those below him, whether judicial or police officers, but having presumably had no opportunity of

learning by direct experience the conditions under which work in the districts and in the villages is done, Sir Cecil Walsh is in some respects handicapped. He comments on the amazing detective capacity of the Indian policeman, and brings out the tendency to corruption which stains the record of the force, but perhaps does less than justice to the patience and integrity with which a multitude of grave offenders are pursued and prosecuted. It is not the case, as a perusal of these pages might suggest, that the average Indian policeman spends his life collecting bribes, while it is undoubtedly true that both parties in every suit or inquiry are seeking an occasion to offer a bribe to him. A greater weakness than corruption, and one on which stress is properly laid, is the desire to fill gaps in the evidence for the prosecution by producing convenient eyewitnesses who were doing nothing in particular in the neighbourhood of the crime but unfortunately neglected to mention the fact until a very late stage in the police inquiry. It appears even doubtful whether the distinguished Judge, to whom evidence and other material was no doubt presented in the High Court in an English translation, realized the value to the lower courts of the vernacular *zimnis* or records of the police investigation. If these are carefully used, a Court of first instance should be able to make good the omissions of both prosecuting and defending advocates—to whose negligence or incompetence these stories bear witness—and to pick out all the points on which the accused should be invited to give his explanation.

Sir Cecil Walsh argues in favour of allowing the prisoners in a criminal case to give evidence, and holds that errors in justice would be avoided by such a provision. If all cases were tried in a High Court, this might be true; but in Courts of magistrates, sometimes even before Sessions Judges, the proceedings may be conducted in so disorderly a manner, and so astonishing a licence be allowed to the Bar, that no prisoner under cross-examination would be safe. There is already a custom, in subordinate Indian courts, of convicting an accused person on the weakness of his defence rather than on the strength of the prosecution, and a prisoner's evidence would often aggravate this evil. An attentive Judge or Magistrate who reads the police record will find the prisoner's story there set out in full, and nothing in the present law prevents him from questioning the prisoner on every point. If presiding officers neglect this obvious duty, they will similarly fail to check an unfair treatment of the accused as witness. It was in order to bring home to the High Courts the reality of what takes place, that a humorous proposal was once made for a complete gramophone record of the lower Court's proceedings: unfortunately the obstacle of language would render such a record unmeaning to many Courts of Appeal.

The best of the stories is "The biter bit," a tragic description of a false rape charge brought by the authorities of an Indian State against a secret service policeman of a neighbouring State, who was investigating a serious crime without the permission of the local officials. The States in question are recognizable by those who know Northern India, and would provide material for equally thrilling tales if executive officers were free to tell what they know. The attitude of the public towards the law in an Indian State is singular, and the authorities do not always adopt a European point of view. The Chief of Police in an important State once asked the present reviewer to recommend an able English policeman who could investigate a manifest case of wife-murder by a nobleman of high position, and *would abandon the inquiry if desired!*

Those who wish to learn something of the tortuous ways of Indian criminals (not only in the villages : Sir Cecil takes several of his stories from the towns) should study these trials. They should not, however, suppose that all Indians are criminals. Faked evidence is lightly regarded, since modern systems of law impose arbitrary rules of evidence which in the opinion of Indians convert legal proceedings into a jest. But serious crimes in India are probably not more numerous, in proportion to population, than those of England ; they are only different in their form.

C. F. S.

INDIEN UNTER BRITISCHEN HERRSCHAFT. By Josef Horowitz. Leipzig : Trübner. 1928.

This is an interesting study of British rule in India by a German scholar, based on an eight years' residence ending in 1915, and on knowledge since then kept up by intercourse and reading. The termination of personal knowledge by the War and subsequent dependence on second-hand information perhaps accounts for a certain lack of sympathy towards the dominion exercised by the British. The historical account of the pre-British period is sound, and the author rightly points out that the culture of the various Courts was entirely divorced from that of the people, among whom great poverty prevailed, while there was luxury in high places. It is acutely observed that the democratic theory of Muhammadanism had always much attraction for the lower classes of Hindus, and that, though there were different ranks in Islamic society, they were nearer akin to feudal differences in other countries than to the caste system of the Hindus : while the Muhammedans of India have always been affected by their connection with the Islamic world outside, though retaining separate characteristics of their own. The examination of the foundation and extension of British rule is adequate, and the author gives full credit to the British for their early realization of the value of the Indian trade, and of the determination of the East India Company's officials to extend their influence by commerce rather than by force, as their European competitors were inclined to do. It is when the author comes to more modern times that he seems to tread on more doubtful ground. He is doubtless justified in pointing out the weakness of the British Government in its inability to mingle by intermarriage and a community

of language with the local races : and he rightly observes that the ties formed in India were weakened by increased facility of communication with Europe. But we think that he exaggerates the bitterness caused by the Mutiny, and that he is certainly wrong in stating that the British Government since the Mutiny has rested on force, and that the loyalty and self-sacrifice of Indians in that struggle has been forgotten. In forming these opinions we suspect that he has relied too much on such books as "The Other Side of the Medal." Any bitter feeling that may remain about the Mutiny and any forgetfulness of the fact that it was suppressed largely through the co-operation of loyal Indians has been due of late years to Nationalist and not to British writings. Similarly, we think that the writer exaggerates the spread of Imperialistic ideas among the British in India at the end of the nineteenth century, and the extent of arrogance towards Indians and Eurasians, though he admits that there has been more equal intercourse in recent years. It seems probable that the author's own experience has been limited to the Intelligentsia of the big towns. As regards the progress of India towards independence or self-government, the author gives an enlightening picture for his German readers. He recognizes that Mr. Gandhi is not the idealistic farmer and weaver of his own description, but a very acute politician, who has realized that a common Indian language and the control of the Muhammedans by the Nationalist leaders are almost essentials for national unity. One may hesitate to agree that the temporary coalition of Muhammedans with Hindus in the Congress was responsible for the Reforms of 1919, but there is much truth in the view that the power of the Indian States has been increased by these Reforms. The author also observes that many of the Indian Chiefs have little sympathy with the development of self-government in British India. They prefer to stress their own connection with the British Crown and desire union with the British Provinces only on the ground of commercial advantage. The author states that Indian Radicals look for revolutions in the Indian States which will put them on a more democratic basis; and he himself, while recognizing that the autocracy of the Chiefs is practically unlimited at present, seems to be more hopeful of the movement for internal reform within the States than the circumstances perhaps warrant.

The author's final summing up of retrospect and outlook is fair, while not over sympathetic to the British standpoint. He admits the advantages of internal peace, incorruptible administration, and impartial justice ; the construction of canals, the simplification of commerce and of loans, and the naval defence of the sea-coast. He questions, however, whether England has really ruled India for its best advantage. He seems unfair in suggesting that there has always been a desire to extend British administration on the Frontier, and to use Indian troops for non-Indian purposes, as recently in China. It would be easy to show that Indian trade interests in China are very real ; perhaps there is some recollection in the author's mind of the use of Indian troops in the Great War. There is more than a suggestion that the British, if they do not foster, take every advantage of communal disputes, and use special races or bodies such as the Sikhs and the Gurkhas as a weapon against the rest of the population.

The author admits that the masses of the people trust Englishmen more than their own countrymen, but suggests that, as Indian officials are no longer partial, the reluctance to use them is not justified. The point, however, seems to be whether the masses will believe such officials to be impartial, however much they are so. The author rightly considers that, however unwilling the British may be to transfer the real power, they have taken steps on a path which

cannot be retraced. He points out that there cannot be the same community of feeling as exists between England and other portions of the Empire; and thinks that the cultural feeling that has been created will not be strong enough to maintain the British connection. He ends by suggesting that a self-governing Dominion within the Empire might give more trouble to Great Britain than an independent United States of India, outside the Empire but friendly to it. It is obvious, however, that the first essentials to an independent United States of India would be some homogeneity of government between the constituent States, and an adequate system of defence against foreign aggression. The difficulty of reaching these essential points is sufficiently clear from the facts set out in this interesting book.

P. R. C.

THE HISTORY OF YABALLAHA III. By James A. Montgomery. Octavo. Pp. 82. Columbia University Press.

This work is one of a series entitled "Records of Civilization, Sources, and Studies," edited under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University. It is the translation of a Syriac document giving the history of Mar Yaballaha III., the Nestorian Patriarch, and his Vicar, Bar Sauma. Though born in or near Pekin, these monks seemed to have belonged to a notable Turkish tribe—the Uighur. After adopting the garb of monkhood, they decided to make the long pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Leaving Pekin and proceeding by way of Koshang, the province of Kansu, Khotan, Kashgar, Khorasan, and Adjerbaijan, then under the dominion of the Mongol Il-Khans, they eventually reached Baghdad. From there they proceeded, via Mosul, through Armenia to the coast of Georgia, probably with the idea of taking ship to the Holy Land; but finding the route to Jerusalem cut off, they were compelled to retrace their steps to Baghdad.

The above itinerary gives an idea of the immense distances covered by the intrepid Nestorian priests of those days.

Yaballaha was now created Metropolitan and Bar Sauma was made Visitator-General by the Catholics of Baghdad, Mar Denha. They remained some time in Mesopotamia, and on the death of Mar Denha, Yaballaha was created Patriarch in his stead in A.D. 1281. The Nestorians at this time were dependent upon the goodwill of the Mongol Il-Khans, and the history goes on to describe their difficulties under Ahmad, the son of Hulagu, who was a convert to Islam. Ahmad, however, was defeated and slain in battle by his nephew Argon, who became Khan in A.D. 1284. This Mongol king was strongly in favour of the Christians. He despatched Bar Sauma on a mission to Pope Innocent IV. with the object of enlisting the aid of Christianity against the Saracens in the Holy Land. The history gives an account of Bar Sauma's mission and his visits to Byzantium, Rome, to the French king, Philip IV., and to the English king, Edward I., who was then in his province of Aquitaine-Gascony. Bar Sauma was

received with favour, but no practical result seems to have come of his mission.

The story ends with a description, moving in its simple eloquence, of the storm which burst on the community when the Muslim hosts prevailed, and the torch of Christianity was finally extinguished in the dominion of the Il-Khans. As the Editor remarks in his preface, this story marks an interesting chapter in the history of the intercourse between the Orient and Occident. The great doctrinal schisms which rent the Byzantine Church, commencing with the Nestorian controversy in the fourth century, had important indirect consequences, for it added to the distracted condition of the Empire, and thus contributed to its downfall; while the endeavour to stamp out the Nestorian heresy led to the migration of that community to Persia. Here it established itself, and, becoming orientalized, formed for some five centuries a Christian community in the territory of Islam. The intrepid missionaries of this sect ranged throughout Asia, and even as far back as about A.D. 600 had established themselves in China, as the celebrated Nestorian monument in Hsi-en-fu testifies; while Marco Polo, during his famous journey to Cathay some hundred years later, found their churches established throughout the whole route from Baghdad to Pekin. It was thus through the Nestorians that the Mongols were brought into contact with Christianity, and the fact that some of their Khans, including Hulagu himself, had Christian wives, shows that at first they were not hostile to the Christians.

Had Western Christendom formed an alliance with the Il-Khan Argon against the Arabs, it is possible that Pope Innocent IV.'s dream of converting the Mongols to Christianity might have been realized, so far as regards Western Asia at all events. But it was not to be. The Mongols embraced Islam, and the scattered Nestorian communities throughout Eastern Asia were engulfed by the Moslem hosts and disappeared, so that their very name was almost forgotten, while the remnant that existed in Mesopotamia were almost exterminated during Timur-lane's invasion at the end of the fourteenth century.

This little book shows the part they played in relation to the Western Mongols, but long before this they had shown their activity by the conversion of Arab tribes prior to the birth of Muhammed; while later, through their zeal for learning, they acted as a link between Hellenism and Islam.

In his introduction the author gives a brief résumé of the people and events leading up to the period with which the history of Yaballaha deals. In addition, there are copious notes and an index.

F. F. R.

A LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ARABS. By Reynold A. Nicholson. Second Edition. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 506; one illustration. Cambridge University Press. 1930. 21s.

Professor Nicholson's history of Arabic literature was first issued in 1907; the skill and felicity with which he has handled his subject are so generally recognized that the demand for it naturally continues. The new edition is in the main a fresh impression from the original plates, but some slight alterations have been introduced, and a new bibliography has been appended. The years which have elapsed since its first appearance have been fruitful in the production of new texts, and the output shows signs of increasing rather than diminishing; the first volume of a "Bibliotheca Islamica," undertaken by the German Oriental Society, bears date 1929; a Corpus of Arabic medical writers and another of metaphysicians were announced at the Congress of 1928; the Cairene Library has many series in hand, Haiderabad is similarly occupied, Damascus contributes liberally, and the like is true of French Africa and other Arabic-speaking and Islamic countries. Hence the historian of literature, who aspires to be something more than a bibliographer, has the difficult task of selecting authors and works of primary importance, for which only he can find room, out of a mass wherein quantity and industry are more conspicuous than originality and progress. Since the compositions which have had the greatest influence and popularity attracted the attention of editors before others, it is unlikely that Professor Nicholson's selection would have been materially altered had he taken the opportunity to rewrite his work. We can only congratulate him on its well-earned success.

D. S. M.

THE HEROINES OF ANCIENT PERSIA : STORIES RETOLD FROM THE SHĀHNĀMA OF FIRDAUSI. By Bapsy Pavry, M.A. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. x+111; fourteen illustrations. Cambridge University Press. 1930. 15s.

It is appropriate that Miss Pavry, descended from the Persian stock of old Iran and a follower of the tenets of Zoroaster, should retell these stories from Persia's great epic poem, the Shāhnāma.

The legends have been placed before English readers more than once, but hitherto the exploits of kings and heroes have been narrated, and the part played by the women hardly mentioned. Miss Pavry alters this, and instead of mighty Rustum, the Persian Hercules, filling the canvas, we have a portrait of his deserted wife Tahmina, and even though he frees Bizhan from durance vile, yet it is the latter's faithful wife Manizha who holds our attention. The stories are told with considerable charm, and the beautiful illustrations accompanying them add much to the value of the book, which brought back to the remembrance of the reviewer an expedition to Tus, the home of the Firdausi. The sixteen-mile ride from Meshed, the capital of Khorasan, was made on a spring day across the fertile plain, green with young crops, and bounded by mountain ranges capped with snow. But sadly little remained of the parent city of Meshed, once renowned throughout Asia for its poets, astronomers and philosophers. There were only the broken-down walls, the fragments of the citadel, and a ruined shrine, and one remembered that it had been sacked in the thirteenth century by Chinghiz Khan and his Mongol hordes, who decimated the inhabitants. The party approached the city entrance by a camel-backed bridge, badly in need of repair, but it was here that the corpse of the "Homer of Persia" was carried out for burial and passed the camels bearing the long-delayed reward from Mahmud of Ghazna.

It is related that Firdausi spent more than a quarter of a century in composing the great epic which tells the legendary history of Persia from the earliest times to the Arab conquest, and which the ordinary Persian regards as authentic history. Mahmud of Ghazna's Vizier, who befriended the poet, brought the great work to his master's notice, but his enemies persuaded the monarch that the poem was unorthodox, and Firdausi was given so meagre a reward that he flung it away in scorn.

His friend the Vizier never forgot him, and years later had an opportunity of quoting a spirited couplet from the poem to Mahmud, who was much impressed and asked the name of the author. He then repented of his former meanness, and sent the large sum of sixty thousand *dinars*, one for each couplet of the great epic, but the gift, alas, arrived too late! There is an inscription in the ruined shrine at Tus, "The world lasts but for an hour," and the words seemed an appropriate comment on the city, once so famous.

ELLA C. SYKES.

THE HANDBOOK OF PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN. Edited by Harry Charles Luke, C.M.G., B.Litt., M.A., and Edward Keith-Roach, O.B.E. Second Edition. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xii + 505. Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 16s.

The first edition of this book appeared in 1922 under the title of "The Handbook of Palestine." The present edition has been considerably enlarged to some 450 pages, and includes a part on Trans-Jordan. There are introductions by Sir John Chancellor, High Commissioner, and by Sir Herbert Samuel, late High Commissioner, and a coloured frontispiece from a painting by Mrs. P. A. F. Stephenson.

As Sir Herbert Samuel puts it in his introduction to the first edition, "the distinguishing characteristic of Palestine is diversity." And with such a large field to cover with diversity of religions, civilizations, climate and physical characteristics, it is not easy to compress so much exceptionally interesting matter into so small a space. The editors are eminently fitted for their task. Mr. Luke has already edited the Cyprus Handbook, and both he and Mr. Keith-Roach have been associated with the administration of Palestine for a considerable period. They are to be congratulated on their achievement, for they have compiled a book which is not only good reading but is a perfect mine of information on the eleven sections into which it is divided.

The book begins with a short account of the geography, scenery and history of the country. The history is sketched as far as to include mention of the riots of 1929. Next follows a chapter on peoples and religions, and here Mr. Luke can speak with particular authority. The different Patriarchates and Churches are described, together with their ritual, in which the Orthodox Church uses the language of the gospels, the Syrian Church the language of Christ's familiar speech (Aramaic), and the Coptic Church the language of the Pharaohs. There is an interesting account of the Jews, Orthodox, Zionist, and Yemenite; and of the Samaritans, that curious survival of ancient Israel, who number now less than 200 persons.

Passing to the archaeological section, we note the Jerusalem madrassas, hostels and colleges built between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries; Neoplatonism continuing to be taught in Gaza after Justinian had closed the pagan schools of Athens in 529; the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem being the oldest Christian Church in the world still in use; recent excavations in Jerusalem on Ophel, the site of the city of David, revealing the existence of an important Byzantine centre; the extensive excavations at Megiddo,

resulting in the discovery of a well-planned town, much of it apparently built by the Phœnician masons of King Solomon ; and the murex from which the Phœnicians extracted the famous Tyrian purple, still existing in the river Kishon, near Haifa. This chapter is accompanied by a bibliography of reports and excavations.

There is a very complete chapter on communications and information to tourists ; routes from Europe ; itineraries in the country by rail and car (alas ! the pack-mule has disappeared for ever) ; lists of hotels, and a short guide to Jerusalem.

The section on the government and administration contains information on customs, immigration, education, agriculture, land tenure, forestry and town planning. It is to be observed that by far the largest revenue from export duty is derived from oranges, which yielded £297,700 in the year before the war, and £640,678 in 1928 ; that for the period 1920-1928, 99,959 immigrants, of whom 94,557 were Jews, settled in Palestine, but that in 1928, while 2,178 Jews entered, 2,168 left the country ; and that town-planning areas have been declared in nine centres besides Jerusalem.

An account is given of the Palestine Electric Corporation, which exploits the power resources of the Jordan basin to supply Palestine with electric energy ; of the concession granted in 1929 by the Governments of Palestine and Trans-Jordan to Messrs. Novomeysky and Tulloch for procuring bromides and other salts from the Dead Sea ; and of the commencement of the new harbour works at Haifa.

To conclude Part I. there is an account of the mammalia, reptilia, fishes and insects of the country. Poisonous snakes are quoted as of comparatively rare occurrence, but against this troops who were stationed in the Jordan Valley during the war will remember many cases of snake bites. It is interesting to observe that several species amongst the chief marketed fishes have migrated from the Red Sea via the Suez Canal. That Central African fishes are to be found in the Jordan system is not open to so obvious an explanation.

Part II. is devoted to Trans-Jordan, which is administered by the Amir Abdallah under the general direction of the High Commissioner for Palestine as representing the Mandatory Power. This country teems with archaeological interest : Madaba, where the late Metropolitan of Nazareth, Kleopas, discovered the famous mosaic map which gives the earliest pictorial representation of Jerusalem ; the fortresses Kerak and Montreal (Shobek), of crusading memories, and Ajlun garrisoned by the other side ; Petra, the Nabatæan capital and customs station, on the trade route from the East ; and Jerash, the ancient Selucid city of Gerasa, perhaps the most important of the Decapolis after Damascus, developed by the Romans in the second century not only as an outpost of the empire against desert raids, but as a centre of commerce and general culture. The editors note the interesting fact that Christianity has survived amongst some of the semi-nomadic tribes of Trans-Jordan, who are indistinguishable in appearance and mode of life from their fellow-tribesmen. Their churches are tents, and their priests are taken from the tribes.

There are three appendices, of which Appendix I. gives the text of the Mandate for Palestine. There is also a serviceable index and a good map, scale, 1 : 750,000, which perhaps could with advantage have been mounted on linen.

It is surprising that so few errors in technical information can be discovered, but it is worthy of note that the official donum is still given on p. 194 as 919 square metres, though it has been standardized at 1,000 square metres since the issue of the first edition. At the beginning of the book no

explanation is given of the Arabic and Hebrew phonetic systems. A section on transliteration is inserted, rather oddly, at p. 345, in the middle of the volume, and states that the Government of Palestine has "adopted the R.G.S. II. system, the principles of which are given below." If the reader infers that the same system has been adopted in the Handbook under review, he will be led into a variety of misrepresentations. It is not, in fact, easy to discern that any known system has been consistently applied, but the editors and contributors have been almost unanimous in the omission of necessary marks of quantity on the vowels.

J. Y.

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. FINN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 256. Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 1930. 6s.

In the "Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn" Palestine is viewed from a very different angle from which that country has been viewed by Mr. Holmes.

Mrs. Finn at the advanced age of eighty-eight was so admirably in possession of her faculties that she was able to dictate these reminiscences of her earliest days, in particular of Palestine. Mrs. Finn was intimately associated with the Holy Land all her life both as the daughter of a Protestant clergyman, who was a great Hebrew scholar and authority, largely responsible for the building of the first English Church in Jerusalem, and later as the wife of a distinguished British Consul for Jerusalem and Palestine.

From the first Mrs. Finn was brought up in an atmosphere of the deepest sympathy with the Jewish race and in the profound conviction that from biblical prophecy the restoration of the Jews to Palestine was a matter of necessity and of inevitable eventual fulfilment.

She herself copied for her father the letter which Lord Ashley had prepared for Lord Palmerston setting forth a scheme for the settlement of the Jews in agriculture in the Holy Land. In these days of the problems resulting from the Balfour Declaration of 1917 this fact is of no little interest.

Mrs. Finn's reminiscences are well worth reading, though they throw no direct light on the Palestine of today apart from her deep sympathy with Zionism to which reference has already been made.

The account of the nine weeks' journey of Mr. and Mrs. Finn from England to Palestine in 1846 is given in great detail and is in marked contrast to the rapidity and comfort with which that journey can be accomplished today.

In those early days the Jews in Palestine were in very poor case and used to come in great numbers to the British Consul, under whose protection they were placed, for every kind of help. The persecution of the poor-class Jews in Palestine in the middle of the nineteenth century was very severe, more particularly at the hands of their own Rabbis, who excommunicated them for the slightest infringement of the Rabbinical Law.

Mrs. Finn's account of the repercussion upon Palestine of the Crimean War is most interesting. The allied rejoicings over the fall of Sevastopol is graphically described, and more particularly the joy of the Jews over the defeat of their hated persecutors in Russia.

To Mrs. Finn her Christianity is a living faith sufficiently broad and tolerant to embrace a deep sympathy for the hard lot of the unfortunate Jews, with whom she came into constant contact, and a wide understanding of the continuity of their race and faith from the days of Old Testament history and of their longings for the fulfilment of their cherished ideals.

Speaking of the site of the Temple, she remarks that "it was impossible to

look thus upon the present and to remember the past without looking forward to the future, in full belief that all the promises would be equally literally fulfilled."

It is refreshing to turn from the prejudice, intolerance, superficiality, and cynical "faith" (?) of Mr. Holmes in his survey of Zionism to the reminiscences of Mrs. Finn.

IN PALESTINE TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW. By John Holmes. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xvi+271. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 10s.

Mr. John Haynes Holmes has given us an interesting, but necessarily superficial survey of Zionism as a result of a recent visit of but three weeks' duration to the Holy Land under Jewish tutelage.

Though professedly a Christian clergyman, "if anything a Protestant," Mr. Holmes proceeded to Palestine as a convinced Zionist with the bitterest prejudice against Islam as "a savage religion," with no enthusiasm for the faith of which he is a minister, and with the profound conviction that the Jews possess the highest culture and the greatest religion the world has ever known and are a force "which must be preserved for the intellectual power it embodies, the spiritual values it conserves, the vast prophetic insight and vision it can contribute to mankind."

To this American clergyman the Arabs are primitive barbarians, possessing a savage faith, the Christ is merely the Nazarene (an Islamic term of reproach!), and is "Jesus the greatest of Jewish prophets" who was born not in Bethlehem but in Nazareth!

To the author, none of the local associations of Palestine sacred to Moslem or Christian make any appeal, but, on the contrary, every Jewish association appears to present the greatest interest and to make an appeal that is irresistible.

The Reverend John Holmes appears to be "plus Juif que les Juifs"!

We recommend those who desire to obtain an unbiased interpretation of Palestinian problems today not to waste their time over this book. Those who are already acquainted with Palestine and the vexed and difficult problems confronting the Mandatory Power will find much that is arresting in this able Zionist apologia by one who is apparently agnostic in the doctrinal sense, though profoundly convinced that from the Race of Israel alone can come the redemption of a very evil world.

Mr. Holmes is a Socialist in his political sympathies and an ardent anti-imperialist.

His knowledge of our Indian Empire is that acquired by obvious hearsay, and he is oblivious of the fact that peace, prosperity, and justice have always followed the British flag.

His opinion of the late Lord Balfour, whose name is so irrevocably associated with the Zionist experiment, is startling. According to the author "Bloody Balfour (*sic!*) is the distinguished English nobleman who never had an unselfish emotion in his life and never anywhere served any great humanitarian cause, as consistently cynical in his statesmanship as agnostic in his philosophy."

Mr. Holmes grapples fearlessly with all the problems met with in Palestine, administrative, ethical, and religious, and settles them all according to the prejudices and preconceived ideas formed before he left the U.S.A. upon his three weeks' tour of the Holy Land.

With the British Administration he has no sympathy. "Injustice to the

Jews is an all too frequent feature of British administration in Palestine today. . . . The attitude of the British Administration towards Zionism today is at the best distrustful and unsympathetic, at the worst contemptuous and derisive." . . .

Probably Mr. Holmes has never heard of the Supreme Moslem Council in Palestine, nor does he appear to have met any members of the most distinguished Moslem family in Palestine—that of the Hussaini, one member of which is His Eminence the Grand Mufti and another the Secretary of the Council, both of whom have recently been in this country in order to urge charges against the British Administration of pro-Zionist prejudice and unfairness in its interpretation of the terms of the Mandate similar to the pro-Arab bias of which Mr. Holmes, in his manifestly superficial acquaintance with Palestine, the Holy Land not only of the Jewish but also of the Christian and Moslem faiths, accuses the unfortunate British officials as quoted above.

That such criticisms should be made by moderate men on both the Zionist and the Moslem sides is eloquent testimony of the scrupulous fairness of British administration in Palestine.

The author's anti-Imperialistic views lead him to make the naive criticism that the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine is a policy only incidental to our wider interests connected with and arising out of our occupation of the Holy Land. In his contention that Zionism should be our chief if not our sole object as the Mandatory Power in Palestine, Mr. Holmes reveals at once his anti-Arab prejudice and his ignorance of our primary duties and responsibilities in governing equitably for the greatest good of the greatest number.

In conclusion, Mr. Holmes tells us that the world has "long been and is still waiting for a people who will be stricken and not strike back, who will be hurt and yet forgive, who will seek conquest through love and not through force."

The solution is apparently to be found in the Jewish Race, presumably chastened, repentant, and clothed with these attributes of the Nazarene and "greatest of Jewish Prophets" whom they put to death nearly two thousand years ago in the very land from which so many think they were scattered for this very reason. To this land they are now being allowed to return under the ægis of Zionism and under the protection of the greatest Christian and Moslem Power in the world.

The author points out correctly and forcibly that Zionism is at present made possible only by the presence of British bayonets and in such a form can never flourish or take permanent root in Palestinian soil. The happy solution will be, seemingly, that Jew and Moslem will in time unite against an alien Government as against a common foe and in this common aim they will find an end to their mutual dislike and distrust and settle down in the Utopia so beloved and dreamed of by this idealistic author.

The real crux of the problem is not touched upon because not understood by an author so completely out of sympathy with the Arab Race and all faiths other than that of the children of Israel.

The real fear of the Arab is that with the steady influx of Jews into their country they will be steadily forced out of their country and their possessions, not by the sword but by the admittedly intellectual and cultural superiority and greater business acumen of the Jews.

Arabs, both Christian and Moslem, often told us in Palestine in 1918 that if Zionism were to become definitely an integral part of British policy in Palestine they had better pack up at once and make tracks across the Jordan,

as they were sure to be pushed out in the course of time by the Jewish influx. This fear has been accentuated during the past ten years, and books of such a highly coloured and prejudiced description as this book of Mr. Holmes will do little to alleviate this fear, for in it he tells the world that "The Arabs need have no fear that the logic of Zionism is their expulsion from their soil, and thus from the borders of their native land." . . . Nevertheless in the same chapter he states that "Zion is Palestine—Palestine taken over again by her children and built at last into the substance of their dreams," and he goes on to describe the "thousands of eager toilers who, with cruel labour and slow but sure success, like an army of invaders, push steadily forward their reconquest of this ancient soil."

Altogether this is an interesting and in some ways an arresting book, but one calculated rather to accentuate than to alleviate the acute problems to be faced by the Mandatory Power in its endeavour to carry out the terms of the Balfour Declaration without wounding the susceptibilities either of Jew or Moslem.

We would recommend Mr. Holmes in future to study such a subject more deeply and sympathetically from every possible angle before embarking on an attempt to put before the world a work which can possibly be described as in any sense authoritative.

Mr. Holmes would have found better material for his book on Palestine by attending the addresses given recently in London by Dr. Weissmann and Jemal Bey al Hussaini setting forth with great moderation and fairness the case both for Zionist Jew and for Moslem and Christian Arab in Palestine.

From such leaders on both sides will be found a solution to this extremely difficult problem rather than from such a highly coloured, idealistic, and prejudiced survey as Mr. Holmes has given us in his "Palestine To-day and To-morrow."

If the moderate leaders of both sides can but control their "wild men" and extremists—both Jew and Arab—the path of our able, unprejudiced, and admirable administrators in Palestine will be made infinitely more smooth.

RED STAR IN SAMARKAND. By Anna Louise Strong. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6. Pp. 329.
Williams and Norgate.

Since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 foreign visitors have been rigorously excluded from Russian Central Asia, and only vague reports have reached the outer world regarding the progress made by the Soviet Government in their experiment of carrying social revolution into the heart of Asia. This narrative by an impartial observer who succeeded in overcoming all obstacles and studying the new conditions on the spot has therefore a very special interest.

Miss Strong is an American lady who had previous experience of Soviet Russia on famine relief work in 1921-22. The prohibition against foreign visitors was overcome by obtaining an invitation from a women's organization to attend a conference of Central Asian women. The mere fact of such a conference being held is proof that a remarkable transformation is taking place. The authoress naturally evinces special interest in the share taken by women in the new order of things, and deals at length with the struggle for emancipation inaugurated by active spirits among themselves, and energetically maintained in spite of opposition and persecution even to death by the Mullahs and by their scandalized and conservative menfolk. Not only is the

discarding of the veil on the increase, but women participate largely in the conduct of public affairs, and occupy prominent posts in the Government.

The revolution of 1917 in European Russia, where the events of the war had brought smouldering discontent to the point of bursting into flame, was an easy matter compared with the task of effecting a similar upheaval in Central Asia. There the existing local system was entrenched by centuries of custom, sanctified by the faith and laws of Islam, and guarded by all the prejudice and bigotry of backward Muhammadan peoples. It is no exaggeration to write that "the social revolution that the Soviet Government seek to bring about requires nothing less than a change in the soul of Asia." Bolshevism knows no compromise, whatever those may think who allow themselves to be deluded by Soviet pledges; and the old régime in Central Asia is to be extirpated. The age-long rule of Islam is not giving way without a struggle.

"In the struggle of Ancient Asia against new laws and customs, strength counts, but shrewdness more." The opposition by force culminated in the Basmach revolt—the holy war against the Reds, led by the romantic brigand chief Ibrahim, with whom was doubtfully associated Enver Pasha, till the latter was killed in a skirmish with a Bolshevik patrol. Having crushed armed revolt, the Soviet have the more difficult task of combating insidious attempts by the former ruling classes to perpetuate their power through the new organization, Mullahs and former officials using their influence with the people to get themselves elected to positions of authority, and using those positions for the old purposes of oppression and personal advantage.

Comparing the methods of the Bolsheviks with those of the former régime under the Czar and of the British in India, the writer argues that the Soviet method in Central Asia depends for success upon gaining the whole-hearted co-operation of the mass of the people; for "it is not the old easy method of accepting the customs of the country and dealing with its princes, but the venturesome tactics of invading its farthest villages with organization and propaganda, exalting the low and bringing down the high"; and again, "They expect to base their own continued rule, not on the prestige of the European, but on the gratitude and material interest of the farm hand."

Uzbekistan, with its capital at Samarkand, is the most central and accessible of the Soviet republics into which Turkestan was reorganized in 1924, and the one in which the greatest progress has been made towards the realization of the Communist ideals. It is significant that farther afield the Soviet have had to hold their hand. In the Kirghiz and Tajik Republics at the mere threat of nationalization thousands of cattle and sheep were driven across the frontier into China or Afghanistan.

Uzbekistan also comprises the cities of Tashkent and Bokhara. At Tashkent the writer attended the Women's Conference, and studied the working of the Economic Council for Central Asia, the agency controlling industry and regulating the interests of the various republics. Under the Economic Council are the Water Department of Central Asia; the Cotton Committee; the State steamship lines; the Silk Committee; the Central Asian coal supply, grain supply, and health resorts. The cotton industry is by far the most important, and great efforts are being made to resuscitate it from the disastrous effects of the revolution. The Cotton Committee is described as a great "Trust," functioning like capitalist trusts everywhere; "one of the truly modern business organizations of the world." The industry has undergone thorough "rationalization," the number of mills being greatly reduced in the process.

From Tashkent the writer passed to Samarkand, now the seat of government of the Uzbeg Republic, and to Bokhara. She describes the startling effects of the intrusion of the new power into these ancient places, revolutionizing the life and upsetting the customs that have gone on unchanged for so many centuries. In Samarkand she attended a session of the Central Executive Committee of the Uzbeg Republic. The system of administration has in some respects a parallel in the dyarchy of an Indian province ; railways, posts, army, foreign trade, and ultimate economy being directed from Moscow, while the Executive Committee controls education, health, agriculture, justice, local trade, and industry. The President of the Committee, an Uzbeg, formerly a farm labourer, is described as an attractive personality, taking a paternal interest in the welfare of the people, and trusted and beloved by them in return.

In Bokhara Mrs. Strong attended a "gusar" or street meeting, the primary unit of the system of government devised to end the rule of the Mullahs, and to educate the labouring classes to govern. The householders of the gusar area meet and informally discuss measures for the good of their neighbourhood.

The guiding principle in every branch of the organization is the promotion of the social revolution. A chapter entitled "Dramatizing Justice" describes how the judicial system is made an agency of the revolution. The gravest offences are such as tend to thwart or discredit the revolution. Trials for such offences are made as spectacular as possible. "Show trials are held the court's duty as revolutionary agents."

To what extent the writer's favourable impressions are due to the Soviet's well-known policy of shepherding foreign visitors no one can tell. The incidents she relates and the description in the concluding pages of the effect of modern inventions upon the life of Central Asia leave no doubt that there has been a great awakening. "No more are the centuries changeless. No more does conquest come by the camel routes of the East. The Red Star of the West is symbol of airplanes and factories in the city where once ruled Tamerlane." In these final words the author expresses the conviction that here is no passing phase in the history of an unchanging East.

The writer speaks of Uzbegs "known also as Sarts." This must not be taken as implying that these are alternative names for the same people. The designation Sart, though obscure, is believed to have originated as a term of contempt by the nomad tribesmen for the settled traders of the towns.

The book is attractively written, with plenty of incident and narrative, and some good illustrations.

J. K. T.

THE HERO OF HERAT and THE JUDGEMENT OF THE SWORD. By Maud Diver. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Pp. xiii+322; ix+591. Maps. John Murray. 3s. 6d.

In September, 1912, Maud Diver published two remarkable studies of the First Afghan War, of its heroes and its failures. These studies were remarkable for the extraordinarily intimate knowledge that the authoress had acquired of the period and its personalities, and what the actors concerned really thought. Originally conceived as a life of Eldred Pottinger, they outran the constable in length, and therefore came out published by Constable and Co. in two separate romances, "The Hero of Herat" and "The Judgement of the Sword." I have said romance advisedly, because though no web of love is made to sweeten the history, as in Sir Mortimer Durand's "Nadir Shah," nevertheless the gift of striking old dead strings to melody that Mrs. Diver possesses has made these books glisten with living drama and person-

ality. It is as much to the credit of the reading public as to the authoress that the books should have been reprinted again and again in the first years after their appearance. In 1924 John Murray published them again in the Frontier edition. And now in 1930 a fresh edition has appeared. It is not too much to say that no one official or otherwise who is connected with Afghanistan and the frontier of India will ever get elsewhere so valuable an impression of the history of our first connection with that land of drama and tragedy as these two books—biography, drama, realization, call them what you will—will give them. Macnaghten the envoy, courteous, kindly, ambitious, office bred, entirely unfit to face bare facts and strong men. Pottinger, the wise and prompt, one of the frontiersmen that we are lucky enough to throw up as we need them. Yar Muhammad, Wazir to Kamran of Herat, the most typical of the bad type of Afghan; George Broadfoot, always on the spot; the aged, ailing Elphinstone; Colin Mackenzie, daring, debonair, and responsible; Sikander Burnes, capable but unstable, eating his heart out, while Muhammadan ladies skipped over the housetops to make life a little more venturesome—they and the tragedy and the glory are all told as it is worth telling. As Flora Annie Steel told of Delhi, so Maud Diver tells of Kabul.

My own chance connection with the original publication is not uninteresting. I was a member of the General Staff at Army Headquarters in India in 1910 and 1911, and I was sitting drowsily over the fire in my office in Simla one afternoon soon after Christmas, snow whirling heavier than usual outside, when a chappassi brought in a particularly heavy and boresome-looking file. I glanced at it with some indifference, when suddenly I found something of interest, and I began to take notice. Among the papers near the top was a letter, in a pinny, old-fashioned hand, from George McGregor, Political Officer with Sale at Jelalabad in 1842. He wrote that "there seemed to be a mess up, for an officer of Elphinstone's brigade had ridden in on a dying pony too weary yet to tell his tale." It was, of course, Dr. Brydon, the only immediate survivor, though a few were prisoners. Then I dived deep, and half the ghosts in India walked out into my room. Lady Sale in Kabul writing to her husband to the effect that "that rotten ass McNaghten had just had his throat cut, and if the old fools in the cantonment did not take care the same would happen to them all," etc. Henry Lawrence at Peshawar writes to McGregor of the prospects of relief and the state of demoralization of the Sepoy regiments, George Lawrence writes from captivity, and so forth. That winter's afternoon took on a new colour of romance amid the faded pages, and the occasion of it lay on the top of the file—a letter from Mrs. Diver to the Imperial Records at Calcutta asking for copies of some of the correspondence, on which the Records had asked Army Headquarters if there was any objection, and this request had come to me for answer. So it is thus that I know how accurate are Mrs. Diver's sources. The gift of making the story live is her own. One fault only may be remarked on, and that is that the higher history comes too much from the rather unctuous Kaye. Lord Auckland and Sir John Hobhouse were playing a long-sighted game. Had they selected better men as their agents and had the British-Indian army not been so hopelessly ill-fitted for its job, the whole history of modern Central Asia might have been very different. An army system that allows one officer to take forty servants into the field, or that has a staff which does not control its departments, and that takes its intelligence from its politicals alone, is not the machine with which to start a Central Asian enterprise.

GEORGE MACMUNN.

THE CHALLENGE OF CENTRAL ASIA. By Mildred Cable, F. Houghton, R. Kilgour, A. McLeish, R. W. Sturt, and Olive Wyon. Pp. iv + 136. 10 x 6*½*. World Dominion Press. 3s. 6d.

This book, published in the interests of certain missionary societies, endeavours to give, in 130 pages, a general account of Central Asia, and for this reason much condensation has been necessary.

The book is pleasantly written, but it cannot be regarded as, and probably is not intended to be, a serious contribution to the literature of its subject. The many mistakes are blemishes which greatly mar the book—mistakes, too, both of fact and of inference.

For example, the description of recent events in Mongolia, and present conditions there, are given in quite false colours. The young Mongols, both Burials and others, now educated at the Vostosni Institute in St. Peterburgh, have had a wholly evil and subversive influence : and so far as missionary effort and the peace of Asia are concerned, Mongolia of today is not a beneficial factor. As a corrective to these views the article by Mr. Larsen in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1930, on the Lamas of Mongolia, may be read as an interesting and reliable account of what the country was before the red star of Bolshevism rose over it.

In this book there is a naïveté, bordering on the ridiculous, on the accounts of Soviet activities in Russian Turkestan, which is a more convenient, comprehensive, and indeed better-known term, than the high-sounding names of the modern paper republics.

The authors say that Soviet rule in Central Asia is characterized by energy, intelligence, and industry (page 36), and it is lamentable that a missionary work should give currency to such a statement. The condition of once flourishing towns is now deplorable, and the agricultural state is thoroughly bad. Only 20 per cent. of the soil is under cultivation, compared with that during the anti-Bolshevist era. Surely the writers have heard of the famine in Semirechia, due, as were similar famines in European Russia, to Bolshevik muddle?

There are a few small geographical errors which careful revision might have avoided. For instance (page 43), none of the cities of Sinkiang, Yarkand excepted, are situated on the Yarkand or Tarim river.

Also the "great" oasis of Hami (page 43) is one of the smallest in the country. The Manas river, same page, can hardly be described as in the north-east, and it is a pity to call the new city of Kashgar "Hancheng," as it is known but seldom by that name, and postally it is called Shulé.

The description of the people on page 46 is very slight, and although space was limited, that is no excuse for limiting the Kirghiz to an area of some 30 miles between Aksu and Uch Turfan, where, in fact, none exist. On page 34 the meaning of the word "Kipchak" is given as "space or emptiness." Shaw, who seldom errs, says in his dictionary that it is a proper name.

In the descriptions of Kansu we should have liked to hear more about the destructive rebellion there, which is not fully narrated on page 92, yet is almost unknown in this country. At the same time, the notes on Kansu in Chapter III. require modification. They read too well, and one wishes it were so.

The writers of this book are curiously severe on the lamas of Tibet ; not, indeed, that anyone wants to gloss over their defects, but the highly coloured and unsympathetic descriptions on pages 68 and 69 are an overstatement, and would well have been more moderately written.

The account of General Yang on page 45 is wrong, as there was no

smouldering hatred, and it did not flare up. The poor man was murdered by an ambitious minister. Yang, of course, was an Oriental despot, but according to his lights he was just and generous, and preserved his country from war and rebellion when surrounded by belligerents.

It seems a pity to ignore the Catholic missions, who are not even included in the list on page 113. This omission does not show the historical spirit, and many travellers—*e.g.*, Church, Carruthers, and Etherton—have testified to the kindly hospitality of the priests at Kulja and Manas. In blaming the missionaries of the early ages for lack of enterprise, the writers seem to show a want of proportion. Central Asia was somewhat disturbed in the past, as well as in the present; and China has always been unfortunately an uncertain missionary field.

It is regrettable that this book incurs so much criticism, but it compares, to be frank, very poorly with many other missionary works, and is hardly worthy of its authors, especially of Miss Cable, whose previous book was so pleasant. There are, however, several very shrewd remarks. For instance, in the preface the "Survey Editor" points out how our policy of buffer states has driven them into the arms of Russia. The fault is ours, not theirs. Buffers, whether political or mechanical, require attention. The editor lays stress on the Soviet menace.

On page 86 it is wisely said that modern movements are making Tibet more exclusive, but what is meant by describing Central Asia as the "Champs de Mars" of the nations?

The bibliography on page 119 includes many books of secondary value, yet omits others of importance.

L'ŒUVRE DE SVEN HEDIN ET L'OROGRAPHIE DU TIBET. By Emmanuel de Margerie, correspondant de l'Institut, Directeur du Service de la Carte géologique d'Alsace et de Lorraine. Président de la Section. Extrait du Bulletin de la Section Géographique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1928. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 139.

This is a detailed review of the colossal work written by Sven Hedin in English entitled "Southern Tibet. Discoveries in Former Times Compared with My Own Researches in 1906-1908."

The reviewer is the well-known French geographer, M. Emmanuel de Margerie, who was this year awarded the Victoria Medal by the Royal Geographical Society. It is a purely geographical review, and deals very largely with cartography.

The necessity for some such condensation of Dr. Sven Hedin's work is manifest from the fact that M. de Margerie is dealing with nine volumes, 3,771 pages, 599 plates, and two portfolios containing 98 maps and 500 plates. Few of us have leisure to study such a vast work, and this critical résumé by this well-qualified geographer, who frequently brings out points omitted by Sven Hedin, provides a most useful and necessary footnote and index to Sven Hedin's vast work.

The author touches upon Sven Hedin's uncalled-for anti-ally activities during the war, but does not allow these to influence him in his appreciation of Sven Hedin's work.

The books are taken volume by volume, and subjected to a well-informed and detailed criticism and analysis. The author, after minor criticisms of the illustrations, which he finds too numerous and too monotonous, has nothing but praise for Sven Hedin as an accomplished landscape painter.

Sven Hedin has performed a very useful work in collecting and reviewing the mapping of Central Asia from A.D. 1490 onwards. The object of this is to lead up to an emphasis on Sven Hedin's own work. This does not detract from the usefulness of this historical survey of the cartography of this region; moreover, the title of Sven Hedin's book does not lead the reader to expect an excess of modesty on his part.

Sven Hedin has reproduced many old maps; he has also unfortunately made some up from Chinese records with the appearance of old Chinese mapping, and these are severely criticized by the author, who rightly objects to such things as being both unscientific and misleading.

It is interesting to note that the name "Trans-Himalaya," about which a controversy arose when it was proposed by Sven Hedin for the range of mountains north of the Himalayas, was first used by Godwin-Austen in 1884.

The question of the overflow from Manasrowa Lake into the Rakas Tal is mentioned. In this connection it is noteworthy that in September, 1929, Mr. E. B. Wakefield found the water actually overflowing from the upper lake after recent rain.

Perhaps the most useful chapter of this review is the critical examination of the study of the geology of Tibet by A. Hennig (vol. v.).

Altogether M. de Margerie has provided us with a most useful review and aid to the study of the geography of Tibet in its various phases as set out in detail by Sven Hedin.

THE NATURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS. By Dr. E. R. Rost. 9 x 5½. Pp. 159.

Williams and Norgate. 12s. 6d.

Buddhism has found many serious students in the West since the now distant days when Sir Edwin Arnold wrote his "Light of Asia," but the deeper philosophy of the religion so far has received attention in England only from what it may be permissible to call professional Buddhist scholars. Now, however, in the book before us, we have a study of that philosophy from the pen of a layman who has obtained much of his knowledge not, as most scholars do, only from books, but from first-hand sources in the Orient, where he lived and worked for many years. Lieut.-Colonel Rost, late of the Indian Medical Service, spent most of the years of that service in the Buddhist land of Burma. While there he became engaged, in connection with his profession, in investigations into the nature of certain pathological micro-organisms, and when searching through some ancient Buddhist manuscripts in the Bernard Library at Rangoon, was surprised to find that the writers of these ancient documents were evidently aware, well over a thousand years ago, of the existence of such organisms, and had names of their own for some of them. This discovery prompted him to a further search into all he could learn about the abstruser teaching of the Buddhist religion, and the final result is this volume written in his retirement, and the first written on its subject in English by a non-professional Buddhist scholar.

Having made the Buddhist philosophy his own, Dr. Rost endeavours to make its more obscure ramifications as intelligible to Western readers as the limitations of language and the novelty of the subject permit. To make his letterpress more clear he has resorted to the aid of numerous tabular statements and diagrams, compiled with an evident expenditure of much time and labour. But if the reader who is interested in the subject will take the trouble to con with attention both letterpress and diagrams, he will begin to get some idea of one of the most detailed and thorough analyses of psychic

states the world yet possesses. Here, in a domain which it has made its own, that of *psychics*, the East demonstrates its clear superiority to the West. While the West has been busy with physics, with what is outside man, the East for long millenniums has been equally as busy in finding out what is inside us, in our mental states. And in that East no philosophy has made such determined research into this as has Buddhism; so that if, as Pope said, "the proper study of mankind is man," this book should be read by all interested in that study who would also like to know what one Oriental religion at least has to teach about man and his states of consciousness. Such will be interested to come upon statements here which run parallel with much they will find in the pages of such eminent psychologists of the West as James and Wundt and others of their school. They may be further intrigued to find that these statements—as is natural in the exposition of a *religion* as distinguished from a system of psychology pure and simple—are extended into implications of an ethical character, and practical consequences drawn from what seem merely intellectual theorems.

In his final chapters Dr. Rost deals with those practical implications of Buddhist theoretics, and gives hints on the practice of various forms of meditation and the development of supernormal powers of mind, drawn from his evidently extensive reading of Buddhist literature in this domain. From this he naturally passes on in his penultimate chapter to the consideration of that vexed subject, the Buddhist's Nibbana, and shows it to be a state of mind experienced in this present world by whosoever prepares, and brings about, in himself the conditions prescribed as necessary to its advent.

These conditions in their totality make up all that Buddhism aims at with its prescriptions as to moral conduct and proper control of thought; in short, they constitute Buddhism as a religion. And the meeting of some of the objections brought against Buddhism under this heading furnishes the matter of Dr. Rost's last chapter. Here he rightly calls attention to the "Nowness" of life. The Buddhist religion has only one object in view—the removal of pain in the widest, most all-embracing sense of that term—hence probably its strong appeal to members of a profession whose life's task is the removal of one variety of pain, the physical variety! "But as far as the feeling of pain goes," says Dr. Rost, "it is always now! So it is always now that matters." Altogether this is an interesting, if in places somewhat difficult book, but none should grudge the careful reading which it requires for its full understanding. What has evidently cost its author some trouble to write, may well claim a little trouble from its reader in its reading, especially when, as in this case, he is learning something of the deeper teaching of a religion which in one form or another claims more adherents than any other religion in the world, and a considerable proportion of whom are to be found without the boundaries of the British Empire.

J. F. M.

LA SYRIE CRIMINELLE. Essai sur la Criminalité en Syrie, au Liban, dans l'Etat des Alaouites et en Palestine Anglaise. Par Fouad Ammoun.

Paris : Marcel Giard. 1929. 70 francs.

This is the first of a series of volumes, the publication of which has been undertaken by the Bibliothèque de l'Institut du Droit Comparé de Lyon, dealing with criminology and comparative penal law. It is a very thorough and detailed study of crime and penal systems in Syria and Palestine, and includes an instructive comparison of the administration of justice in the

respective countries, culminating in conclusions highly flattering to this country. Considerable space is devoted to the reforms introduced by the British administration in Palestine, which are held up as a model of judicious treatment.

The author quotes Quetelet: "S'il y a un budget qui se paye avec une regularité effrayante, c'est celui des prisons, des galères, de l'échafaud." He shows that crime has tended to increase, both in Palestine and in Syria, since 1925. He states that the prison population in Syria on January 1, 1928, was 5,877, or over two per thousand of the population (the corresponding figure for Iraq on the same date was 2,955, or a little over one per thousand).

Of the state of the prisons in Syria he writes with burning but carefully measured words of condemnation; of the prison system in Palestine he speaks with appreciation and understanding.

Of the judicial system introduced by the British the author speaks doubtfully; clearly he feels that the changes made were too sweeping, and in some cases of doubtful expediency.

The book is one which no impartial student of affairs in Palestine and Syria can afford to ignore, and its publication at this juncture should ensure it a relatively wide circulation.

A. T. WILSON.

AROUND THE COASTS OF ARABIA. By Ameen Rihani. 9×5. Pp. 364. Illustrations. London: Constable. 1930. 21s.

The title is certainly a suitable one, the writer taking one from El Wejh on the Red Sea round to the head of the Persian Gulf.

The book is well worth reading by anyone interested in Arabia, and in the manners and particularly in the mode of thought of its people and personages.

To an Englishman the part concerning the Hejaz is perhaps of most interest, since that area was most recently in the public eye.

The picture of that short-lived kingdom as centred in Jeddah and Mecca is a good one, and shows better than any argument how impossible it was that such a kingdom under such a monarch could retain its control over the Arab tribes unless heavily backed by gifts of money and arms.

The curious character of King Hussein (see p. 26) is brought out in the ridiculous incident where the King quietly places a large lizard (Dhabb) on the lap of his Finance Minister! Also (p. 64) where he personally hands red peppers to his two most important ministers, which they must perfume consume or show a lack of respect of His Majesty! The extraordinary devotion of the pilgrims to the person of the King as Sherif of Mecca, a thing scarcely comprehensible to northern peoples, is well described (p. 77).

There are many interesting things in the book. On page 129 a history is given of a plebiscite, fully exposing the dangers of such a method among such people.

The rise of the Idrisi family to power is described in two chapters (pp. 149-160).

The chapter on the slave trade (p. 225) and the remarks on the customs dealing with the marriage of female slaves (p. 200) are of great interest.

It would take too long to follow the author up the Persian Gulf to Kuwait and Bahrein. He certainly possesses the art of making himself a *persona*

grata with most of those with whom he came in contact. One imagines that this was gained by a ready sympathy and probably by too easy an acceptance of the point of view presented to him at the moment. Thus, with regard to the Hejaz and King Hussein : the British Government is unfair in its methods of attempting to negotiate a treaty ; the King's sons, the Emirs Feisal and Abdulla, are traitors to their father ; and Lawrence a swollen-headed negotiator. These views, however, are somewhat modified by also representing King Hussein as impossible, unpractical, and a master of devious methods.

Throughout, the book describes the British Government as callous, calculating, perfidious, and entirely governed by self-interest.

To many minds, it is hoped, this will appear to be unfair and incorrect, and to detract considerably from the value of a very readable and interesting work.

A. C. P.

The following books have been received for review :

- “Crime in India,” by Sir Cecil Walsh. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 287 pp. (London : Benn. 1930. 10s. 6d.)
- “The Expansion of Italy,” by Luigi Villari. $9'' \times 6''$. 290 pp. Map. (London : Faber and Faber. 1930. 15s.)
- “Handbook of Palestine and Transjordan,” by H. C. Luke, C.M.G., and E. Keith Roach, O.B.E. Introduction by Sir John Chancellor, and the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel. $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{3}{4}''$. xii+505 pp. Second Edition. (London : Maemillan. 1930. 16s.)
- “The Hero of Herat,” by Maud Diver. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. xii+322 pp. Map. (London : Murray. 1930. 3s. 6d.)
- “Heroines of Ancient Persia,” by Bapsy Pavry. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. x+111 pp. Illustrations. (Cambridge University Press. 1930. 15s.)
- “The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution,” by T'ang Leang-Li. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xv+391 pp. (London : Routledge. 1930. 15s.)
- “The Judgment of the Sword,” by Maud Diver. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. ix+591 pp. Maps. (London : Murray. 1930. 3s. 6d.)
- “The Life of Mahomet,” by Emile Dermenghem. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xii+353 pp. (London : Routledge. 1930.)
- “Loyal India,” by Percy H. Dumbell, M.D., Oxon. $9'' \times 6''$. xxiii+243 pp. (London : Constable. 1930. 12s.)
- “Oriental Memories of a German Diplomatist,” by Friedrich Rosen. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. xiv+288 pp. Illustration. (London : Methuen. 1930. 15s.)
- “The Origins of the Druze People and Religion,” by Philip Hitti. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. viii+81 pp. (New York : Columbia University Press ; Oxford University Press. 1930. 10s. 6d.)
- “Palestine Today and Tomorrow,” by John Haynes Holmes. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xvi+271 pp. (London : Allen and Unwin. 1930. 10s.)
- “Le Pèlerinage à la Maison Sacrée d'Allah,” by E. Dinet and Baamer. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. 218 pp. Illustrations. (London : Librairie Hachette. 1930.)
- “Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn.” Foreword by the Marquis of Aberdeen and Temair. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 256 pp. (London : Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 1930. 6s.)
- “Report of the Indian Statutory Commission.” Vol. I., Survey. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. xxv+409 pp. Maps. (London : H.M. Stationery Office. 1930. 3s. 6d.)
- “Sir Arthur Nicolson, Bart., First Lord Carnock,” by Harold Nicolson. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. xvi+456 pp. Illustrated. (London : Constable. 1930. 21s.)
- “Swaraj,” by Captain Ellam. Foreword by Lord Brentford of Newick, P.C. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xiii+288 pp. Frontispiece. (Hutchinson. 1930. 15s.)

The following articles on Asiatic subjects have appeared in the Quarterlies:

April :

- Nineteenth Century and After* : "The Indian Scene : A Reply," by Sir R. Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
The Contemporary Review : "Ancient and Modern China and Japan," by Professor Arnold Toynbee. "The Armenians, Yesterday and Today," by H. Charles Woods.
The Fortnightly Review : "India's Advance towards Democracy," by the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.
The Empire Review : "The Real Issues in India," by Lord Meston, K.C.S.I.

May :

- Nineteenth Century and After* : "The Tragedy of Palestine," by the Right Hon. Lord Sydenham of Combe, G.C.S.I., etc.
The Fortnightly Review : "Can we Content India?" by T. Earle Welby.
The National Review : "The Valley of Decision," by the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.
The Contemporary Review : "The Palestine Report," by H. Charles Woods. "England and the Coming Arab Federation," by Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah.
The Empire Review : "The Egyptian Negotiations," by J. S. Wardlaw-Milne, M.P. (Chairman of the Anglo-Egyptian Committee). "The Palestine Report," by Major E. W. Polson-Newman. "A Visit to an Indian State," by Colonel C. H. Furneaux.

June :

- The Round Table* : "The Gandhi Movement," "The Problem in Japan."
The Fortnightly Review : "Turkey in Modern Dress," by Owen Tweedy.
The Contemporary Review : "Gandhi and Tolstoy," by Aylmer Maude. "The Royal Commission of Labour in India," by Dr. Lauka Sundaram.
Nineteenth Century and After : "The Present Situation in India," by Professor J. Coatman (formerly Director of the Department of Public Information in the Government of India). "England and Egypt," by the Right Hon. Earl Winterton, M.P. "Political Parties in Japan," by G. F. Hudson. "The Tragedy of Palestine : A Reply," by Israel Cohen, General Secretary World Zionist Organization.
The Empire Review : "The Three-Power Treaty in the Pacific," by Brigadier-General C. D. Bruce, C.B.E. "The Thin Red Line of India," by R. G. Humphreys.
The English Review : "India—Security and the Railways," by Major-General Sir Henry Freeland.

We have been asked to give notice that the Heart of Empire Pageant, taken from Mrs. Alec Tweedie's book "Hyde Park," will take place at the Royal Albert Hall from October 13-26. The special dates for Asiatic interests are : October 20, India ; October 23, Asiatic Crown Colonies ; October 22, Learned Societies.

OBITUARY

SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.

THE loss of this great Islamic scholar will be felt by all who are interested in Eastern art and literature. He was a delightful professor and an inspiring lecturer ; his books are proof of his thorough knowledge and his sensitive choice of the *mot juste* ; he was so individual, so profound in his understanding that no one can fill the gap he has left. The Society is fortunate to have numbered him among its members. It is hoped that a paper on his work may be in the next JOURNAL.

COLONEL E. R. ROST, O.B.E., K-i-H, I.M.S. (ret.).

Colonel Rost, who lectured to this Society as lately as May 26 on the spread of Buddhism in Asia, was one of the few British students of Buddhism able to bring to bear on the Buddhist doctrine the light of a modern scientific training. A large part of his service in the I.M.S. was spent in Burma, and while studying Burmese he was struck by the large number of Pali words used to express certain scientific ideas which appeared to have "the exact meanings of the words which we have compiled from the Latin and the Greek, to build up our scientific language of the present day." Thus he was led on to a further study of the doctrines taught by the Buddha, and became convinced that these were in exact accord with scientific ideas. The results of his research is embodied in his book, "The Nature of Consciousness," published early this year.

His death will be felt not only by the British Buddhist Society, for which he did so much, but also by a large circle of friends.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

BALANCE SHEET AT DECEMBER 31, 1929.

To Sundry Creditors:	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Members' Subscriptions received in advance ...	33	2	0				By Cash at Bank	...	...	...	51	9	2
" Journal Subscriptions received in advance ...	4	10	0				" Cash in hand	...	...	...	4	2	4
Berkeley Property and Investment Co., Ltd. ...	40	0	0				" Deposit Account	...	...	...	55	11	6
	<u>77</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>				" Investments:	...	...	...	50	0	0
" Life Subscription Fund:							War Savings Certificates (Nominal) ...	...	150	0	0		
Subscriptions received prior to Jan. 1, 1929 ...	63	0	0				War Loan	...	100	0	0		
Subscriptions received during the year (including four of £10 from the Persia Society) ...	55	15	0				" Club Premises Account:	...			250	0	0
	<u>118</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>				Law Costs re Lease	...					
" Income and Expenditure Account:							Repairs and Decorations, etc.	...					
Balance as at Jan. 1, 1929 ...	...	230	5	0			Furniture and Fittings	...					
Add: Arrears of Subscriptions received during the year ...	...	16	1	0			Less: Amount written off ...	...				
Excess of Income over Expenditure during the year ...	16	18	6				" Sundry Debtors:	...					
	<u>313</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>				Estimated value of outstanding Subscriptions ...	...	20	0			
	<u>£509</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>								<u>£509</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>

We have audited the above Balance Sheet and the accompanying Income and Expenditure Account, and we certify that they are correct to the best of our knowledge and belief.
PINNERS HALL, AUSTIN FRIARS,
LONDON, E.C. 2.
February 19, 1930.

HOPE, AGAR AND CO.
Chartered Accountants.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.
 INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1929

To Office Expenses:	Expenditure.	£ s. d.	Receipts.	£ s. d.
Salaries	258 5 11	By Subscriptions : 1,107	1 11 0
Rent	165 16 3	Subscriptions from Persia Society ...	0 0
Telephone	10 2 4	Estimated value of outstanding subscriptions	167 0
Stationery	22 19 10		20 0
Printing	42 16 5		1,297 1 0
Postage	54 7 2	,, Dinner Club: Balance from old account	10 14 3
Office cleaning, etc.	14 17 4	Subscriptions ...	46 5 0
Insurance	9 5	Sundries ...	2 19 10
Cartage and carriage	7 7		59 19 1
Bank charges	7 17 1		144 0 0
Gas	2 18 0	" Annual Dinner "	19 14 10
Sundries	5 9 10	" Journal " Subscriptions ...	9 0 0
		536 7 2	Advertisements ...	9 19 1
			Sales ...	18 7 5
,, <i>Journal</i> :				38 13 11
Printing	461 18 8	" Gift towards cost of furnishing	1 1 0
Postage	49 16 6	" War Loan interest "	5 0 0
Maps (Plates)	26 16 2	" Interest on Deposit "	13 7 5
Reporter	30 3 4		
Reviews	6 15 0		
		575 9 8		
,, <i>Lectures</i> :				
Lecture Halls	60 4 0		
Lecture Fees and Council	54 15 9		
Lecture expenses	17 13 0		
Lantern	2 2 0		
Lantern slides	12 9 9		
Maps	7 9 3		
		154 13 9		
" Annual Dinner "	142 2 3		
" Dinner Club: Restaurant Dinners	26 0 7		
Postage and sundries	3 17 2		
		29 17 9		
" Library	9 14 6		
" Donation: Gertrude Bell Memorial Fund	5 5 0		
" Fares to Skopje to attend Col. Yates' funeral	1 15 0		
" Income Tax Schedule "D"	2 19 0		
" Amount written off Club Premises Account	33 19 10		
" Excess of Income over Expenditure	16 18 6		
		£1 659 2 5		
		£1 659 2 5		

ELECTIONS

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED SINCE MARCH

Amin, Atta Bey, 1st Secretary, Iraq Legation, London.
Baker, Rev. D. D., Mosul.
Chenevix-Trench, Sir Richard, Foreign and Political Department,
Government of India.
Chetwode, General Sir Philip W., G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.,
A.D.C.Gen.
Creagh-Coen, T. B., Indian Civil Service.
Cumberland, Rev. R. C., Mosul.
d'Alton, W. J. A., Imperial Bank of Persia.
Douglas, P. W., Imperial Bank of Persia.
Fattah, Al Muqaddam Sulaiman, Iraq Army.
Forsyth, Mrs. Ellen.
Fuqua, Ward, Indiana (U.S. subject).
Haldane, Lieut.-Colonel M. M.
Herridge, Geoffrey H., Iraq Petroleum Company, Ltd.
Howard, Lieut. E. A., Royal Artillery.
Jakins, H. G., Consular Service.
Jenkinson, Captain R. C. H., Life Guards.
Lawther, Barry C. A., Indian Police.
Lubin, M. N.
Main, Ernest, *Times of Mesopotamia*.
Mayne, E. B., Shell Company.
Molesworth, Colonel A. M. L.
Murphy, Major G. P., Foreign and Political Department, Govern-
ment of India.
Murray, Colonel K. D., Indian Army.
Nettlefold, Major Edward J., 5th Inniskilling Dragoon Guards.
Orr, C. R. M., Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation, Ltd.
Qadir, Abdul, Khan.
Sassoon, Major Arthur, O.B.E.
Smallwood, Lieut.-Colonel H. St. Clair.
Smith, William P. Clair.
Stern, T. H., Irrigation Department, Iraq.
Strachan, Mrs.
Taylor, William S., Iraq Railway Department.
Tollinton, R. B. B., Consular Service.
Tripura, H. H. Maharajah Manikya, Bahadur.
Tripura, Rana Boah Jung.
Visser, P. C., Attaché at the Netherlands Legation, Holland.
Waymouth, Admiral A. W., C.B., C.M.G.
Wise, J. H., Indian Civil Service.
Yahuda, Mrs.

JOURNAL
OF THE
CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY
VOL. XVII.

OCTOBER, 1930

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PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

77, GROSVENOR STREET, W.1.

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NOTICES

MEMBERS are requested to send their changes of address to the Secretary, 77, Grosvenor Street, and to notify the office if they are not receiving lecture cards when home on leave.

JOURNALS have been returned by the Post Office addressed to E. H. Midgeley, Esq., and the Rev. C. Chitty. The Secretary would be glad of their addresses.

The Hon. Librarian would be glad if the following books could be returned to the Library:

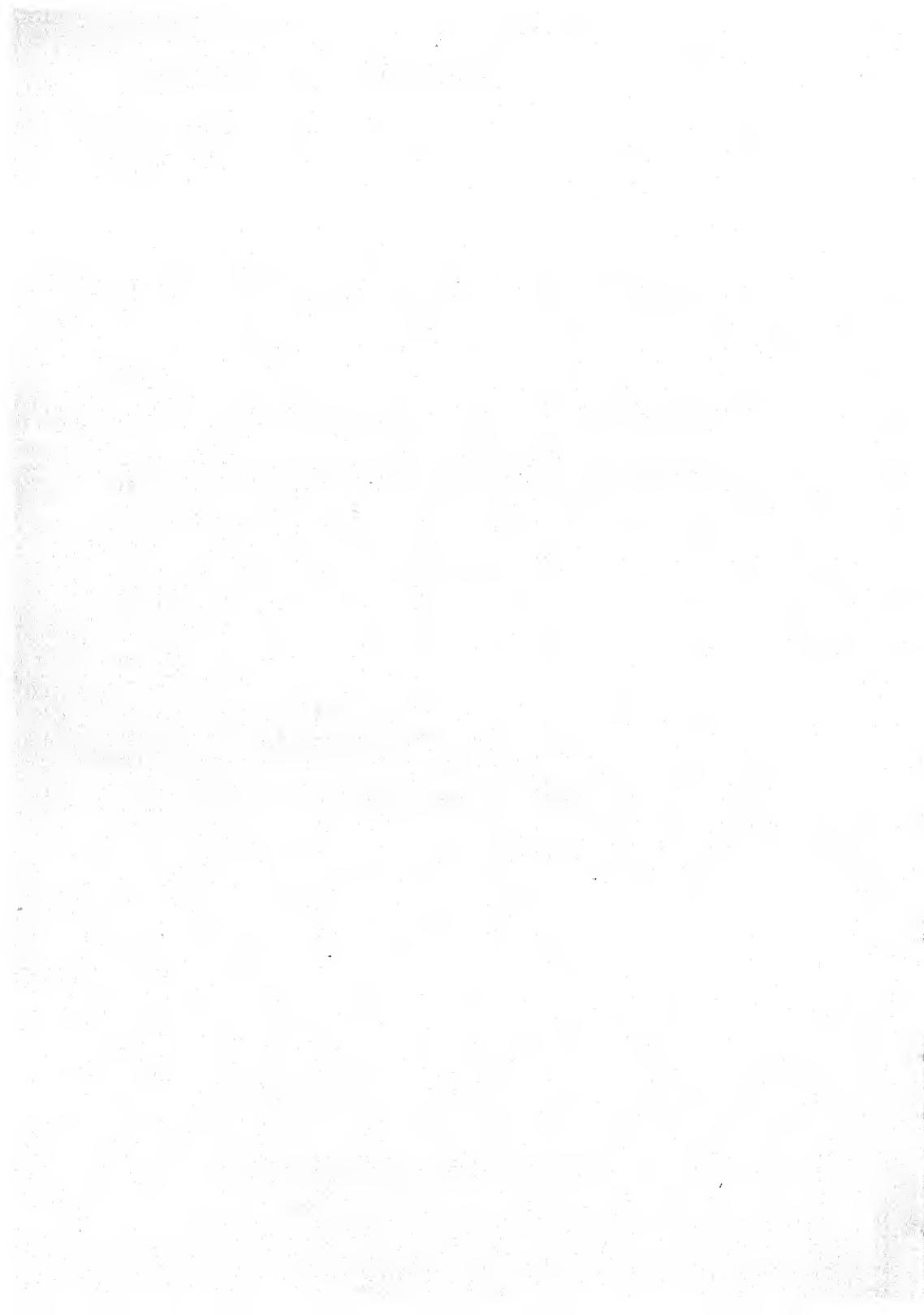
Soane's "Through Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise," first edition with signature.

Hoyland's "The Case for India."

MacMunn's "Afghanistan."

Members only are responsible for their statements in the JOURNAL.

CORRECTION.—Vol. XVII., p. 128, in the last line, *for 1919 read 1926.*



INDIAN REFORMS AND ASIA*

BY SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

IT was kindly suggested to me that I should read a paper entitled "The Simon Commission and Asia," but later on, as the date for the issue of the Simon Commission's Report was from time to time advanced, the proposed title was modified to that which heads this paper, "The Indian Reforms and Asia." I feel that it is most audacious of me to attempt to say anything about Asia before the Central Asian Society, since, although I know something about India, my knowledge of Asia is nothing like as good as that possessed by every schoolboy in Lord Macaulay's days, while the Society contains all the pundits on Asia whom it can attract to its learned Association. However, if I give such crude reflections as occur to me, I trust these pundits will not be too severe in their criticisms of my unlearned observations.

What ultimate repercussions the Indian Reforms may have on Asia generally it is exceedingly difficult to prognosticate, for this depends so much upon the nature of the Reforms themselves, and still more upon their results. It is, however, certain that events in other Asiatic countries have had, and will probably continue to have, an increasing effect upon the demands of Indian politicians, not merely on what are called *legitimate aspirations*, but on demands based on vaulting ambitions, and upon a reckless optimism regarding the capacity of these same politicians to undertake responsibilities which are far beyond their powers. In my observations, as a student of Indian politics, the event which gave the first impetus to the movement which is called, or miscalled, Indian Nationalism, was the defeat of Russia by Japan, and

* Lecture given to the Central Asian Society on July 16, 1930, General Sir William Beynon in the Chair.

In introducing the Lecturer, the CHAIRMAN said : "In the unavoidable absence of Lord Allenby I have the honour of introducing Sir Reginald Craddock. His name will be known to all of you. He has filled many of the highest positions in India, has been Chief Commissioner, Home Member of the Viceroy's Council, and Governor of Burma. His book, 'The Dilemma in India,' is one of the most valuable books written on the present great problem."

"Today he is giving us his views of the Indian Reforms and how they affect not only India but the East."

the effect of that defeat was felt, not by the martial races of India so much, but by the less warlike people who go to make up the ranks of the English-speaking intelligentsia.

The National Congress in its earlier days had confined itself to particular aspects of administration. It fastened on particular incidents that had occurred during the previous twelve months, and upon these it expended its largest stream of oratory; but it always had a standing dish of recommendations, relating to such matters as universal trial by jury, repeal of the Arms Act, compulsory education, and several other kindred matters which were mostly impracticable in the state of the country, and resolutions upon these subjects were usually put and carried, sometimes without debate, as a matter of routine. In those days British rule was accepted even by the National Congress as a settled fact. Any ambitions to shake it off, if entertained, remained undisclosed. For the truth was that Indians, even if educated, regarded it as an axiom that Asiatic countries were and only could be governed by autocratic methods, either by foreign powers or by autocrats of their own. The Congress then approached the British Government as a benevolently intentioned despot whose officials often misled it, or acted in an arbitrary fashion which it would not approve if the facts were properly brought before its notice.

But the moment that Russia was defeated by Japan the movement began to assume a new direction. If a comparatively small country like Japan could defeat the mighty Russian Empire, then surely the intelligentsia of India must be equally capable of trying conclusions with the British Government. The pleaders developed a sudden interest in the history of Japan, which they both read and wrote. Students were despatched to Japan to study her institutions, and schoolboys were taught that the way to make India prosperous was to go to Japan, come back and start great industries in India. I remember being so informed by a small schoolboy of ten when I asked him what he intended to do when he grew up. Undoubtedly this world event, the rise of Japan into the ranks of a first-class Power, gave English-speaking Indian politicians and their student following, to use one of those nowadays hackneyed phrases, "a new angle of vision." It did not matter whether India bore the slightest resemblance to Japan, or the Indians to the Japanese. It did not matter whether the Russian and British Empires bore any resemblance to one another in regard to their world positions. Suffice it to say that for the first time an Asiatic nation had tried conclusions with what was regarded as a European Power, and had come off best. But to raise any agitation among the general population on the strength of this new change of outlook in the mind of the Vakil was at that time perfectly impracticable. Local issues were necessary before the populace could be worked up into

agitation. The first partition of Bengal supplied a magnificent excuse for trying conclusions with the Government by bringing pressure upon it in the shape of Swadeshi and boycott movements. These movements included on one side the cult of the bomb, and on the other extreme political demands enforced by these threats of boycott, and supported by violent and insulting writings in newspapers, pamphlets, and leaflets. It is noteworthy that it was at the National Congress of 1906 that for the first time a goal was declared as "Swaraj on the Colonial system." The last four words were intended to deprive the goal of any unconstitutional or seditious significance, for although Lord Minto's Government was tardy in recognizing the need for strong action to suppress a dangerous agitation, and although Lords Morley and Minto between them threw over Sir Bamfylde Fuller in Eastern Bengal, Lord Minto's Government very soon found itself obliged to take stronger action than the Lieutenant-Governor had ever taken or recommended. The time was not yet when demands for absolute independence and threats of obtaining it by paralyzing the British Government were regarded as mere ebullitions of political oratory, or when revolutionary sedition in the Press and on the platform were permitted a toleration which has brought about the strained situation in India.

I will not, however, anticipate recent happenings, but will proceed with my theme. Though particular agitations yielded to strong action by Government, the new impetus given to the movement by the Japanese victory to undermine British rule has continued to influence the political intelligentsia in regard to their objectives, and to extend the horizon of their ambitions.

Next in importance, as bearing on the Indian political situation, were events connected with Turkey as an Asiatic Power, which attracted Mahomedan sympathies away from their traditional allegiance to the British Raj. For this alienation the ground was prepared by the disgruntlement of Mahomedans which followed the reversal of the Bengal Partition. They had stood by the Government, often at considerable sacrifice, throughout a great Hindu agitation, and they felt themselves thrown over to please the agitating Hindu when the Partition was reversed. "No bombs, no boons," they said at Delhi in their anger and vexation. There were, of course, many reasons for the rearrangement of territory when Delhi was declared the new capital of India, but it had this unfortunate effect, that it set an anti-British current in the sentiments of Indian Mahomedans. The war between Italy and Turkey, followed by the Balkan wars, evoked strong anti-Christian feeling, and caused agitations to be fanned over local incidents by Mahomedan malcontents, which, without this unfavourable atmosphere towards the Raj, would have passed unnoticed. This gathering hostility was extended when Turkey entered the Great War on the side

of the Central Powers, though to their credit it may be said that Indian Mahomedans were very anxious that Turkey should remain neutral. Every effort was made by Pan-Islamists, both outside and inside India, to stir up Moslem feeling, and these efforts culminated in the Khilafat movement with Turkey's defeat and humiliation. Indian Moslems as such have had very little sympathy with the Turks as a race, but the question of the Caliphate was a religious issue upon which Islam as a whole could be worked up to religious excitement. The Khilafat movement was somewhat mollified by the later events, ending in the Treaty of Lausanne, but it was not until the Caliphate was abolished by the Turks themselves, and the Turkish dictator Westernized the new Turkey in disregard of many cherished Koranic traditions, that the bottom was knocked out of the Indian Khilafat agitation. All the time, however, that the disturbed state of Islam had continued, it was a godsend to the Hindu agitator, who used the Khilafat movement for his own end, so as to enlist the support of Mahomedans for the furtherance of his own special Hindu aims. And, further, the actual events in regard to Turkey had their repercussions even in Hindu India. For outside the purely religious issue of the Khilafat, the victories won by Kemal Pasha over the Greeks restored Asiatic pride by showing that even the great European Powers had been obliged to yield before the victorious campaign of a great Turkish leader. It emphasized once more the lesson of the Russo-Japanese War. M. Clemenceau was staying with me in Government House, Rangoon, when the cables came through that King Alexander of Greece had died of blood-poisoning caused by the bite of a pet monkey. "Ah," said he, "that monkey is going to change the course of history." And it did. It was probably an Asiatic monkey.

There have been other factors affecting Asia which have had unforeseen effects upon Indian political demands.

The famous (and I cannot but think disastrous) phrase of President Wilson's "self-determination," and the substitution of the system of "mandates" for the old policy of annexation, have had a profound effect on the political outlook of the Indian intelligentsia. The mandates for Syria, Palestine, and Iraq, and the pronouncements regarding Egypt (for Egypt is really Asiatic rather than African), have all been eagerly cited by the politicians of India as living arguments for their own independence. India is surrounded by countries which enjoy independence, and they resent it as a slight on their own abilities if they are told that they are unable to govern themselves. It seems certain, however, that even Europe would be unable to govern herself if the condition precedent were laid down that she should act as a single nation. Political Indians appear to think that by labelling India as a nation she has thereby become one, and that because Great Britain has

governed the whole of India as one country, therefore they can do the same. But in addition to the great racial divisions, her Provinces and States are likewise split in twain over the great religious cleavage of Hindu and Moslem, and in the case of the Punjab, the Sikh as well. To these objections to a single India the politicians offer no answer, because they have none to offer. They merely affirm that these cleavages do not affect the question. When to all these dividing lines are added those of caste as well as other racial minorities, the question of union becomes still more complex, for castes and races which before the days of the Pax Britannica accepted their inferiority as part of their destiny have, under impartial British rule, begun to raise their heads and question why they should be inferior. One may sympathize with the Bengali, who desires that Bengalis should govern Bengal, but one can scarcely sympathize with his ambition that he should also have a right to assist in governing the Punjab.

The claim is really baseless. Had there never been any British Raj, what possibility would there have been of Bengalis sharing in governing the races of the Punjab? And the same would apply to the Punjabi in respect to Bengal. The fact that for a century or more the British have governed both Bengal and the Punjab gives neither of these people any right or claim to participate in the government of the other. The Baltic States in Europe, governed for centuries on end by Germany, Poland, and Russia, when once released from alien domination did not become the Baltic Republic. Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia are separate States, none of them making any claim to govern the other two, or to share in the government of the three. It is this fundamental fallacy which destroys the claim of the Indian politician and of his British supporter, who urges that all the races of India are entitled by inherent right to carry on a joint government of the whole of India. When you tell all this to some British sympathizer of the Indian demand, he merely says, "Yes, yes, I know," and continues in his own fallacious belief. He tells us, as in a recent article by the editor of a London weekly, that those who have made Indian life and Indian questions an intimate study during a long official career are suffering from a "psychological inhibition," which prevents them from understanding the Indian case. This is his polite way of saying that Indian administrators are a set of such blind fools that they cannot penetrate the meaning of all they have learnt in a long official lifetime. I humbly ask whether even well-meaning editors, in their editorial chairs, may not also suffer from "psychological inhibitions," which prevent them from understanding the ethnology, history, and geography which govern the case of India and contradict their theories. Why not give "them" what they ask? they write. You ask ungrammatically, "Who is 'them'?" They cannot explain. You ask them again: "When you have given 'them'

what they ask for, what next happens?" They have not the slightest idea.

Besides the influences of the events in Asia upon the Indian situation which I have already described, there is one more great influence yet to be mentioned. If the great catastrophe of Russia had been restricted to the confines of some purely European State, little would have been heard of Red Flags and hammers and sickles within the Indian boundaries. Unfortunately, Russia is more Asiatic than European, and the creed of Lenin has produced a fanaticism which no other creed for several centuries can match. The poor benign British Government has been called "Satanic" by the false prophet of Guzerat. Surely it is the creed of Lenin which most merits that title, whose motto, however much disguised, is in reality, "Evil, be thou my good." If once that creed penetrated into and captured the mind of the Indian labourer and the Indian ryot, the chaos and bloodshed would be on a scale which even Russia has not produced. "The abomination of desolation" would stalk through the land. It is through Russia in Asia that this creed, anti-God and anti-Christ, has found its way through Russian-trained Indian emissaries into India, and through Chinese emissaries into China. The only dam which stands against that inrush is the British Raj. The Kerenskis of India would be among the earliest victims; the zemindars and the banias would be swept away. And yet these fatuous politicians do not seem to see that if they succeeded in their folly of breaching that great dam they would seal their own doom. Their self-determination would end in self-extinction.

If we consider India beside the independent States of Asia it becomes manifest that the independent existence of these States offers no favourable promise for any kind of All-India democracy. These States and their populations are as follows :

The Republic of Turkey under a Dictator	...	...	...	13,600,000
Syria under French Mandate	...	...	...	2,000,000
Palestine and Trans-Jordania under British Mandate	...	...	...	1,000,000
Arab States, partly composed of nomad tribes	...	...	...	7,000,000
Iraq, still under British Mandate	...	...	...	3,000,000
Persia	...	...	...	10,000,000
Afghanistan	...	...	...	8,000,000

The figures of population in the States are approximate only, and probably over-state rather than under-state the true population. But if all the populations of all these States are added together they amount to no more than can be found in at least two of the largest Indian Provinces. They are all States in which Moslems predominate, and in most cases overwhelmingly predominate. None of these States are governed democratically, and although some of them have created forms of a *majlis* or

parliament, it is only the masterful hand of a Sovereign, a Dictator, or powerful tribal chiefs that keep them from constant strife and anarchy. The oldest inhabitant of Constantinople, who claims to be over 150 years of age, has aptly described Kemal Pasha as "The Republican Sultan." These are the Mahomedan States to the west of India.

On the east, excluding China, which requires special mention, is the State of Siam. That State enjoys a sheltered position between the Indian Empire (*i.e.*, Burma) and the French possessions of Indo-China, its remaining neighbour being the Malay States, under British control. Siam is governed by a King who entrusts all the important departments of state to members of the Royal Family. When I was in Burma I had the pleasure of entertaining at different times three Siamese Princes who had responsible departments in Siam under their charge, and had come to study facts in India and Burma. I thus had several opportunities of discussing with them the political conditions of their country, and found that democratic tendencies had nowhere come into prominence. The population, 9,000,000, consisted almost entirely of Buddhists. When Burma was an independent State, Burmese and Siamese were hereditary enemies. The old capital of Siam, Ayuthia, had, in the course of some centuries, been eight times raided and twice entirely sacked and destroyed by the Burmese. It was on account of this that Siam established its new capital at Bangkok. Obviously, none of these Asiatic countries offer any guide or precedent as to how to build up a self-governing India, unless indeed she is split up into a large number of independent States, a contingency which is not desired by the particular people who are now demanding an independent India.

There remains the case of China. China held together for centuries, in spite of many internal disturbances, under autocratic rule. When the Chinese Empire ceased to exist, and a so-called Chinese Republic came into being, her government lapsed into chaos. China is not a model to follow, but an awful example to avoid.

The deduction to be made from all these examples is that the stability of an Oriental country depends upon two considerations: (1) that it is reasonably homogeneous and compact; (2) that whatever advisory or even legislative functions may be assigned to councils selected or elected, the executive authority must be controlled by the strong personality of a Dictator or Sovereign. The stability of vast collections of States and races amalgamated into one depends only upon the maintenance of a strong central government, which must either be a foreign power, or a strong autocratic ruler supported by military forces sufficient by their number, strength, and fidelity to support the decrees of the ruling house. This lesson has been emphasized by the fate of China, and it has also been one of the latest lessons of the Great War. It is a singular fact that while the statesmen of Europe were busy

proving that the theory of Responsible Government required them to split up the component parts of Empires that were coming to an end, British statesmen were simultaneously projecting a scheme by which, under the same form of government, divergent races and creeds would be confirmed in a state of coalescence, a coalescence which had only been secured and maintained by the control of an alien power. That was in 1919, when Parliament passed the Government of India Act.

Eight years from that date the Simon Commission entered upon its task of examining the results of the first steps that the Act had brought into effect in India for testing the theory of Responsible Government in the whole of that diverse sub-continent. The Commission, composed of men of all parties, impartial, and receptive to all opinions, was received with obloquy and insults, and refused co-operation from those very men who had previously called for their early appointment, and for whose aspirations they were going to do the very best they could; aspirations, moreover, which would be utterly defeated if progress were rash and security endangered. They have now submitted a wonderful report surveying dispassionately the whole situation, refraining from all expressions that could possibly wound, and making proposals which in some cases even go beyond the limits of safety in their anxious desire to give the very fullest effect possible to the aspirations of the intelligentsia. And what is the result? Abuse, derision, scorn, and hatred. The Extremists are foaming at the mouth, but here is what a Hindu Moderate, so-called, says (see *Observer* Simla correspondent, July 6). The correspondent cables: "Hindu Moderates use language of amazing violence. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, for example, calls the report 'a piece of unparalleled political humbug and chicanery,' and compares the Commissioners to Catherine Mayo. The comparison between the report and 'Mother India' is general, both documents being represented as obscene insults to India." The remarks of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru are those of a man who held the dignified position of Law Member in the Governor-General's Council, and received high honours from the King-Emperor. It was in the vain hope of conciliating men of this type that the Viceroy and His Majesty's present Government were induced to make the amazing announcement of October, 1929. This announcement not only had the effect of disparaging the importance of the Commission, whose labours were still incomplete, but of encouraging Indian politicians to assert that the Dominion Status announcement was equivalent to a promise that India would immediately become a fully self-governing dominion, with possibly a few transitory safeguards—e.g., in regard to the continuance of British troops in India for a few years and in regard to the Indian Princes. The whole scheme of the Government of India Act was thrown away in the futile hope that it might bring peace, and under the foolish fiction that a Brahmin conspiracy for regaining Hindu,

and therefore Brahmin, supremacy in the land, backed only by a following of students and satellites from the clerical classes, represented a true "national demand" by the whole people of India—the imaginary "Indian nation."

The first reflection inspired by the report is, Why was not this Commission sent to India before Mr. Montagu made his famous pledge in fulfilment of which the Act of 1919 was passed? If the Commissioners had visited India then, before Parliament had been committed to a promise of Responsible Government, Indian reforms might have taken a very different shape. It is useless now to deplore the past, but the Simon Commission has been bound hand and foot by the terms of that pledge, and all the safeguards against further rash reforms which even the Act provided are now in danger of being swept away by what some idealists describe as "the urge and the surge of Indian nationalism," which is in reality nothing but the mass hysteria, easily aroused in Oriental minds by the feeling that a great change may be imminent, that the British Raj is down and out, and that the leaders of the conspiracy are the only people to be afraid of, and therefore the only people who count. The Indian populace understands power; it knows nothing of responsible government. It has seen the Union Jack trampled in the mud; it has heard of His Majesty's portrait encircled by a garland of shoes, carried through a British cantonment with none to protest. It asks, Which is the setting sun, and which is the rising one? It forms its own conclusions and it acts. And these manifestations react again upon British minds in India. The Government hesitates before the storm; its defeatist tendencies increase and spread to greater numbers, and in proportion as the British themselves become defeatist, all those classes of the Indian population which are most ready to support the Raj are filled with despair. When the Government itself begins to express doubts of the adequacy of the Commission's proposals, what Indian will get up and say that they are more than sufficient?

Such was the atmosphere amidst which the Simon Commission performed their arduous duties, and such was the alleged calm atmosphere which the supporters of the announcement of October last expected that it would create. The Government, both at home and in India, have fallen into a clever Brahmin trap. In all these difficult circumstances the Commission have done all that mortal men could do, but while proposing the very utmost concessions in the Provinces which they could possibly propose, they have concentrated on four main safeguards for a hazardous constitution. They visualize a federal system as the only one which might possibly develop if the country would settle down to composing its great internal dissensions and acquire education, toleration, and political reason. In this ultimate federal system they tried to find a place in which the Indian States and the

British Indian Provinces will form component units in a single whole. In the meantime, in order, as they hope, to ensure security and peaceful development, which are the obligatory conditions under which the federal system that they design can only be built up, they insist upon certain safeguards :

1. A strong central government.
2. A strong, independent, and impartial army.
3. Strong reserve powers for the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces.
4. The maintenance of the security services.

To those who know India at all and can fathom the complete gulf that divides the words of the politically minded from their actions, these four main conditions, subject to which the Commissioners commend this great venture of political advance in the Provinces, will appeal as absolutely essential. The doubts that arise are whether these bulwarks which the Commissioners have propossd will prove strong enough to resist the assaults made upon them. For example, it is of little use to rely upon the Governors of Provinces boldly to take the grave responsibility which may be required of them unless we can make sure that the men who are sent out to be Governors are of the resolute stamp that the situation will demand. Nor is it of much use maintaining security services if the position of those serving in them, by reason of pinpricks and back-stairs assaults, becomes so impossible that the men will not be found to man the services, or perhaps only such men as are prepared to shrug their shoulders and swim with the tide of corruption. No men can shoulder these tasks in India with success if sections of the British public join the company of backbiters who vituperate them in India and whisper their slanders in the ears of those at home with whom their own countrymen are always presumed to be in the wrong. The best and strongest Governor can do nothing if his enemies can procure his recall because he does his duty and they do not like it. There are, of course, many details in the recommendations of the Commission which require sifting and discussion before they are given statutory effect, but with these I will not trouble this audience. I will only finally ask you to look over Asia, and indeed ask you to survey the world from China to Peru, and say whether you think you can find any State or Government which offers a true parallel to India, or supports the belief that the 1 per cent. of Indians who can talk English are capable of managing the affairs of that vast and diversified sub-continent, and can keep its States and its Provinces contentedly united and prosperous, without the guidance, control, and protection of the British Raj, the only cement which can hold together these warring and jarring elements. If that cement should be removed or crumble away, then you may well cry "Ichabod," not only over the Indian Empire, not

only over the British Empire, but over all that makes for peace and happiness among the fifth part of the human race that has its abode in India.

Even since I wrote these words fresh storm-signals are out. An effort is being made to stampede the easy-going British people into the belief that a despairing nation is struggling to free itself from the bonds of an unsympathetic and cast-iron bureaucracy. Never were greater falsehoods promulgated. Read vol. i. of the Commission Report if you want the facts. The time has long passed for trying to placate revolutionaries by methods which reduce our real friends to silent despair. We must at least stand by the Simon Commission's great efforts, and stem the onrush of defeatism which is paralyzing the British Raj and bids fair to make it the byword of Asia.

Sir DENISON ROSS, C.I.E. : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,— I have much pleasure in saying a few words in appreciation of the lecture we have just been privileged to hear. Sir Reginald Craddock is one of those great civil servants of whom we should be proud. He has held many of the highest positions in India, and has thus a wider experience and knowledge of that country than is gained by most officials. I trust you will all remember the words of wisdom you have heard from him today, and also repeat them as far as you are able to others.

The parallel he drew between the divided States of Europe and the various Provinces and States of India is a helpful one for those interested in the future of British India. India is not the only country which is attempting to adopt European institutions, and is hoping to achieve this by freeing herself of European influence. We need not conclude from the fact that those who are able to make themselves heard among the millions in India are demanding forthwith some sort of independence are at all convinced that they are fit and ready to govern that country unaided. Their attitude of mind was, I think, well summarized in one sentence by Sir Francis Younghusband in a letter to yesterday's *Times*. I cannot remember the exact words now, but the gist of the letter was this: that what India thought about was not so much her status in regard to the British Raj but her status in the eyes of the world.

I am sure you will all join with me in expressing our gratitude to Sir Reginald Craddock for coming here and reading us this interesting paper. (Applause.)

NOTE ON THE IRAQ TREATY OF ALLIANCE, 1930

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL F. CUNLIFFE-OWEN, C.M.G.

THE above document, though not yet ratified, marks the culmination of the various stages in the ultimate regularization of the position in Iraq, and one must appreciate on the one hand the labour and efforts of successive High Commissioners to obtain the end indicated, and, on the other hand, the goodwill displayed by the Iraq authorities from time to time, often in the face of considerable opposition and active hostility.

Nevertheless, as one who has taken a great interest in the affairs of Iraq for many years now, I do trust that further consideration will be pressed for in regard to two or three particular points either not touched upon or which may conceivably cause complications.

In the first place of all stands the question of the Christian minorities. This has already been alluded to in some quarters, and the assurance given that, when the Treaty comes before the League, due attention will be paid to this matter. But morally and materially the British Government has been very strongly committed to the cause of the Assyrians (Nestorians) in especial, and it is certainly strange that no word whatever appears in the actual Treaty relating to this people. With merely the anticipated goodwill of the Arab Government on the one side of them and the Turkish State on the other, what safeguards have they? It is to be hoped that some representative at the League Assembly will make himself definitely responsible for the future of this gallant race, and for due recognition of the help that they have rendered now after the war for many years as the backbone of the Levy forces.

Next we come to the question of the reciprocal defensive conditions. In Article 4 it is stated that, should a dispute arise between Iraq and a third state, which dispute cannot be settled peacefully by the ordinary machinery of the League, then the other High Contracting party will engage in war in the capacity of an ally, and *vice versa*. Now here arises a very delicate possibility. As we know, the dominions and interests of King Ibn Sa'ud very closely touch upon those of King Feisal in many respects. At the present time we hope that the relations between the two have been placed upon a good footing, but, as anyone acquainted with those regions will realize, a very small

thing indeed might easily bring about an upset. King Ibn Sa'ud is virtually our ally, and has in reality proved himself a firm supporter of the British now for many years. It is inconceivable that we should engage in hostilities with him, and yet there is this Article 4 in the Treaty.

The third point arises in connection with the Kurdish populations. Upon this subject I am not altogether in a position to speak as an expert, but I imagine that many minds are exercised as to the fact that the Kurds are likewise in no way alluded to. More especially does this question project itself at the present moment, seeing the troubles now occurring on the Turco-Persian border on this very matter.

There are one or two other points in the Treaty which are not clear, but which are not of special importance such as the foregoing. For example, Article 5 says that His Britannic Majesty can maintain forces to protect the air bases contemplated, but in the Annexure it says that these forces shall be Arab troops.

Finally, I cannot help adding that I have looked in vain for any pronouncement on this important occasion, or, in fact, at any time, of any real expression of gratitude to the British nation. The British suffered some hundreds of thousands of casualties in "freeing Iraq (or rather Mesopotamia) from the Turk," they have installed law and order into the country, protected it from aggression, provided some large numbers of efficient and honest officials, made railways and communications, spent certain sums of money, and have then practically given up the land gratuitously to the inhabitants, who, after all, did little or nothing at the actual moment themselves in the operation of "freeing."

SIR THOMAS ARNOLD

THERE have been few Englishmen whom Indians have taken so unreservedly to their hearts as Thomas Walker Arnold. They not only admired him for his learning and high moral purpose, but they loved him with a warm personal affection such as it is given to few teachers to inspire. When in the late eighties Arnold joined the Muhammadan College at Aligarh, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder, was still the object of the vehement attacks of his orthodox co-religionists for his humane and liberal interpretation of the creed of Islam. Arnold from the first recognized the loftiness of Sir Syed's great personality and devoted himself without reserve to seconding his efforts "to regenerate a fallen people," as the phrase then ran. Sir Syed used to urge Musalmans to become genuine friends of the English, for not only was it written that "the true believers would find their best friends in the People of the Book," but that in the English were to be found, so he declared, many of the virtues which ought to characterize the followers of Islam. Arnold felt that this generous renunciation of old prejudices ought to be met by a corresponding advance on the part of his own countrymen, and he had the courage to adopt Moslem dress. In the turban and flowing robes of a Moslem scholar he moved about the quadrangles of Aligarh, visiting students in their rooms and frequenting the society of the old-fashioned Maulvis. He used to notice that because of his Indian dress he was received without any of the embarrassment which the somewhat unfamiliar presence of an Englishman would otherwise have created. He very soon found a place in the esteem of his Moslem colleagues, Maulvi Shibli Nomani, Maulvi Abbas Hosain, and Maulvi Khalil Ahmad, by his desire to understand Islamic doctrine and early Moslem history; but these scholars soon perceived that even upon their own subject Arnold had access to sources of information that were closed to them, and the liberal-minded Shibli was so impressed with the importance of Feringhi learning that he actually began to learn French from Arnold in order to understand at least the French notes on Arabic texts. Indeed to many Moslem scholars Arnold opened up a new field of information upon the spread of Islam of whose very existence they were previously unaware. For his "Preaching of Islam" he gathered much information from the reports of Christian missionaries, letters from Catholic priests in *partibus infidelium*, and other clerical writings mostly in Latin, which were for that reason closed to Indian scholars. When Arnold demonstrated that Islam had been spread not by the sword but by peaceful missionary effort he created almost as much surprise among Moslems as among Christians; his book was eagerly read

and commented on in India, and some chapters at least were translated into Urdu.

By the more earnest students of that generation Arnold will be remembered as the man who inspired them to dedicate their lives to the great cause of Moslem regeneration. He founded a society called "Anjaman al Farz," of which every member undertook to discharge some part of his "duty" towards the Moslem people. In its earlier days this society had a powerful influence upon the lives of all its members, and made of them a band of disinterested workers to whom the Aligarh College, now the Moslem University of Aligarh, owes a large debt.

It was because he had worked with Moslems and shared their aspirations that Arnold became in later days so understanding and sympathetic an interpreter of Moslem culture. He had known Moslems as intimate personal friends, had talked open-heartedly with them about the moral and religious problems which moved him deeply so that their way of looking at life became a part of his own intellectual experience. But though he sympathized, he never became sentimental; he maintained his own standard of judgment, and applied it impartially to Christian and Moslem, European and Indian. But no account of Arnold would be complete which dealt only with the earnest and serious sides of his character. What his friends will always remember about him was a certain lightness of spirits, a gaiety of heart, which made him in all circumstances and in any surroundings a delightful companion. He was ready to be interested in anything, and to discuss any opinion, *nihil humanum a se alienum putabat*; he carried his learning so lightly and easily that it never oppressed either him or his companions.

Arnold's work as a scholar was marked not only by thoroughness, but by two rarer qualities—sympathetic insight into his subject and finish in its presentation. His keen intellectual interest in things was quickened and disciplined by the broad human sympathies to which his first work in the field of Islamic studies already bears witness. A careful reader of "The Preaching of Islam" will generally be struck by the fact that it is fundamentally a book about Moslems, rather than about Islam, and may possibly judge that the warmth of its tone is dictated by friendship with and esteem for the members of the Moslem community. Even when dealing more specifically with the religion of Islam, however, his work reflects the same characteristics, and it is these which give a value much greater than its bulk to the sixpenny booklet published a year ago under the title of "The Islamic Faith." Rarely, if at all, has an outline of the subject been put before the widest English public, which combines in the same degree the most exact scholarship with real insight and understanding. The study on "The Caliphate," on the other hand, occupies a place apart, as an objective

investigation into an historical problem ; but it too, by the breadth of its survey, not only of the historical development but also of the political theory of this institution, forms an outstanding contribution to the political history of Islam.

Of recent years it was as a connoisseur of Islamic pictorial art that Arnold came most frequently before the public. His collaboration with Mr. Lawrence Binyon in "Court Painters of the Grand Moguls" (published in 1921), and a slender volume on the survivals of Sassanian and Manichæan art in Persian painting, published some three years later, were but the forerunners of a whole series of works on Persian art. At the back of his æsthetic appreciation, however, lay a scholar's grasp of the social and historical factors which affected the history of Islamic art, a grasp the depth and fulness of which was revealed by the fine volume entitled "Painting in Islam," issued in 1928. This was followed last year by "The Islamic Book," to which he contributed a summary of Persian art since the thirteenth century, and by his Schweich Lectures to the British Academy on "The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Art," now in the press. But these, with the work on the famous painter Bihzad which appeared early this year, by no means exhausted all his material, and we may confidently expect to see a number of his studies published in due course, either as independent articles, or in volumes completed by other hands.

We must pass over here any account of his scholastic work at the India Office and as English editor of the "Encyclopædia of Islam," to say a word on his influence as a teacher. He carried over into the classroom the same qualities that distinguished his written work. Few students, whether as beginners struggling with the Arabic verb, or entangled at a more advanced stage in the intricacies of Islamic theology, can have passed through his hands without carrying away a new insight into the subject of their study and fresh encouragement to pursue it. Fortunate were those who received his counsel and guidance, for he never spared himself but gave of his best. The effect of his teaching, if not its deliberate object, was to awaken and encourage in others that same inward study of Islam which he exemplified in his own work. For dogmatic judgments he always had a word of humorous but devastating criticism, and nothing repelled him more than the application of a purely scholastic casuistry, uninformed by any touch of human sympathy, to any problem of life or religion. Err one might, but he at least preferred to err on the side of tolerance and large-minded comprehension.

THEODORE MORISON.
H. A. R. GIBB.

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE WAHABI MOVEMENT

BY PHOENIX

IN the year 1691 Mohamed Ibn Abdel Wahab was born at Eyana in 'Aared ; he was of the tribe of Beni Temim. As a young man he travelled much in Eastern countries, studying religious law, and finally, after making a pilgrimage to Mecca, returned to his native country and settled at Derayah about 1736. During his travels Abdel Wahab had been greatly impressed by the abuses which had crept into Islam, and he determined to devote his life to restoring to the Moslem faith the pure doctrines taught by the Quran and traditions. Mohamed Abdel Wahab remained at Derayah until he died in 1787, having lived to see his reformed creed spread over all Nejd. He could not see that to the Bedwin, untouched by the luxury and civilization of Europe, such teaching might be acceptable, but to the other Muslimeen, who were treading the road of advancement and education, the abuses which he tried to eradicate were but a necessary part of the system which had overtaken them since the days when the inspired Prophet preached to the Arabian people.

The head of the chief family of Derayah at this time was Mohamed Ibn Sa'ud of the Meshalikh section of the Wuld Ali, and therefore of the Aneiza stock. Mohamed became the first convert to the restored religion in 1742, about the same time marrying the daughter of Abdel Wahab, from which union sprang the line of Wahabi Emirs of the Nejd. See Appendix I.

From the commencement the chief opponents of Wahabism were the Turks, who, either in ignorance of the true meaning of the reformer, or fearing that the lax and comfortable ways in which they had interpreted the hard precepts of the Arabian Prophet might be replaced by laws which would interrupt their ease and comfort, used every effort to suppress the undesired preachers.

The Wahabi leaders, on the other hand, probably to some extent on account of their cruel treatment at the hands of the Turks, sought to protect themselves by fostering fanaticism, which was soon construed by the ignorant Bedwin into a positive injunction to kill all who did not follow their tenets. Thus today a follower of Ibn Sa'ud would not understand, if he were asked, if he was a Wahabi ; to his way of thinking he is a Moslem, the remainder of the world being divided into Christians, Jews, and infidels, etc., of which the non-Wahabi Moslem is an infidel.

The Turks were wrong in considering Abdel Wahab as the preacher of a new religion ; the only difference between the reformer and the Moslems of his times and these is that, whereas both profess to follow the laws of the Quran and traditions, Wahabis rigidly do so, while the others neglect to do so.

Mohamed Ali Pasha, wishing to understand what the Wahabi sect really was, ordered a Congress of 'Ulama to assemble and examine the doctrines ; this Congress, after hearing many witnesses and reading a large number of documents, unanimously reported that not one single tenet of Abdel Wahab's faith was contrary to the Islamic religion ; and they added, moreover, that if Wahabism was only as shown to them, then they themselves were whole-hearted Wahabis. It is improbable that any other religious 'Ulama, whether Indian, Turkish, or Persian, would have expressed different views.

Such a report could not, however, be expected to cause Mohamed Ali Pasha to adopt the doctrines of Abdel Wahab, any more than it was likely that the Ottoman Sultan or Shah of Persia would adopt them, for by adhering to the Wahabi sect they would have had to alter their own and their subjects' manner of living, and thus destroy much of the luxury and comfort which had been won on many a hard-fought field, and had become a necessary part of their existence.

Appendix II. gives a few of the main differences between the Wahabi interpretations of Islam and those of the remaining Muslimeen, other than those following the Senusi sect, who differ but little from the teaching of Abdel Wahab.

Although Mohamed Ibn Sa'ud was by no means the most powerful sheikh in the Nejd, he managed by embracing the creed of Abdel Wahab to so inflame the Bedwin with religious fanaticism that by the time of his death he had raised himself to the first place, and had become a serious menace to the Turkish rule in Mesopotamia.

The first part of the reign of Abdel Aziz was spent in gradually conquering the tribes of the Nejd, but towards the close of the decade commencing in 1780 attempts were made to gain over the Bedwin of the Hejaz, who were under the Grand Sherif Ghaleb of Mecca ; the Grand Sherif naturally resented this insidious propaganda, and about the year 1792 he first came to blows with the Wahabi Emir, and a long war ensued, which resulted in Mecca and Jeddah being captured by Abdel Aziz in 1803 and Medina by his son Sa'ud in 1804, but finally in the complete break-up of the Wahabi Empire by an Egyptian army.

In the meantime the Turks, being thoroughly alarmed at the success of the new power in Nejd, resolved to attack Derayah, so in 1797, the required force having been collected, the expedition set out and, marching from Baghdad, the Pasha laid siege to the fortress of el Hassa ; but

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so strong was the resistance that the Turks, despairing of success, decided to retreat, concluding a treaty of peace for six years.

The Wahabis, however, quickly broke the peace and invaded Basra, and finally in 1801 destroyed the tomb of the Imam Hussein in Kerbala, which act spread a wave of horror through the whole Moslem world.

To avenge this breach of the treaty the Turks again advanced towards Derayah, but their army was forced to retreat and was practically annihilated.

The Wahabi power was now nearing its zenith, and an attempt to destroy the dome of the Prophet's tomb was only frustrated by the indifferent tools of the vandals. In 1802 Bahrein was reduced, and many of the Oman tribes embraced the Wahabi faith.

At the close of 1804 the richest towns on the Yemen coast were plundered, but no permanent occupation was attempted, while a negro slave of the Wahabi Emir made several incursions into the Syrian desert and alarmed the Bedwin in the vicinity of Aleppo, and at the same time the Euphrates was crossed and Bedwin in the neighbourhood of Baghdad plundered. Again, in the year 1807 Meshed Ali was besieged, but resisted, and the Sa'udist forces retreated.

In 1809 Yusif Pasha of Damascus made a very half-hearted attack towards Jof, but achieved no success, and soon retired; and in the same year an English expedition sent from Bombay to avenge some piratical attack on British commerce laid in ashes the important port of Ras el Kheyma on the Persian Gulf, a cousin of Ibn Sa'ud being killed. This event did not, however, prevent the Wahabi Emir from collecting in 1809 an army of 30,000 men with which to attack Baghdad; but troubles in Nejd postponed the invasion till 1810, and this campaign resulted in the army getting to the walls of Baghdad, which, however, was not taken.

Whilst the campaign in Iraq was going on, a force of some 6,000 men attacked right into the heart of Syria, and plundered thirty-five villages in the Hawran, but two days' distance from Damascus, and such was the fear inspired in the hearts of the garrison and people of that town that it might easily have been taken; the plan, however, seems to have been to induce voluntary surrender by frequent visits, which would inspire fear into the peaceful fellahs; also a small reverse sustained at the hands of Ed Draibi Sha'lân of the Roallah saved Damascus, and rolled back the invading forces to the Nejd.

It now became apparent to the Turks that the ever-increasing danger must be resisted, and as expeditions from Damascus and Baghdad proved fruitless, it gradually dawned upon the Ottoman Government that a force based on Egypt and supplied from Suez could alone hope for success.

Several fruitless efforts had been made to close the Egyptian ports against the Hejaz, but the various powerful Mamelukes, fearing the loss so entailed, had declined to obey the orders given.

However, in 1810 Mohamed Ali had become sufficiently powerful to equip an expedition, which set sail in 1811 under the command of his son, Toussoun Bey. This force consisted of about 2,000 Albanian soldiers and 800 Turkish cavalry.

Toussoun decided to advance on Medina, but was heavily defeated, principally by the Harb tribe, and it was not till December, 1812, that he was strong enough to again advance and capture that town. During the early months of 1813 Mecca and Taif both fell, but the Turks had no success in the open country, and later in this year an army led by Mohamed Ali in person was signally defeated at Turaba, and driven back to Taif by a Bedwin army headed by a widow known as Chalia. The Turks, by their barbarous treatment of the inhabitants, had spread hatred of their name, and it was not till after the death of Sa'ud in 1814 that any progress was made against the Wahabi Arabs. The arrival of the energetic soldier Hassan Pasha from Cairo in the autumn of 1814 and the growing success of Mohamed Ali's plan of conciliating the Bedwin by grants of money soon began to have their effect in slowly driving back the new Emir.

Early in 1815 there were 20,000 troops employed in the Hejaz, and with a very considerable portion of this army the Wahabi forces were utterly defeated at Byssel near Taif, losing 5,000 men.

In the meantime the great Sa'ud had died, and he was succeeded by Abdullah as fourth Emir.

After the defeat of Byssel, Toussoun Bey advanced into Qasim and captured Er Ras.

To the general astonishment Abdullah now retired to 'Aneiza and opened negotiations, no doubt feeling his position insecure owing to Mohamed Ali's policy of winning over the Bedwin.

The peace which ensued in 1815 was speedily broken, and Ibrahim Pasha, second son of Mohamed Ali, advanced to Ma'wiya and inflicted a great defeat on the Wahabis. It is worthy of note that the Muteir—whose head sheikh was Feisal El Dowish—'Ateiba, and Harb fought against Abdullah.

The war continued during 1816 and 1817, the Egyptian Pasha gradually taking town after town until in 1818 Derayah was invested and Abdullah surrendered. The capitulation of the Wahabi capital was followed by its utter destruction, and as it was never rebuilt, Riadh became the new centre. The Wahabi Emir was first sent to Cairo and then to Constantinople, where, in spite of Mohamed Ali's recommendations to mercy, he was executed.

Nejd was now reckoned as an Egyptian province, but within four

years of the departure of Abdullah revolts broke out, and the garrison of Riadh, the new capital, was massacred.

In 1824 Turki, after a successful rebellion, drove out the invaders, and was proclaimed Emir of Nejd, Hasa, and Oman; he, however, paid tribute to Egypt.

In 1834 Turki was assassinated by Meshari, and it was at this time that an unimportant man named Abdullah Ibn Rashid from Hail entered the palace and stabbed the murderer, thus helping Feisal to seize the throne of his father. As a reward, Feisal made Abdullah Ibn Rashid Governor of the Shammar, and from this date commences the dynasty of Ibn Rashid (Appendix IV.).

Feisal soon neglected to pay tribute to Egypt, so a new force was despatched from Egypt in 1838, which quickly forced Feisal to surrender and later to be sent to Cairo. After this an Egyptian Government was set up in Nejd, which lasted two years, when most of the troops were recalled and Khalid Ibn Sa'ud was made Vali.

Khalid, however, was not left long in peace, being deposed in 1842 by Abdullah Ibn Thennyan Ibn Sa'ud, who became Emir of Nejd until Feisal escaped from his prison in Cairo and returned to Nejd to again become Emir in 1843.

Feisal's reign, which lasted until 1855, was singularly successful. Oman was made to pay tribute in 1845, Hassa had a Wahabi Governor, and Qasim was conquered, while Jebel Shammar was again made a tributary of Riadh. Bahrein being defended with English help, however, did not return to the Wahabi Empire.

Feisal during the latter part of his reign had become blind, and his son Abdullah, who succeeded him, made himself very unpopular, being deposed by his brother Sa'ud in 1871, after some fighting which resulted in Jebel Shammar and Qasim seizing the opportunity to declare their independence.

Abdullah retired to Met'ab Ibn Rashid and began to invoke the assistance of the Turks, who, jumping at the chance which they had long been seeking, appointed Abdullah Deputy-Governor of Nejd and prepared an expedition to maintain order.

The expedition annexed Hasa in 1871, and shortly afterwards set aside Abdullah and appointed a Mutaserrif as Governor of Nejd, the Emir fleeing to Riadh.

The next year, 1872, Sa'ud returned to Riadh and turned out his brother, and soon after entered into negotiations with the Turks, sent his brother Abdul Rahman to Baghdad, where he was imprisoned till 1874. After being released he returned to Nejd, and raising the tribes besieged Hofuf, which was soon after relieved by the Turks, the town being given over to pillage.

On the death of Sa'ud his brother Abdullah again returned to Riadh,

where he reigned till 1886, when he was seized by his two nephews and put in prison.

This gave Mohamed Ibn Rashid the desired opportunity of taking Nejd and marching to the rescue of his master. He defeated and killed the usurper in the battle of Jüdi in Hasa, and, carrying Abdullah off to Hail, appointed Abdul Rahman as Deputy-Governor.

During the remainder of his reign Mohamed Ibn Rashid ruled, with the exception of a few easily-suppressed revolts, the undisputed chief of Riadh and Nejd, and on his death in 1897 his son Mit'ab succeeded to his vast dominions.

In 1899 or 1900 the first move of the Sa'uds was made, and Abdul Rahman marched out to Qasim, while his son Abdel Aziz made a diversion on Riadh. The forces of Ibn Rashid and Abdul Rahman met at Tarafiya, where the latter was signally defeated; so great was the slaughter that Arabs say the blood of the fallen mixed with the rain and flowed in a red stream. After this defeat Abdul Rahman gave up his claim to the throne in favour of his son, the present ruler, Abdel Aziz.

Abdel Aziz immediately set about to gain Riadh, and selecting 200 men he marched out of Koweit in the winter of 1900. At a short distance from the capital, choosing fifteen men, he enjoined the remainder to wait outside the town and return to Koweit if they had no news of him in the morning.

In the dusk this small band entered Riadh, and making straight to the house of Ibn Rashid's Governor, they knocked upon the door, which was opened by a woman. Apparently the Governor was in the habit of sleeping in the fort, but Abdel Aziz and his followers entered and, assembling all the women in one room and enjoining absolute silence, proceeded to watch the adjoining fort all night.

At dawn the fort gates were opened and the Governor with his bodyguard walked towards the house. The sixteen were waiting at the door, which they flung open, and rushing upon the surprised Governor quickly ended the struggle. A moment later Abdel Aziz Ibn Abdul Rahman Ibn Feisal Ibn Sa'ud was proclaimed ruler of Riadh, to the amazement of the thunderstruck population.

The following years were spent in gradually consolidating his position, but a rival branch of the family, sons of Sa'ud, joined Ibn Rashid, and the latter, pretending that he wished to restore the rightful heir to the throne, advanced against Abdel Aziz. A battle ensued at Rawdat el Muhsna, near Tarafiya, in which Ibn Rashid was defeated and slain, whilst the Sa'udist pretenders were found hiding among the baggage, which fact gave their branch of the family the name "Al Araif," meaning lost property recovered.

Abdel Aziz did not kill Sa'ud El Arafa or any members of that

branch of his family, but in 1910 Sa'ud El Arafa again rebelled, and with the tribe of 'Ajman at his back he was defeated. He fled to Mecca.

Just before the War Ibn Sa'ud caused the Turkish garrisons one by one to surrender, and at the end of the year the province of Hasa saw the last sign of the Turkish rule disappear without a shot being fired.

At the outbreak of the Great War Ibn Rashid took the side of the Turks, and a British officer was sent to Ibn Sa'ud to persuade him to avail himself of the opportunity and advance upon his rival. In 1916 the campaign commenced which ended in the defeat of Abdel Aziz and his withdrawal from all further activities in the Great War. Thus it was that the Allies, having failed in the east of Arabia, turned their faces towards the Hejaz and the Sherifian family.

Ibn Sa'ud always hated the Sherif Hussein of Mecca, and had despised him before the war as being a mere Turkish Government official. When, however, Hussein entered the war with the Allies and received a large subsidy, his jealousy knew no bounds, while the Sherif's self-made title of King of the Arabs provoked continually the ironical mirth and scorn of the Wahabi Emir.

No sooner had the War ended than Abdel Aziz made preparation for an attack on the Hejaz, and in the beginning of 1919, having seized Khurma and Turaba, which belonged to Hussein, he was met by the Emir Abdullah near the latter place, and inflicted a signal defeat upon him, the latter losing 4,000 to 5,000 men and narrowly escaping in his nightshirt.

There is little doubt that Ibn Sa'ud could have then taken the Hejaz, but he preferred to withdraw, retaining Khurma and Turaba, the eastern gateways of the Hejaz, in his own hands.

That his policy of withdrawal has proved right is certain, as at that time, had he conquered the Hejaz, Britain would have been obliged to assist its ally, and, moreover, King Hussein had not had time to become thoroughly unpopular with his subjects.

Soon after this attack on the Hejaz the Wahabi Emir turned his attention to the Emirate of Hail, and having surrounded the town the Emir Mohamed Ibn Tallal surrendered in 1921, from which date the whole of Jebel Shammar once again returned to the dynasty of Ibn Sa'ud. The outlying district of Jof and Wadi Sirhan, which had been reckoned as part of the dominions of the Ibn Rashid dynasty, had, during the War, been taken by Nuri Ibn Sha'laan, but in 1922 Ibn Sa'ud sent a force and occupied the whole of the Wadi Sirhan, with the exception of Kaf, which was annexed to Transjordan; this place, however, was evacuated in 1925 and given to Ibn Sa'ud.

In 1924, when Ibn Sa'ud again attacked the Hejaz, the King had become so hated that most of the population welcomed any change, and Mecca fell without a shot being fired; moreover, King Hussein, by

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refusing all offers to make treaty with Great Britain, had forfeited all right to be assisted in any way.

Hussein retreated to Jeddah, where he abdicated in favour of his son Ali, and retired first to Aqaba and then to Cyprus.

Ali in the meantime, with the help of some raw recruits raised in Palestine, held out in Jeddah till 1925, when he capitulated and retired to Iraq. Medina and all the Hejaz at once became part of the Wahabi Empire, and Ibn Sa'ud shortly afterwards assumed the title of King of the Hejaz.

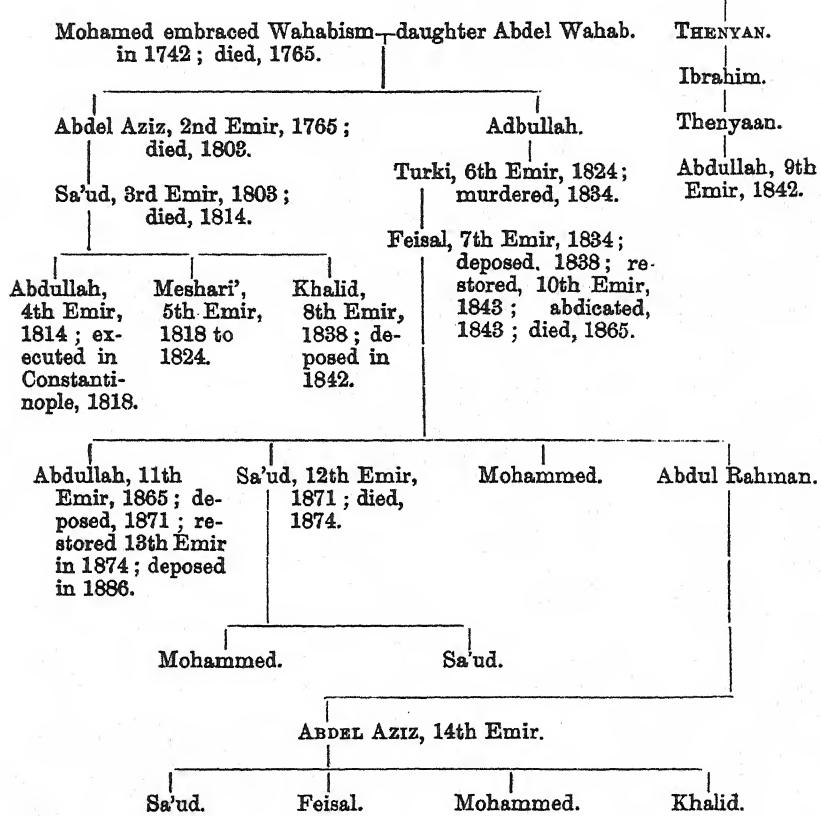
Thus in 1928 we see Abdel Aziz Ibn Abdel Rahman Ibn Feisal Ibn Sa'ud, King of the Hejaz, Sultan of Nejd, Jebel Shammar, Qasim, and El Hasa, and Imam of the Muslimeen.

Lest I should further try the patience of the reader I will here bring this short narrative to a close, nor is this moment inappropriate, as the voice from the Minaret has just called the first words of the Azan, described by Gibbon as the eternal truth, "There is no God but God," summoning the faithful to prayer, and at this sunset announcing to the true Muslimeen that once again the Holy Moon of Fasting has ended.

APPENDIX I

DYNASTY OF IBN SA'UD

Sa'ud Ibn Mohamed.



APPENDIX II

TURKS AND OTHER MOSLEMS

1. That the Prophet, although dead and buried, had not died as other mortals, and can intercede with God for his people.
2. That the Prophet's name should be mentioned in prayer.
3. The spiritual authority of the Khalif.
4. The opinions (*Ijma'*) of the four orthodox sects are to be believed.
5. The offering of prayers to Walis and saints.
6. Illuminations of shrines of dead saints, and prostration at or going round their tombs.
7. The visiting of graves by women.
8. The legality of celebrating seven feasts.
9. The celebration of the Prophet's birthday.
10. The custom of presenting offerings at shrines.
11. The use of a rosary when counting the ninety-nine names of God.

LAWS OF QORAN AND TRADITIONS RECOGNIZED BUT NOT ENFORCED

1. Almsgiving.
2. Sumptuary laws instituted by the Prophet against :
 - (a) Wearing of silk.
 - (b) Wearing of gold.
 - (c) Shaving the beard.
3. Use of wine and alcohol, tobacco, gambling, and magic.
4. Continual war with infidels.

WAHABI DOCTRINES

That the Prophet was a mortal who had died as all other mortals, and that at the last day he will receive God's permission to intercede for his people.

That no name but God's should be mentioned in prayer.

Neither the Ottoman nor any other Khalif has spiritual authority.

The rejection of all (*Ijma'*) after the death of the companions of the Prophet.

No prayers may be offered to a Wali or saint.

It is unlawful to illuminate at the tombs of saints or to prostrate before them. In order to maintain this doctrine they break up tombs, so as to remove temptation.

That women should not be allowed to visit graves on account of their immoderate weeping.

Only four festivals should be celebrated.

They do not observe this ceremony.

They regard this as against the Moslem faith.

They count the ninety-nine names on their fingers.

INSISTED ON BY WAHABI ADHERENTS

Considered obligatory on all Moslems.

Rigidly enforced by Wahabis, but disregarded by others.

Forbidden by Wahabis and neglected by others.

The fostering of a martial and fanatical spirit to keep the law in force. In the eyes of many Wahabis a non-Wahabi Moslem is far worse than a Christian or Jew, as he professes to be what he is not.

The Wahabis objected to many of the abuses which they saw in all towns under the Turkish dominion—*e.g.*, prostitution, unnatural vices, treachery and fraud, and the criminal way in which the Turkish Qadis administered justice.

Ibn Sa'ud himself admitted that Christians and Jews are people of a book, and that it is unlawful to either study or admit or challenge any statement in their Holy Writ.

The Shi'a are condemned as being infidels and polytheists ; but the Sunnis are the worst of all, as being, in addition to polytheists, given to cheating, smoking, drinking, prostitution, and sodomy. Polytheism is the greatest of all crimes ; and by the veneration paid to the Prophet and to saints, etc., and by the offering of prayers at tombs, both Sunnis and Shi'a must be reckoned as polytheists.

APPENDIX III

The army of Mohammed 'Ali Pasha of Egypt contained several interesting persons, among whom were some European officers. The most noteworthy and romantic of all was a native of Edinburgh named Thomas Keith. He had served in the 72nd Highlanders as a gunsmith, and being taken prisoner in one of the Egyptian expeditions, became a Moslem and was purchased by a person called Ahmed, nicknamed Ahmed Bonaparte, Treasurer of Mohamed Ali.

A favourite Sicilian slave of Ahmed Bonaparte, having insulted Keith, now known as Ibrahim, was killed by the latter in a duel.

In order to escape the wrath of Ahmed Bonaparte, Ibrahim took refuge with the wife of Mohamed Ali, who befriended him and caused Toussoun Bey, her son, to take him to his service. However, Toussoun, who was an ill-tempered man, ordered Ibrahim to be put to death for some small neglect of duty, and several persons were sent to carry out the order. Ibrahim thereupon defended himself with his sword for half an hour, and finally jumping out of the window escaped to his former protectress, who soon reconciled him with his master.

Later Toussoun, seeing the courageous character of his follower, promoted him to the office of Treasurer.

He fought bravely at Medina and Taraba, and in April, 1815, was appointed Governor of Medina.

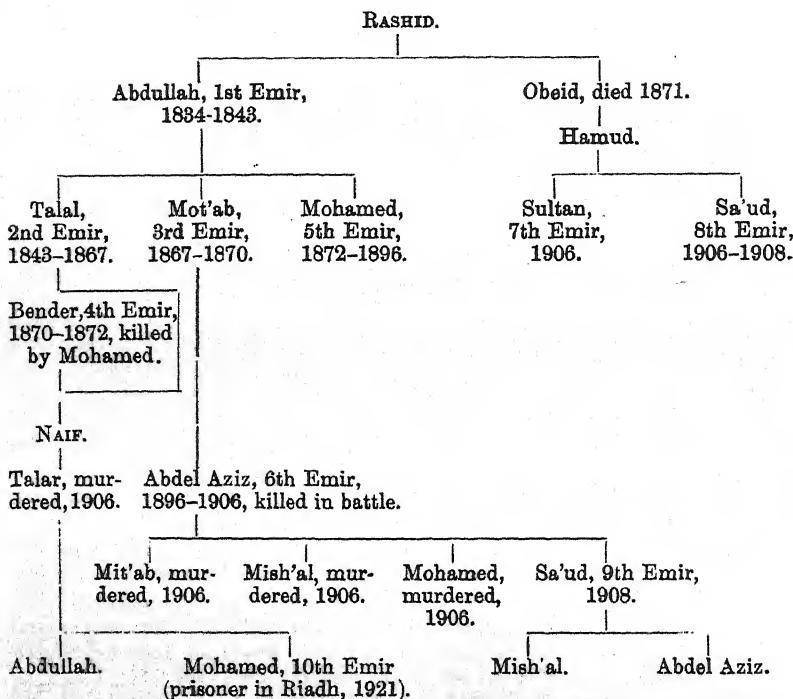
Two months later he was killed when hastening to assist his former master with 250 men, who were all killed.

In this last encounter Keith, known as Ibrahim Agha, killed four Wahabis with his own hand, and Abdullah Ibn Sa'ud said that Toussoun and his faithful Treasurer were the bravest men in the Turkish army.

Amongst the European officers were also several refugees from France, one of whom greatly distinguished himself in the service of Mahomed Ali. He eventually was raised to the rank of Pasha under the name of Suliman, and having married a Turkish lady founded the family from which the present Queen of Egypt is sprung.

APPENDIX IV

DYNASTY OF IBN RASHID



APPENDIX V

The brief summary of the Wahabi movement and history of Ibn Sa'ud must necessarily end with the fall of Jeddah and expulsion of the Hashimites from the Hejaz. It is, however, legitimate to make some forecast of the possible result of this section on the future of Wahabism.

We see that in the beginning of the nineteenth century the success of the Turkish troops was for long in the balance, and that the nomad population, having been estranged by the brutality of the invaders, clung to the Sa'ud dynasty; but so soon as Mohamed Ali Pasha arrived in the Hejaz and began the policy of conciliation, then gradually the Bedwin began to fall away from the Nejdi Emir.

The present day also shows us that many of the nomad tribes are not really in sympathy with the religious side of the movement, but are held in loyalty to the conqueror by fear of his arms and by the fanaticism which it is his policy to create.

Ibn Sa'ud, so long as he remained in Riadh, completely cut off from all Western influences, could ignore the anomalies which a rigid adherence to the doctrines of Abdel Wahab must create outside the deserts and steppes of Arabia, but when he arrived in the Hejaz he at once came face to face with Western

culture and Islamic world problems. He himself was great enough to realize that he must curtail those parts of his ideals which would create most disgust in the eyes of the non-Wahabi Moslems, but his ignorant followers will not understand this, nor can they be expected to so long as fanaticism is encouraged. I am of opinion that if Ibn Sa'ud manages to establish his dynasty in Mecca, then he—perhaps the greatest of the Wahabi Emirs—will have sounded the death-knell of militant Wahabism.

Abdel Aziz, if he lives, may by his great personality be able to modify the most drastic part of his creed in order to meet the political necessities of his empire, and at the same time keep the religious side uppermost in the minds of his subjects; but I believe that if his successors are not driven back into the Nejd, then gradually the political and dynastic side of the Wahabi movement will overshadow and finally eradicate the religious ideals which originally were the bedrock of the state.

History also shows us the early Khalifs in Medina upholding the original doctrines of the Prophet in all their austeries, but no sooner did the political seat of the Government move to Damascus, riddled as it was with Western civilization, than abuses crept in, and we witness some of the most dissolute and profligate members of the human race seated on the throne of the Khalif of Islam; moreover, directly the head of a state strayed from the road the subjects followed suit with distressing rapidity. This is the result which the move of the capital to Mecca may have upon the Wahabi faith.

APPENDIX VI

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Abdel Aziz Ibn Sa'ud after his initial success had before him two recent examples of the Arab dynasties rising to a prominent position in the peninsula, and of their rapid fall so soon as the founder died—viz., his own family and that of Ibn Rashid. The reason was the impossibility of being able to maintain a disciplined standing army recruited from either Bedwin tribes, accustomed to tribal organization and centuries of raids and counter-raids, or from the settled population, riddled with the fears of revenge and blood feuds. The certain eventual effect of this dangerous deficiency was early recognized by Ibn Sa'ud; it consequently was his immediate object to overcome this difficulty by means which would be in accord with the genius of his subjects. In order to do this he initiated at Artawiyya a new society, to be known as the Ikhwān, which was, in fact, merely a more militant version of Wahabism, but he so designed this society that it might fill the void in his administration caused by the unavoidable lack of a disciplined regular army; in other words, he created a military organization suitable to the Arab spirit, which, being unfettered by tribal jealousies and political feuds, could take the place of a disciplined army. Artawiyya, together with Dakhna, Gatbat, Sajir, and many other places, were founded as military colonies or cantonments for his standing army, which in 1919 could muster 30,000 men, and as the number of colonies is yearly increasing, it is probable that the Ikhwān army is now considerably larger.

These colonies were peopled from poor and practically homeless Bedwin who were then settled on the land, in return swearing to fight for their sovereign and devoting every male child born in the colonies to this service. The colonies are bound together by ties of a common faith, and owe allegiance

to their founder as the Vicegerent of God ; they are perfectly dissociated from all the tribal practices and politics, and are therefore a constant menace to tribes who break the law by raiding one another within his dominions.

The colonies of cantonments may be said to form the backbone of Ibn Sa'ud's government, and the men belonging to them always serve under his banner. The inhabitants of these colonies are these real Ikhwān, though the name has come to be erroneously used for all the subjects of Ibn Sa'ud.

Apart from this military force, Ibn Sa'ud can also reckon upon irregular troops from such tribes as the Sbahli, Ateiba, Harb, and Dawasir, etc., but they are not considered very trustworthy, and, although following in a general way the Ikhwān beliefs, still cling to their tribal organization and jealousies ; in addition, the various towns and villages must, when required, contribute men, the number in each case being fixed by the numerical strength of the population.

In times of great danger the whole of the irregular troops can be called out, and might muster forty or fifty thousand men ; but for minor expeditions a small quota is usually summoned, and then only from the tribes and places nearest to the area of operations.

Thus nowadays we see Arabian society divided into three sections :

- (a) Ikhwān, fanatical Wahabi warriors.
- (b) Townsfolk and villagers, Wahabis by birth.
- (c) Bedwin, professing but not strict in practising Wahabi tenets.

The degree of trust placed in the three divisions being in the above order.

In former times, before the Ikhwān colonies had been formed, the townsfolk and villagers were regarded as the élite among the fighting men of the Wahabi Empire, while the Bedwin were always regarded as an unreliable element. Abdel Aziz has, however, started off in a completely fresh direction.

The recent revolt of the Muteir, whose headquarters are at the first of all the Ikhwān colonies, throws the first shadow of doubt on the wisdom of founding such a military organization. Will the founder be able to keep in check his own children, or shall we in the future see a recurrence of the times when the Praetorian Guards ruled Rome, the Janissaries dictated to the Ottoman Sultan, or the Mamelukes tyrannized unchecked in Egypt ? Time alone can show whether the military ardour and fanatical bravery of these Ikhwān colonists can be maintained, and whether they will continue as a safeguard or become a danger to the state.

Ibn Sa'ud has reverted to the time-honoured practice of using the religious beliefs of his subjects to help him forge a weapon with which to push forward his political dynastic ambitions ; finding the social structure of his State unsuitable for his ambitions, he has created a military class, and it is thus, when we hear the panic-stricken Bedwin shouting "Ikhwān ! Ikhwān !" they are not thinking of an attack from the tribes or fellahs of Nejd, but from the Ikhwān colonists—that terrible weapon born in the brain of a king among men, and forged by the hand of a master of statecraft.

ADDITION TO BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE WAHABI MOVEMENT

The following list is the latest which I can obtain of the Ikhwān colonies. The number of men stated against each is but an estimate.

The population is roughly divided into three classes—e.g. (1) the Motawwa's (Wahabi missionary teachers) ; (2) merchants ; (3) Bedu farmers.

The latter are the fighting class ; but the whole male population for military purposes is divided in a special way :

(1) Those always ready, with camel and arms, to obey the call to the colours.

(2) The Reserve, who in peace-time look after the herds, and are summoned in times of emergency.

(3) Those men who are employed in looking after trade and agriculture, and can only be summoned in times of great national danger.

The King may call out the first two classes, but the third class may only be summoned by order of the 'Ulama, this being considered a step which entails the general mobilization of the whole male population.

The largest total which could be assembled at the first call if every Hijar sent its full quota would be about fifty to sixty thousand men, the Reserve being about half the number.

THE MUTEIR TRIBES

Name of Town.		Number of Men.	Name of Town.		Number of Men.
Irtawiyya	...	2,000	Mishah	...	800
Imkayedh	...	1,000	Dhuraiyah	...	800
Freisan	...	1,000	Ash Shi'ab	...	400
Muleih	...	700	Quriah the Upper	...	1,500
Al Imar	...	700	Quriah the Lower	...	1,000
Al Ithlah	...	1,000	Sudair	...	700
Al Irtawi	...	600	Nukair	...	1,000

RUQAH SECTION OF 'OTEIBA TRIBE

Gatgat	...	2,000	'Arja	...	...	...	2,000
Ad Dahna	...	2,000	'Usailah	...	...	...	300
As Sawh	...	300	Nifei	...	...	...	1,500
Sajer	...	800					

BARQAH SECTION OF 'OTEIBA TRIBE

'Urqah	...	1,000	Ar Rawdah	...	...	...	700
As Sanam	...	1,000					

THE HARB TRIBE

Dukhnah	...	2,500	Hulaifah	...	...	...	300
Ash Shubaikiyah	...	1,000	Hunaizal	...	...	...	700
Ad Dulaimiyah	...	1,000	Al Buroud	...	...	...	1,000
Al Qorain	...	700	Qibah (pronounced J'bah)	2,000
As Sadeqah	...	600					

SHAMMAR

Al Jafr	...	2,000	Rowdhul 'Uyoun	1,000
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HUTAIN

Binwan	1,500
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DAWASIR

Mushaireqah	...	1,500	Al Wusaitah	800
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AL 'UJMAN

Name of Town.	Number of Men.	Name of Town.	Number of Men.
As Sirrar	2,000	Al 'Ujair	700
Hunaiz	1,000	'Urairah	1,300
As Sihaf	800		

BENI QAHTAN

Al Hayathem	1,800	Ar Rayan the Upper	2,000
Al Jufair	300	Ar Rayan the Lower	2,000
Al Hisat	800		

IN THE KHARJ

Adh Dhubai'ha	800	Al Akhdhar	500
Al Bida'	800	Taibism	400
Al Munaisef	600	Ar Ruwaidhah	400

AL 'AWAZIM

Thaj	1,500	Al Hannat	1,000
Al Hasi	1,000	Al 'Atiq	700

BENU MURRAH

Behak	1,000	Ubairiq	1,500
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BENU HAJIR

Al Dahr	1,000
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There are also several Hijrahs of the two tribes of As Suhoul and Subai'.

THE SPREAD AND INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM IN ASIA *

BY THE LATE COLONEL E. R. ROST, O.B.E., K.I.H.

THERE can be no doubt whatever that one of the most important events in the history of the world was the attainment to Buddhahood of Prince Sidhartha in 589 B.C. As the wonderful archaeological discoveries made by that celebrated department in India headed by the name of Sir Aurel Stein have shown, side by side with the transliteration of the Pali and Sanskrit texts, with their subsequent translation into Occidental languages, the accuracy of the dates at our disposal and the exact knowledge of the detailed history of the time, all agreeing in extraordinary detail, prove to us that the Pali texts at our disposal are an accurate dispensation of the great Master's words.

It must be realized that at the time of the birth of Prince Sidhartha in the family of the Sakya King Sudothana in 624 B.C. during the full moon of Wesak (this corresponds to our month of May) there were prevalent in India various theories regarding psychological questions concerning the personality, sixty-two in number, all of which the Prince discarded after seven years of practising all the various systems of Yoga self-abnegation that were prevalent at that time. It was when he was in his thirty-fifth year that he eventually discovered the law of Paṭicca Samuppāda, or law of dependent origination, and the three characteristics on which the whole Dhamma or law is based, and out of which he solved the riddle of the universe of becoming, the incessant round of rebirths, with its consequent suffering, and he taught the Eightfold Noble Path of Purity, by means of which beings could attain to higher states of consciousness and eventually to Nibbāna. He preached his doctrine for forty-five years, and during this long time he formed the brotherhood, or Sangha, and travelled through many parts of India, giving advice to rulers and sending out missions in various directions. It is said that the Dhamma reached the island of Ceylon during the lifetime of the Buddha; it is certain that Vijaya with a following of 700 landed in the island in 544 B.C.—this is mentioned in the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa, the oldest chronicles of Ceylon—

* Paper read at a Members' meeting on May 26, 1930, Colonel H. Stevens in the Chair.

Colonel Rost, who died on June 23, was ill at the time, but was able to read the paper at some cost to himself.

and in 164 B.C. King Dutthagāmani erected a monument at the spot where they landed.

After the Parinibbana of the Buddha, the Arahan Mahakasyapa called the first great council of Bhikkhus, numbering 500, who assembled at Rajagriha, and it is said that they recited the whole of the Tipiṭaka continuously without a break, and that this took seven months. It is certain that not long after this the recitations began to be written down, but the practice of recitation was continued, as indeed it still is to the present day, though not to the same extent. It may, however, be confidently said that the Pali recitations of the actual Master's words have been handed down in an unbroken line for nigh on 2,500 years, and that the Pali that you hear chanted today in Ceylon is exactly the same as that spoken at the time of the great Master himself.

There was at one time a considerable amount of controversy as to whether the Tipiṭakas were first written down in Pali or Sanskrit. Archæological discovery and the work of Professor Rhys Davids have amply proved that the Sanskrit writings were of a much later date. Moreover, the Sanskrit writings contained dissensions from the actual teachings and the rules of the order, and contained many reverersions to Brahmanical influences. It was these dissensions that led to Emperor Asoka's great council of Theras and Bhikkhus in 235 B.C., when under the leadership of Sariputta the 500 Arahans settled the correct dispensations of the Master's words, and Tissa Mogali's son had compiled the Kathā-vathu, which was added to the books of the Abhidhamma, or section of Buddhist psychology, and forms one of the most important records and proof of the purity of the Buddhism as existing in Ceylon and Burma today. In the commentary on this book the genealogical dissensions are clearly shown out of which have arisen the various forms of Buddhism existing today under the heading Mahayana, or the Northern School, and found in some form or another in Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan, Turkistan, Central Asia, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Korea, and Japan; while the Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia has existed mostly as the orthodox Buddhism of the Pali Tipitakas, called the Theravada, or the Southern Church.

The study of the history of the spread and influence of Buddhism throughout the many various countries of Asia during this long period of 2,500 years is so vast that one can only at most give a mere outline, but there are certain valuable facts that we will realize, facts that are of the utmost importance to us at the present day in Asia.

We will now try to form some general aspect of the advance and influence of Buddhism through these long ages, century by century.

About 100 years after the Parinibbana of the Buddha, the second council of Vaisali was held under the leadership of Yasa, with 700

Bhikkhus. After this the influence of Buddhism became more and more spiritual and the temporal power of the chiefs grew stronger. Buddhism spread at this time mostly in a north-westerly direction, and was cut short by the campaign of Alexander the Great, when he gathered together the hordes of the Punjab about 326 B.C. About 100 years later the religion had fallen greatly into dissensions, but still existed in a pure form in many widely distant parts, where there were large Viharas under very learned Theras. So that when the Emperor Asoka had realized the folly of his aggressive wars, he had no difficulty in obtaining that learning that led to his wonderful change of character, and its subsequent influence on the history of the whole world.

In the eighteenth year of his reign he sent missionaries to far-distant lands. He sent Mahadeva to the south of the Godavari, Majjhantika to Kashmir and Gandhara, Rakkhita to Arabia, Dhammarakkhita to the west of the Punjab, Mahadhammarakkhita to north-east of Bombay, Maharakkhita to Bactria, Majjhima to the central Himalayas, Sena and Uttara to Burma, and Mahinda to Ceylon. So that by spreading the good law in all directions he extended the community of brotherhood throughout a vast empire.

In the thirteenth rock edict we are told how his missionaries were successful in such far-distant lands as Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus, and Ceylon. During this period it is said that many Viharas, relic-chambers, inscriptions, architectural works, wells, tree-lined roads, courts of justice, canals, irrigation works, hospitals for man and for beast were instituted. After Asoka's death a great change came over the empire, which gradually disrupted into conspiring states as the influence of the brotherhood became diminished.

In 164 B.C. the Tamils crossed over to Ceylon and conquered the greater part of the island, but were again later driven out. There is evidence that at this time Buddhism existed in the Talaing kingdom and in Siam, while curiously enough Brahmanical influences were existing in Cambodia, and remained for many centuries after the introduction of Buddhism. The extension of Buddhism into Syria and Palestine, where it remained amongst the Essenes, made its influence felt later in the next century in that part of the world. So that we find the distinct likeness of the doctrine of Kamma and the parable of the sower, while the high standard of ethical teaching of love and compassion, and the display of the Iddhi powers so well known in India at that time, go to show the influence of Buddhism in moulding the structure of the great religion that took its origin from this part of the world.

The earliest date of the introduction of Buddhism into China is uncertain, but Li Fang is said to have brought Buddhist literature to

China with seventeen companions in 217 B.C., while one of the Han generals brought a golden Buddha from Turkistan in 123 B.C.

But Buddhism did not gain an official foothold in China until the first century A.D. Emperor Ming-ti had a dream which so influenced his mind that he sent a mission to the West in search of a new religion. In A.D. 67 this mission met the two Bhikkhus from India, Kaçyapa Matanga and Dharmarakṣa, on their way through the mountainous regions towards China, with some portions of the Buddhist Suttas. The mission turned back with the two Bhikkhus towards China, and on their way they set to work to translate the Suttas into Chinese, so that on their arrival at the court of the Emperor Ming-ti they were able to at once impress the Emperor with the importance of the new knowledge.

He built a temple in his capital, known as the White Pony Temple, from the pack animal that carried the sacred manuscripts and the image of Gautama. Buddhist progress in China was for a time slow. It must be realized that the form of Buddhism that had been introduced was much influenced by the Mahayana type prevalent in the countries that it had passed through on its way to China. The influence of Buddhism in China has been very vast. In philology it led to considerable simplification in the speaking and the writing of the language: the number of tones was increased, and some approach was made to the creation of an alphabet after the analogy of the Sanskrit syllabary. Its stimulus to literature was very great and led eventually to the accumulation of 1,662 volumes, all dealing with Buddhism in its actual Abhidhamma teaching and extensions and modifications based on Mahayana teaching. In architecture and art a great stimulus and change took place, while the manners and customs of the people became much influenced.

King Kanishka, who ruled over Ghandara in Northern India, probably about the end of the first century, was a great supporter of Buddhism; he called a Buddhist council and adopted Sanskrit as the language in which the Buddhist doctrines were written. This resulted in a still further division between the two Buddhist worlds, and is possibly the first date of the general Buddhist Sanskrit literature of Northern India. There is also some evidence that this literature reached Burma and Cambodia early in their history, as there is a long list of Burmese translations from the Sanskrit.

During the next 300 years Buddhism had varying fortunes and on the whole made little progress, on account of dissensions in the order and loss of influence of the religion on the various rulers and during a period of wars all over Asia.

About A.D. 360 Buddhism first made its appearance in Tibet from Nepal, and the King sent for religious works from India. Also about

this time in A.D. 339 the famous Chinese pilgrim Fah Hsien went to Central India via Central Asia, and returned with literature to China by way of Java after fifteen years. It is to Fah Hsien's writings that the modern archaeologists owe the hints that led to the discovery of the birthplace of the Buddha and also the portion of his ashes enshrined at Purushapura.

A little later another Chinese pilgrim, Sung Yun, went to Peshawar and brought back 700 volumes of the Mahayana texts to China.

We also hear of the Nalanda University in India as having a great influence on the training of Buddhist missionaries and learning, and many came from far-distant lands to study at this place.

The history of Buddhism in Ceylon and Burma is a history of the Pali literature of these two countries right up to the present day. Mrs. Bode's book on the Pali literature of Burma and Mr. Malalasakara's book on the Pali literature of Ceylon are interesting reading side by side, showing how these two countries, widely differing in character, race, and language, had always helped one another in supplying missions and literature when required.

It was not until the seventh century A.D. that Buddhism became firmly established in its much-modified form in Tibet.

King Song-tsen Gam-po had two Buddhist wives, one from Nepal and the other a daughter of the Chinese Emperor. These two ladies, after settling their differences in the peaceful Buddhist manner, settled the future religion of the country by converting the King himself. The King sent for literature from India, and some attempt was made to make Tibetan a written language, and the form of Buddhism existing in Nepal was adopted as the state religion. It, however, never entirely replaced the Pön religion, with which it became mixed and the customs and ritual of which have never been eradicated.

About this time China herself turned missionary, and Hsüan Tsang went to the University of Nalanda and then on to Ceylon and brought back 526 works of the Southern Church. It Sing went to Sumatra, Burma, Ceylon, and India. Huen Chin went via Tibet to India three times. Toon Hi went from Korea, where Buddhism had been introduced from China, to the Nalanda University. Then there were Buddh Durma, Chang Ti, I Long, and Huen Ta; the latter two came by sea route. The influence of these men on Buddhism in China was very great, their travels and adventures extraordinary, and their literary works of the utmost value. The writings of Hsüan Tsang were of great value to Sir Aurel Stein in the explorations which led him to discover the cave of the thousand Buddhas and the polyglot library of T'un Huang.

About A.D. 430 there was a great revival of Buddhism and learning in the south of India and Ceylon, and that wonderful man Buddhaghosa wrote important commentaries on the great Vihara in Ceylon;

some of these books, which are prized by all Buddhist countries of the Southern Church to this day, have now been translated into English, through the persevering efforts of the Pali Text Society, and now we have at our disposal "The Path of Purity" and "The Expositor," while many more remain to be translated.

For the next 100 years there was great activity in the progress and teaching of Buddhism, and it was in A.D. 536 that Bodhidarma spent nine years in meditation against the wall of his monastery and founded the great sect of northern Buddhism which so greatly influenced the religion in China and Japan.

About A.D. 552 Buddhism entered Japan from Korea, where its influence immediately began to be felt in its Mahayana form, combining with the ancestral Shintoism of the island, and forming numerous sects, some of which today are the staple religion, and are based on Buddhist psychological ethics.

The influence of Buddhism on Tibet has been remarkable. In the eighth century the great monastery of Sam-ye was built after the Arahan Padme Sambhava had firmly established Buddhism at the request of King Ti-song De-tsan. At this time Buddhism had been practically replaced in India by the Tantric system.

In 763 Tibet ruled over the greater part of Western China and Yunnan and even in Chang-an, the capital of China. In 841 Wu Tsung ordered a persecution against the Buddhists in China, and it is said that 4,600 monasteries were destroyed and 260,000 monks and nuns forced to work on the land. This, however, did not last for long.

In Ceylon and in Burma Buddhism has from time to time been suppressed and the brotherhood persecuted by various aggressive neighbours. In 1070 King Anuruddha of Burma imported missionaries from Ceylon to Burma and Siam, and in 1283 King Rankamheng introduced the Siamese alphabet. In 1383 King T'amarraja Lutai became a Bhikkhu; he ruled so justly and well that the fame of his rule spread far and wide throughout the world.

In 1100 Vijaya Bahu, King of Ceylon, appealed to the King of Burma, Anuruddha, for help to re-establish Buddhism in Ceylon, and the Thera Uttaraywa left Pegu with a mission for the great Vihara in Ceylon, and in return the Vinaya texts were sent from Ceylon to Burma, where they have been carefully preserved ever since through innumerable times of trouble. These two kings did a great deal in stabilizing the Pali literature by mutual consultation.

The Pegu Dynasty fell in 1277 after invasion by the Mongols, but Buddhism again sprang up by the aid of the Shan King Panya, and in 1460 Dhamaceti, King of Pegu, did a great deal to revive Buddhism in Burma. About this time there were also great changes in the religion in Tibet, where Buddhism had become strongly Lamaistic; the Mongol

Emperor of China became a convert to Lamaism, and the two countries have been united by the ties of religion ever since. In 1358 Tsong Kapa reformed the Buddhism of Tibet, and his disciples, known as the Yellow Hats, in distinction from the Red Hats of Lamaism, had a much stricter code of morals, more in agreement with the 227 rules of the Southern Church. He founded three monasteries at Ganden, Sera, and Drepung. About this time the first priest-king of Tibet was instituted.

In the sixteenth century Burma again suffered from devastation by the Shan chief of Monyn, Thohanbwā, who overthrew the King of Ava, and the Buddhist monks were cruelly persecuted, the monasteries destroyed, and their libraries burnt. Notwithstanding this, however, some of the Theras who had escaped into the forests continued to write valuable Buddhist Pali literature. The Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Britto, arrived just as Burma was beginning to recover from the disastrous persecution of the Shan chief; after this Portuguese rogue had massacred all the monks and burnt the monasteries that had been re-erected, Bayan Naung put an end to him and united Burma and Pegu into one empire.

About this time in India Buddhism had almost entirely died out and had been supplanted by Brahmanism.

During this century also Buddhism suffered greatly in Ceylon at the hands of the Portuguese invaders, and a little later at the hands of the Dutch invaders. During this dark period in the history of the Southern Church of Buddhism, both in Ceylon and Burma and Siam, these three little countries always helped one another with the literature of the religion and with the sending of members of the brotherhood from one country to another, so that Buddhism has never been dead for one single instant in any of the countries where it has been firmly established, in spite of all the calamities that seemed to continuously upset them.

We are now approaching modern times, when in the eighteenth century the East India Company began to make its acquaintance with the Buddhist countries of Asia. In 1774 Warren Hastings sent a representative to Tibet. In 1782 the British declared war against the Dutch in Ceylon, and in 1796 the British flag waved over Colombo. After this period there was a great revival of Buddhism in the island, followed, as always has been the case, by a period of great literary, artistic, architectural, and general improvement in the condition and wealth of the country.

In 1824 the British declared war against Burma, and in 1852 the second Burmese war led to the occupation of the whole of Lower Burma, and it cannot be said that Buddhism has suffered in any way whatever from this occupation, but rather that it has derived much benefit by the continued law and order.

From 1852 to 1877 King Mindon Min reigned in Mandalay, and during his reign he did a very great deal to improve the Sangha and to add to the lasting influence of Buddhism in Burma. He convened a great council of Bhikkhus from all over Burma, called the fifth great council. Being himself a Pali scholar and a learned Buddhist, he took a very active part in the work of this council, which lasted for three years, and which decided on the most accurate dispensation of the Pali Tipitaka, to be inscribed on alabaster slabs as a lasting memorial of the Dhamma. And today you find at the foot of Mandalay hill surrounding the Kutholaw pagoda, the Lokamajarin, known as the 1,001 pagodas (though, as a matter of fact, there are not quite so many). In each of these you find a large alabaster slab about 4 by 6 feet, covered on both sides with the Pali Scriptures in the Burmese Pali character, and the whole of the Tipitaka is thus inscribed. And today this work is used by many pilgrims for the purpose of comparing their manuscripts with the stone inscribed writings, which are said to be the most accurate in existence. The Hanthawaddy Press of Rangoon has now published the whole of these inscriptions in book form, so that the Tipitaka is very well represented in Burma.

Owing to the care and courtesy with which Siam treated foreigners, concluding many treaties of friendship in a true Buddhist way, she has been able to hold her own in the admirable conduct of her own affairs and the friendly spirit to the various ambitious traders who sent their representatives to Siam. She has had many celebrated Bhikkhus and Theras, and there has been frequent Buddhist intercourse between Siam, Ceylon, and Burma, during which time she has preserved the Vinaya rules of the brotherhood. The tragedy of the weak Burmese King, Thebaw, who let slide the good work of his predecessor, ends the long line of Burmese rulers, and ends it for the best, for during his reign the Sangha began to deteriorate. Now under British rule, after the wise installation of the Thathanabaing at Mandalay in 1903, the condition of the Sangha has greatly improved, and the whole of Burma has made remarkable progress in the literature of Buddhism and there are many authors of great note, such as the Lady Syadaw and U Shwe Zan Oung, who have greatly added to the rich store of Abhidhamma knowledge for which this country has always been famous. During the last Burmese wars and the years which followed, when the gangs of marauders that infested Upper Burma owing to the want of proper government by Thebaw had to be put down, there are numerous instances on record of the strict aloofness of the Hpoongyis of the yellow robe from the two contending parties, and they frequently attended the sick and wounded of both sides and often gave shelter to Europeans whose lives were in danger. Fielding Hall in his book, "The Soul of a People," relates how a certain British officer, whose

life was saved by a Hpoongyi, went back afterwards and built him a magnificent monastery as a thanksgiving. It is such acts as these that cement the friendship between such widely different peoples of the earth.

Recently there has been a great revival of Buddhism in China, the lead being taken by His Eminence Tai Hsu, who has delivered a series of lectures on Buddhism in the Buddhist University at Wuchang and the Yengchin University at Peking.

In reviewing the whole subject of the history and influence of Buddhism in Asia through the last 2,500 years, one is struck with the following facts :

No war has ever resulted from Buddhism, and it may truly be said that not a single drop of blood has ever been shed on its account. Wherever and whenever Buddhism has flourished, whether it has been Mahayana Buddhism or the orthodox school, there has always been a great stimulus to literary work of a very high order. There has always been a great stimulus to art and architecture. Peace has prevailed in direct proportion to the influence of the brotherhood of Bhikkhus in the country. The general standard of education of the people has been in proportion also to the extent of the influence of the Sangha. There has always been a great reduction of petty crime, and the happiness of the people generally has always been very evident. The reason for this is not far to seek, because Buddhism always teaches what is called the Middle Path ; this is the same as the Eightfold Noble Path, and it is called the Middle Path because it avoids all extremes. Now when this is inborn, continually taught and practised in a nation, an immense amount of suffering is prevented, petty quarrelling, unnecessary argument, all kinds of wrong views and eccentricities avoided.

Such countries have always shown very great tolerance to outside influences. Even Tibet has always been polite and tolerant, merely letting intruders know that they are not wanted at Lhasa, though in some parts of Tibet they have been allowed to stay and study.

When we glance at the map of Asia as it is today, we see how India has been protected to the north, the east, and the south by these Buddhist countries.

All enlightened Buddhists I have met who have been able to view the subject from all aspects have always been on the side of the British Raj, because they know full well it stands for protection and non-interference. In Burma, where the monastic system of education of the people of the villages is still carried on—and this is the most economical system of education in the world—it is questionable whether a neutral attitude is observed by the Education Department, who should encourage and support this monastic system to the same extent as the vernacular schools.

The views of Sir Charles Bell, expressed in his most interesting book on Tibet, show the friendliness of that country for the British Government, and how they fear that the possible eventual withdrawal of the British rule in India would mean disaster for them and incidentally for India.

The last few centuries have seen the increasing dislike of the caste systems in India for Buddhism. Not very long ago the Buddhist pilgrims from Burma and Ceylon had great difficulty in attending the shrine at Buddhgaya. Some effort is, however, being made by a few enlightened Indians to make a foothold for the development of Buddhism in India. The Rev. Anagarika Dharmapala of Ceylon has for many years been working to this end, and the well-known Maha Bodhi Society of Calcutta and its monthly journal is progressing well. A Vihara is actually being built at Sarnath and a mission has been sent from Ceylon of two Bhikkhus and eight Samanaras to Santiniketana. Everything should be done to assist the spread of Buddhism in India, for wherever this religion prevails prosperity and peace are bound to follow. The history of Buddhism through 2,500 years proves this to the hilt. Tibet, and the Buddhist Central Asian groups around it, and Ceylon, Burma, Siam, are the greatest friendly bulwarks that India has.

With the appearance of small yet influential Buddhist groups in Western lands, the increased intercourse between the Northern and Southern Schools of Buddhism, and the resuscitation of the more orthodox learning, with the study of the Abhidhamma or Buddhist psychology in the light of its close association with the knowledge of modern science, the intellectual world is gaining a growing interest in Buddhism and cannot fail to recognize the importance and value of this religion as not only the solution of peace in Asia, but peace in the whole world. (Applause.)

ANNUAL DINNER

THE Annual Dinner of the Society was held at Grosvenor House on Wednesday, July 9, 1930. The President of the Society, Earl Peel, G.B.E., presided over a large and distinguished gathering.

The Rt. Hon. LORD LLOYD OF DOLOBRAN, in proposing the toast of "The Central Asian Society and its President," said: Your Excellency, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I recall tonight that it is almost exactly six years since, soon after my return from India, I had the privilege of being entertained by this Society. Such an invitation comes always as a great honour to those who have lived much in the East, as a great many in this room have—stragglers of Asia—who love Asia and its ways, who have travelled its myriad roads and rejoiced in its manifold beauties of art and nature. It is always a great privilege to be entertained by the Central Asian Society. In thanking you for the honour you have once more done me I should like to say how glad I am to learn, as an original member of the Council of the Central Asian Society, of the great increase in the membership, and proportionately, therefore, the augmentation of the Society's influence all over the world. We all know whom we have to thank for that increased membership and influence—our President, Lord Peel, who for the past five years has given up much of his time to the Society's interests, has absorbed any other Asiatic society that came in his way, and has taken their subscriptions with a ready hand! Even when he relinquishes his Presidency—as, alas! he is shortly bound to do—we hope he will continue to take the same vivid interest in the affairs of the Society as he has done in the past. (Applause.)

But I think we are indebted to you, Sir, for one more thing, and that is the happy inspiration you had in inviting His Excellency the French Ambassador to grace this dinner. (Applause.) His Excellency's knowledge of Asia outstrips that of ours in the Central Asian Society, for his extends to the Far East, where he rendered distinguished services to his country some years ago. But if Asia lured him away from London, London lured him back once again, and we earnestly trust that he will never repeat the only diplomatic mistake he ever made, that of leaving England.

On the occasion six years ago to which I have referred, the late Lord Curzon took the chair and made one of his most memorable speeches on a theme very near his heart. Long will all those who heard him remember the affectionate enthusiasm with which he spoke of the Asia he had travelled so widely, of the India he loved, of the great peninsula whose monuments and shrines he had done so much to

conserve and of whose native arts he had laboured so long to make more familiar to the Western world. Luckily for the audience that night, although I was the principal guest, Lord Curzon made the principal, if somewhat unexpected, speech ; and my delight in his oratory was only modified by my swift and poignant realization that my halting utterances—if and when ultimately they ever were heard—would shine as brightly in comparison with his as the rays of a rushlight by the side of an arc-lamp. We shall none of us, as regards Asia, see the like of him again. But grievous as his loss must be to all interested in Asia, I am glad he has been spared the pain of witnessing the present dislocation and destruction of so much that he had laboured to build. We may well ask ourselves, as he would have asked himself, What is the nature of the malady that seems to be afflicting both rulers and ruled in India today ?

Many of us have thought it our duty to keep silent until the Royal Commission under Sir John Simon had fulfilled its task and formulated its conclusions. But just as it was our duty till then to keep silent, so I believe it is today the duty of those of us who have held responsible office in India to speak our mind regardless of all save public considerations.

What do we see in India today ? We have been sitting watching the mighty machine of the King's administration in India insulted and openly defied in seditious language by what, if checked at the outset, would have been a numerically negligible, if noisy, fraction of the whole population, but which has now grown to larger though still only fractional proportions. We have heard strident abuse of our officials at a moment when the British and Indian Governments were patiently and patiently engaged in studying how best to meet the political aspirations of the very minority that were making the strife and noise. We have seen both our trade and India's trade gravely prejudiced by the licence of the mobs, by the lack of confidence engendered by hesitation and ambiguous announcements, and by the unhappy raising of hopes which were clearly incapable of an early fulfilment. It is time this country realized clearly what incalculable and possibly irreparable damage is being done to our trade and to Indian trade by the condition of things that is being allowed to go on in India.

I do not want to weary this audience with statistics—you all know them so well—but there are those outside to whom I would like to say a few words. Think what is our trade with India and what it means to us. Our total trade with India is upwards of 150 millions a year ; and invested in India in every kind of British enterprise, for the benefit of India as well as ourselves, vastly more, it is computed, than £1,000,000,000 of British money. That is what we stand to lose by failing to govern India according to the law. India and her people stand to lose infinitely more.

During the last sixty years India's total foreign trade has increased from £61,000,000 to £427,000,000. The first half of that increase took forty-five years for its accomplishment; the latter half was registered only in the last fifteen years, irrefutable proof, if any were needed, of India's constant and continued prosperity under the shield and protection of Great Britain. (Applause.) And yet there are some who talk of India being bled white under alien rule. It is those I would ask to study these figures. Hitherto, you see, India has had a favourable balance of trade with this country, with all that that means; and only since recent disturbances has there been a disastrous shrinkage both of imports and exports, many of our ships laid up entirely and the rest of them running with an alarming amount of unfilled space. Moreover, I am advised by competent authority that there is every prospect that a continuance of the present conditions of unrest will result in something like a complete paralysis of our overseas trade with India.

That is serious enough, but I must say that I am continually amazed at the attitude of apology which in these days is too often adopted, by those in high places even, in regard to our position in India and our work in India. Just because so many seem to have lost faith it is not out of place to recall the hard facts I have quoted. If one can show the advantage of our trade to India and to ourselves in India, that is only a fraction of the account which stands to our credit in the great ledgers of our Indian rule.

From north to south, from east to west, the peoples of India are not merely benefiting by British rule, but their conditions of life have been transformed out of knowledge. We all know the history of the great towns. Out of a handful of disconnected coral reefs, valued at a few dollars, we made Bombay the second city of the Empire! Out of a miserable agglomeration of fetid swamps and brackish lagoons, from Sutanati to Kalighat, Job Charnock, daring its deadliness, made Calcutta. Into areas like the great Deccan plains, where Maratha armies marauded, and drought, famine, and disaster held regular rule, the British engineer stepped and, in a little seventy years, harnessed the monsoon to his purpose to give the peoples food instead of famine. That is worth doing for the peoples of India. It is more than any extremist has ever done for his country. In all the Punjab plains today wheat has supplanted want, and throughout the length and breadth of the land doctors and missionaries, English men and women, have for one hundred years been risking their own lives to fight for the bodies, and sometimes the souls, of India's millions. To their missionaries and to our British officials alone, no human thing was untouchable.

I cannot help speaking strongly, ladies and gentlemen, for I feel strongly. It is an intolerable treachery to the British Services, civil and military, and to the devoted work of hundreds of thousands of

Indians themselves, who for all these years have laboured in happy and loyal co-operation with the Sirkar, that these Moscow-manufactured lies and mendacities should not have more constant and more courageous refutation. And those who, in this country and elsewhere, belittle our work or seek to put an end to our rule, what do they propose should take its place?

The weakening or premature withdrawal of our guiding hand and influence has always had the same results, whether in China last year where now are anarchy and chaos, Palestine last winter, or even Egypt last night. If we continue to commit the same follies in India as we have recently committed in other parts of the East we shall clearly reap the same reward, only on a vaster and more calamitous scale.

It is a curious fact that throughout Asia and in all those countries of which I have been speaking we have almost simultaneously arrived at a state of affairs so critical as to call for a searching examination of the foundations of our recent Imperial policy. Sometimes in the middle of a storm, the rumbling of thunder suddenly ceases, the wind falls, and there is utter silence; in that moment the rain-washed horizon of our vision is clear and we get a long view. So at this moment, in the midst of this political storm between the Simon Commission's Report and the holding of the Round-Table Conference, ought we not for a moment to take stock of our condition and see where we are going?

What do we hear? On all sides, and not only from disaffected quarters, we hear that Indians have lost faith in our word and in our policy. What is the reason for this sudden change of heart? We know from events only recently in our memory how we succeeded in making Egyptian politicians believe that seditious agitation, sufficiently pressed, always produces political results. Even in India the same belief is gaining ground: Let us ask ourselves clearly how far are they warranted in that belief? I should like to be able to say, as we all should, not one bit. But I am compelled to admit that we have given them some justification by seeming to take refuge in ambiguous phrases which mask a lack both of policy and determination. (Hear, hear.) And the Government's hurried attempts to pour oil on troubled waters are only giving the same results as pouring oil on living flames. I cannot repeat too often, at any rate it is the result of my own experience, that ambiguity in the East is fatal. General phrases, ambiguous phrases, are dangerous always, particularly dangerous in the East and particularly today, because they are capable of different interpretations and, for that reason, only too apt to lead to charges of bad faith against those who use them.

I have been asked, Sir, during the course of the day, like many in this room, to state my views on the Viceroy's latest pronouncement made in Simla today. That is not a very easy request to comply with, but

again I follow the same trend of thought. Personally, I regret the pronouncement in so far as it makes use of the very type of general and ambiguous phrase which has already done so much to confuse the situation and to set up doubts in the minds of Indians. I am going to speak quite frankly. My grave fear about that pronouncement is that it may detract from the importance of the Simon Commission's Report and engender vain hopes that the Commission's carefully studied recommendations be set aside later at the Round-Table Conference in favour of newer proposals which, whatever their sentimental appeal, can be of no practical value. I cannot help thinking that is a grave danger.

In any case here we are, for good or ill, committed to the Conference in the autumn. The only way to prevent the Conference from leading to further confusion and possible disaster is that its terms of reference should be clearly defined and lie within the limits of the declared policy laid down by Parliament in 1917, from which we have never departed and on which the Simon Commission was set up to report. If that is done, all parties could enter that Conference on a fixed term of reference. The arguments could range widely, perhaps, from the terms of reference, but the point of departure would be fixed. At any rate, it would be a Conference charted and mapped out, instead of a chaos of confused counsels to whose results I look forward with grave anxiety.

This view could scarcely be better stated than in Lord Birkenhead's article in the *Daily Telegraph* today [July 9, 1930], in which he says : "Since we are to have a Round-Table Conference, let us at least see that the opinions of the Simon Commission play the part which they alone can play, by affording the substance of the very protracted and confused discussions which are likely to take place among the variegated representatives, some of whom do, and some of whom apparently do not, intend to accept the invitation to attend."

Well, gentlemen, we have no right, in any case, to be pessimistic. We have, I believe, faced more difficult issues in the East, and if this is a grave issue it is so, I think, mainly because we see all round us in different parts of the East something of the same kind of feeling actuating the people of so many different and varied areas. That is the gravity, much more than the particular incidence of the trouble in one particular area. I, for one, still firmly believe that the situation can be restored, and, indeed, could be restored without great difficulty with wise and strong handling, if we will show ourselves clearly determined to carry out our responsibilities fully and fearlessly. There is nothing to be gained by not looking our responsibilities squarely in the face. We, and we alone, are responsible for the government of India, and responsible, therefore, for any decision which has to be taken in regard to its political developments. The most important step

towards solving our present difficulties will have been taken the moment people in India realize that we are ready to face with confidence our responsibilities, and are determined to implement a policy of generous esteem, possibly more than generous esteem, to be carried out if it be so ordered. Whatever be our responsibilities, we are determined to carry them out without any regard to faction, without any regard to agitation, determined only to guard for the masses of the people of India their future freedom and their unfettered liberty. (Applause.) I give you the toast of the Central Asian Society, coupled with the name of its President, Lord Peel. (Applause.)

The toast having been cordially honoured,

EARL PEEL, in responding, said : Your Excellency, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think we were very wise to have asked Lord Lloyd to address us tonight, for he has given us a very clear and forcible address, thoroughly characteristic, I may say, of the man. He paid me one compliment which I have to disclaim. He said I was responsible for increasing the membership from 1,000 to 1,500, and collecting the subscriptions. Nothing of the kind. All that work has been done by our Secretaries, while some credit must be given to our Chairman, Lord Allenby.

I want to say one word about Lord Lloyd, because I think he is one of those distinguished public servants whom we ought to cherish. (Hear, hear.) He has one outstanding quality, that of courage. Through all those distinguished services that he rendered in India and in Egypt he has always spoken clearly and fearlessly, stating exactly what was his own mind. He has never been one who has trimmed and tempered his advice to the quality of the particular Government which he was serving ; that is the type of public servant we want throughout our Empire. (Applause.) But I should like to add this : that whenever the Government which he served had arrived at a decision which might not be in consonance with his own, there is no man who has carried out that decision with more force and more loyalty than Lord Lloyd has done.

I should like now to warn you that I do not take Lord Curzon's views as to the duty of a President. My view is that he should not indulge in any undue speech. But Lord Lloyd has said so much about India that I want to remind you that the Society's ambit is far higher. I discussed with His Excellency the French Ambassador whether he was a true Central Asian, and if I may paraphrase his words, they come to this : "I have not visited Tibet. I know a little of Turkistan. The Gobi desert is to me unknown. I have served in China and I know Asia Minor." I suppose, with the accuracy of his race, he was troubled by definitions. Your Excellency, we are not troubled by definitions. I recently read a preface written by His Excellency to a

book on the British Constitution in which he charged us with being an illogical nation. Well, we are rather proud of that charge. We think perhaps that we have our own logic, which does not necessarily correspond with the more accurate ratiocinations of a great Latin race. As I said, we cover more than India ; we unite, as it were, the knowledge and experience of all those who in different capacities know something of Asia. We welcome to our dinners and our discussions those who are deep in travel and adventure in any part of Asia. We have even welcomed aviators who have travelled over strange places in Asia and saved us the trouble, by their photographs, of visiting those inhospitable regions. We are interested in archaeology. We have had papers on Ur and on Kish, and I had the pleasure, when travelling this winter, of making the acquaintance of Sir John Marshall, so well known for his archaeological research. It is true we listened with profound pleasure to Sir Aurel Stein discussing the activities of Alexander, but we have a touch of immediacy about us also, for we are almost equally interested in the recent movements near Peshawar of the Haji. We are supposed to be free from politics, but only in one sense, for we are profoundly interested in all the political movements in Asia. We are non-political in this way : that we only associate ourselves in any way with a political party when it faithfully represents our own views ! We are really above and beyond party. Let me give you an example of our impartiality. There have been recently little troubles in Palestine. The affair of the Wailing Wall is present in your minds. We have had papers from a Jew and an Arab, and we are soon to have a paper from one of those, of course, impartial commissioners who examined into the whole question and reported upon it. We are almost as wide-minded as regards religions as those concerned with St. Paul's. When I attended the reopening function I had on my left a practising Jew and immediately in front of me a Scottish Presbyterian.

I may make this further claim for the Central Asian Society : that we are the stimulant and the focus for all those who are interested in the affairs of Asia. We represent that great imaginative quality of the British race and we represent also that marvellous combination of business instinct and love of romance which has taken us not only to India, but to many of the wide places of the world elsewhere.

Lord Lloyd has referred to India and its constitutions and its, perhaps, new institutions. Sometimes I think it rather unfortunate that at this particular time it has been necessary to devise new constitutions for India. We all remember that the Constitution of the United States was devised and brought into action at a time when it was erroneously supposed that the British Constitution rested upon the accurate distinction and delimitation of the judicial, the legislative and the executive. Of course, no such delimitation ever existed or ever will

exist in the British Constitution. But it was laid down by a very distinguished Frenchman, M. Montesquieu, who, again with the logic of his race, imagined that was the British Constitution and laid down those regulations on which the American Constitution was ultimately founded. In the same way, just when representative Parliamentary institutions in this country reached their height but were beginning to decline in some parts of Europe, notably in some of the southern countries, it was unfortunately at that moment that we were devising new constitutions for India, and it was imagined that representative Parliamentary institutions were the one perfect thing which must be applied in India as well. Twenty years hence, it may be, quite a different view will be taken of Parliamentary institutions. The ardour and colour of those institutions may, to some extent, have waned. Unfortunately these particular representative institutions are, I think, sometimes too much welcomed in political circles in India, not so much because they are suited to the particular genius of that people, but because they represent status rather than adaptation to the circumstances of the case. I must make one exception because—and here I trust I hurt the feelings of nobody who feels strongly on economic settlements—the views of the Manchester School have been as little popular in India as they are, I believe, in France. They are always strongly Protectionist, and in that way they have asserted themselves against the predominance of liberal doctrine in this country.

I feel with Lord Lloyd that we are a little too diffident about our record in India at this time. That record is open for all who wish to study and know it. Lord Lloyd has referred also to the Simon Report. I am one of those who read every word of both volumes. I think it most remarkably argued and most clearly articulated, and presents a wonderful picture in the first volume of the real state of political affairs in India. But I am rather surprised that, to some extent, it has been treated as if it was a retrograde and reactionary document. It seems to me a most revolutionary document. Take the Provinces, for instance, which have hitherto been really governed by Great Britain with the assistance of Indian Ministers. The change proposed will mean that the Provinces will be governed by the Indian Ministers and by the councillors, with the Governors, retaining certain reserve powers, in the background. That, in my opinion, is a very great and serious change, and although I am told that the Government of India says that its views are not to be modified one hair's breadth by the present situation, I think that the 187,000 police, if they were questioned on the subject, might have something to say. But it certainly does present a scheme, for general guidance, on which the Government of India may proceed, and for bringing into one common scheme both the Provinces of British

India and also the authority and power of the Ruling Princes of India itself.

And now I have the privilege of proposing the toast of "The Guests," and coupling it with two very distinguished names, the first being that of the French Ambassador. It is pertinent that the French, like the British, have great dependencies in the East. Perhaps I may also be allowed to mention the Dutch, who also have large possessions in the East. From such study as I have been able to give to the management and administration of the French colonies I cannot help thinking, though I am an admirer of my own country, that in many ways they have shown greater wisdom in their management than we. Of that Monsieur de Fleuriau will, do doubt, tell us. Let me say that among the many ties that unite us to France one of the greatest is that we both have great colonial dependencies and empires; sometimes I wish there could be, as it were, a little more pooling between us of the vast experience which both countries have gained in the management of those colonial dependencies.

The other guest who is to respond is Sir Harcourt Butler. I say nothing about him or his achievements for the reason that his reputation is as wide as Asia, and everybody knows what he has done in India.

I propose, with your assistance, ladies and gentlemen, to give the heartiest welcome to our guests, and I couple with that proposition the name of the French Ambassador and Sir Harcourt Butler.

Field-Marshal the Rt. Hon. VISCOUNT ALLENBY, in seconding the proposition, said: Your Excellency, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Most of you have read "Through the Looking Glass," and I think it is there that the White or the Red Queen says to Alice: "The more there is of mine, the less there is of yours." I feel that Lord Peel has said that to me tonight, for he has left me very little to say in seconding the toast.

I second in all humility, but with all enthusiasm, the toast proposed by Lord Peel—the French Ambassador, Lord Lloyd, and the Guests.

The toast was honoured with great cordiality.

His Excellency the French Ambassador responded, and was followed by Sir HARCOURT BUTLER, who said: Your Excellency, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I find great difficulty in following the very interesting speech of His Excellency the French Ambassador, but perhaps I have this claim to come after him, that I have been Governor of Burma, which is coterminous with the great French dominion of Indo-China, and I know, by proximity, how well that dominion is governed.

I ought perhaps, in the first place, to apologize for being a guest. I have not yet joined the Central Asian Society. That is my misfortune rather than my fault, because I thought I had. Although this is rather

a delicate matter, I hope before long to increase the population of the Central Asian Society.

It is not easy to talk from a round table, because one does not quite know which way to turn. Possibly this may not be the only round table at which that difficulty will be experienced! I must thank you, Lord Peel, and you, Lord Allenby, for the very kind way in which you have referred to myself. I do not propose to say anything about the Simon Report, except that it is a magnificent document, because a committee with which I was connected and with which Sir Leslie Scott, whom I see here, was connected is brought into that Report. I can recollect that Sir Leslie Scott addressed me for eighteen days. I do not wish to set him off again! I am, of course, grateful to Sir Leslie Scott for the way in which he presented his case. There are, however, certain observations of a somewhat general character which I may perhaps make.

It is customary now to talk of the "changing East," and no doubt great changes have come. At the end of forty years' experience, however, I think the impression most left upon my mind was that the forces of persistence and resistance in the East were almost as strong as when I first went to India. That is an aspect of the case which is apt to be lost sight of. Again, I had observed for many years before I left India that there was a tendency, which many of you may have noticed, to think that the politicians represented the whole of India. I do not wish to say anything against the politicians of India, many of whom were friends of mine. Mr. Moti Lal Nehru was one of my oldest friends in India, and when, in the course of events, I had to put him into prison, he sent me a message of a friendly character to the effect that if I had known my law better I could have got him eighteen months instead of six! I have always been on good terms with the politicians of India, and although lately they have adopted an attitude which seems to me to be quite mad, I do not wish to say anything more about them than to remind those who do not already know it that they do not represent the whole of India.

There is another observation—namely, that in the course of discussions we are apt to forget the great lesson of Oriental history. That lesson is that in the East for thousands of years there has been a succession of autocracies, followed or ended by revolutions. Revolution is in the blood of the East, as it must be in any great area which is dominated by autocracy, because autocracy, sooner or later, must end in the raising up of a new autocrat. All administrators have to be on the alert for that revolutionary quality in the East. I may, perhaps, say that if it had been realized earlier how very soon in India a revolution can come and how near the forces of disorder are to the surface we should not have had some of the troubles we are experiencing today.

I confess I simply cannot see how the British can leave India in any time that we need reckon with. When I had the honour of entertaining M. Clemenceau in Allahabad, he said that that which most impressed him was that responsible Englishmen seemed to think that we might have to leave India in the not distant future. He said, and I entirely agreed with him : "How could you leave India even if you wanted to do so?" I cannot conceive how we can leave India unless our place is to be taken by some other power.

Nobody has a greater admiration for what British rule has done in India than I have. In fact, I maintain that by our law and by our language and by our army we have made the concept of a united India possible. Otherwise it would have been quite impossible. It is perfectly obvious to all who are acquainted with the facts that but for this concept of a united India, India would still be a congeries of small peoples and warring races.

The difficulty is appreciated by others. I was told by a Mussulman friend of mine who went home on the same ship as the abortive deputation which came from Turkey to raise funds in India just after they had deposed the Caliph, that one of the deputation said to him, "You say you are slaves, but remember your chains are of gold, and be careful before you change the gold for iron." There is a good deal in that, although I do not for a moment admit that at the present day, when Indians have so large a voice in the government and when the Government at home has committed itself to granting them a progressive share in the government of India, there is any question of slavery or any question of the position of a slave.

I am not a pessimist, although I see great difficulties and troubles present and to come. My experience is that these troubles sometimes work themselves out in ways that are not foreseen. I can only hope that that will be the issue of them now. This afternoon I was attending at Wimbledon a meeting of the Ross Institute and I saw that very remarkable man, Sir Ronald Ross, whose discoveries will do perhaps more than anybody or all of us together can do to alter the face of, and bring happiness to, Asia. That set me thinking on another line in which the connection with Great Britain has benefited India, and will continue to benefit India if that connection continues, as I have no doubt it will.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, it only remains for me, on behalf of the guests, to thank our individual hosts and our collective hosts for the delightful entertainment that they have provided and for their splendid hospitality. (Applause.)

THE ART OF PERSIA

AN EXHIBITION AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY

IN the New Year (January and February) there will be displayed in the Royal Academy, London, the most comprehensive collection of Persian Art that has ever been assembled under one roof. Practically every country of the world has been explored, and the result will be an Exhibition of Eastern splendour unrivalled and unsurpassable.

The Exhibition has for its patrons the King and the Shah, with the Persian Minister as Honorary President. Among the vice-patrons are the Ambassadors of many countries and the Prime Minister. The Executive Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Arnold Wilson, K.C.I.E., is exceptionally strong, and includes the names of many who are eminent in the world of art. The directors are Sir Reginald Blomfield, R.A., and Mr. Arthur Upham Pope; Mr. E. H. Keeling and Major Longden are the Secretaries-General.

Persia has produced great masterpieces of architecture; admirable sculptures in stone, bronze, stucco, and faience; ceramics that are rivalled only by those of Greece and China; silver, gold, glass, and enamel that have set a world standard; exquisite miniatures and other paintings; sumptuous tapestry, brocades, velvets, and carpets; beautiful bookbindings; woodwork, arms, and armour. All these varieties of art will be represented by the finest examples that can be gathered together through the generous co-operation of museums, libraries, and royal and private collections in twenty countries. His Majesty the Shah is sending treasures from the imperial palaces, national museums, and mosques. By the desire of King Fuad the Egyptian Government is lending many works from the Cairo Museum and Khedivial Library. From Russia will come a collection of the famous silver, gold, and bronze Sasanian vessels, and from France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Poland, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and America examples of Persian art of various descriptions. The British contribution will include extensive loans from His Majesty, the Victoria and Albert Museum, museums and libraries at Oxford, Nottingham, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Dublin, Manchester, Sheffield and Canterbury, and the Royal Asiatic Society. Many of the exhibits, including some recently discovered objects, will be shown publicly for the first time. Assistance and support are being given by Committees in the countries contributing.

The material already promised encourages the hope that it will be

possible to show the course of Persian Art with a systematic completeness never before attempted. Every known type from about 300 B.C. to the present time will be represented by exhibits arranged to show origins, developments, and influences.

Considerable interest is naturally aroused by the knowledge that the treasures loaned by the Shah are actually on the way to London. They were collected from various parts of Persia and assembled at Tehran. Thence they were placed in aeroplanes—a squadron—conveyed to the coast, and put on board ship. Until the cases are unpacked in London it cannot be definitely stated what they contain, but it is known that the contents have been selected from the Imperial Library and Museum, the Museum of Gulistan, the Museum of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the Shrine of Mashhad, the Shrine of Qum, and the Shrine of Ardabil. The carpets include the famous one from Shah Abas II.'s tomb.

A catalogue, an illustrated souvenir, and other books and photographs will be on sale, and lectures will be given. After the Exhibition an exhaustive Survey of Persian Art, written by experts in various countries, with 800 pages of illustrations, will be published.

The Second International Congress on Persian Art, to be attended by scholars from Europe, the United States, Asia, and Egypt, will be held during the first week of the Exhibition.

The general offices of the Exhibition are at 5 and 6, Cork Street, London, W. 1.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS : PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION *

[MINUTES OF THE SEVENTEENTH (EXTRAORDINARY) SESSION]

To express an opinion about the practical achievements of the League of Nations in the interest of universal peace and the improvement of the political and economical position all over the world may be considered premature; the same probably holds good for the League's offshoot, the Permanent Mandates Commission, so far as its participation in the development of the Mandatory countries, one of the experimental creations of the Great War, is concerned. But in the light of our many-sided experiences it would be difficult to confirm that this Commission has a far-reaching beneficial influence. It is more or less the same with the work of all commissions and experts appointed to report to the Governments, more especially in these swift-moving days when quick and strong decisions by the competent men on the spot, of which Great Britain is less in need than any other country, ought to be the fundamental rule. Palestine is a typical case for this doctrine. Having suffered most severely by the disturbances of August, 1929, an effective recovery has been delayed by the tedious work of commissions and experts. Their well-considered statements and advice were awaited with impatience while the fire of unrest and excitement was smouldering and expanding under the ashes. When at last the reports were published they were allowed to become the starting-point of new and passionate controversy, thus deepening the animosity between Arabs, Jews, and Great Britain as the Mandatory Power. The report of the Permanent Mandates Commission has drawn this body in as the fourth opponent in the conflict of interests. In the meantime the Government's officials in Palestine, while best qualified to cope with the complex situation when given a free hand to do so, had to content themselves with the rôle of umpire, thus becoming increasingly unpopular with both sides, which rightly ask for prompt acts of governmental leadership to bring them out of the blind impasse into which

* Minutes of the Seventeenth (Extraordinary) Session held at Geneva from June 3rd to 21st, 1930, including the Report of the Commission to the Council and Comments by the Mandatory Power. 13 x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 154. H.M. Stationery Office. 4s.

their opposing interests have driven them. It is noteworthy that during the recent meeting of the Council of the League the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, speaking with commanding authority, made some plain statements in regard to the difficulties which through the present interpretation of sovereignty may arise between the League and the Mandatory Powers and which may hinder the efficient administration of mandated territories.

The Report of the Permanent Mandates Commission on Palestine coming with well-displayed wisdom a year after the events is a model of polite and cautious but pointed phrases, of mutual flattering and exchange of congratulations and expressions of gratitude between the members of the Commission and the accredited representatives of the Mandatory Power. It makes pleasant and sometimes amusing reading, but it is difficult to understand what the practical outcome of this Extraordinary Seventeenth Session will be.

The singular relations between the Mandate, the League of Nations, and Great Britain as the Mandatory Power are plainly stated by one of the members of the Commission (p. 48) as following:

“The League of Nations had, in fact, received the Mandate from the Mandatory Power. The League of Nations could not be held responsible for the terms of the Mandate, which had been drafted by the Mandatory Power and conveyed to the League.”

One cannot help asking what under the circumstances can be expected from the League to the advantage of Palestine in that unusual combination where protector and protégé are one, but communicate through the medium of a phantom charged with control and responsibility.

If one goes through the long list of questions asked by the members of the Commission about matters which are already common knowledge for most outsiders who take an interest in the Palestine problem, one comes to the conclusion that the Commission is living too remote from the events to render real services to the country confided to their trusteeship under the present pressing circumstances. That could only be achieved if the League would have a well-qualified permanent representative in the Mandatory country whose duty it ought to be to watch the situation and to furnish all available informations for Geneva. Thus appropriate action if necessary could be taken or suggested in the fresh tracks of the events.

Under the great number of questions asked and informations sought no mention is made of the most fundamental problem—*i.e.*, Has after a period of more than ten years the maximum interpretation of the Balfour Declaration proved to be workable without friction in the interest of all concerned, or has it to be revised at an early date so that it may serve better ends? [The answer would have saved a good many

other considerations.] The statesman himself had his well-justified doubts when he said in 1927: "I cannot help thinking that this experiment is a great experiment, because nothing like it has ever been tried in the world, and because it is entirely novel."

It might be not amiss to recall here the sensible stipulation made in a similar case. One of the articles of the Convention signed by the Powers interested in Africa at St. Germain-en-Laye, and into force so far as Great Britain is concerned since 1920, decreed that the signatory Powers should assemble at the expiration of ten years in order to introduce into the Convention "such modifications as experience may have shown to be necessary."

In the proceedings of the Commission much emphasis is laid on the racial and religious controversy between Arabs and Jews. Since the days of the Balfour Declaration this is indeed a most deplorable and undisputable fact which provided one of the main reasons for the conditions prevailing at present in the country. On the other hand, it is not less true that for all the years before the Zionist aspirations found their expression in the Balfour Declaration, and previous to the disturbances were once more vigorously exposed by the meeting of the Jewish Agency in Zürich, the relations between Jews and Arabs in Palestine left little to be desired; the same still holds good in all other parts of the East. Granted that the racial and religious controversy is the cause of the existing tension in Palestine, it is startling that the Mandates Commission has not seen its way to insist at an earlier date that those threatening feelings had to be alleviated in time, even if it involved a moderation of political aims.

The question of the Wailing Wall has been warmly discussed by the Commission. It is sentimentally and locally a most delicate problem, especially in a place like Jerusalem, where religious feelings in all quarters were ever running extremely high and where they have found in all ages a strongly marked expression. It is to be hoped that the special Commission now investigating this complex matter in dispute might be able to propose a solution acceptable to both sides. Much was said about the annoyance or provocation caused to the Jews in their religious devotion at the Wall by the Muezzin's calling to prayer from a place which is undisputable Moslem religious property. It seems that on this point their irritability was allowed to go too far. The life of a community will never be entirely free from "nuisance," unpleasant as it may be. On stronger grounds, for instance, the inhabitants of London could complain about the musical bands they have to endure in front of their houses, or the worshipper at the Mosque of Woking about the ever-increasing railway traffic passing this place of their devotion.

The Commission, while trying to establish the responsibility for the

outbreak of the disturbances in August, 1929, found fault with the small number of British troops in Palestine, and expressed the opinion that the Government ought to have taken earlier and more effective steps to prevent the occurrence. It is, however, more than doubtful if the trouble could have been averted even with a far greater military support. Bayonets may on some occasions serve as a prophylactic, but in the long run they prove an unreliable remedy, and never are they successful in the interest of lasting pacification. To learn this lesson it is not necessary to go so far as to the countries beyond the seas, with whatever nation they may be connected. It is in the centres of civilization, where there are soldiers and police in abundance, that disturbances and bloodshed are no uncommon occurrences among the classes of the same nation.

The most vital point for the further development of Palestine as a Jewish National Home depends on the possibility of the country to absorb more immigrants. The Shaw Commission have already expressed the opinion that the available land is strictly limited. This question is still under consideration, as the report of the expert on rural settlements, who went out to Palestine on behalf of the Government, is not yet available. It is, however, hardly to be expected that the number of immigrants who can still be admitted will run into very high figures.

If the claim for self-governing institutions and for the organization of agricultural credit is benevolently considered by the Government and supported by the Zionist Organization, an important step will be made towards better feeling in the country. It might even be predicted that the result will not be less beneficial than the suggestion of the Mandatory Commission for a common vocational training for the youth of both communities.

It will be remembered that a representative Arab Delegation stayed some months ago in this country for a considerable time in order to submit their case to the Government. They left for Palestine without having achieved their aims. It is to be regretted that they could not see their way clear to fall in with the suggestions made to them which were intended to effect a *rapprochement* for understanding with the Zionists. For whatever the shortcomings of the Zionists' policy may have been in the past it remains an indisputable fact that the Jews, with their considerable material and intellectual resources, have done much in the country which has also been beneficial to the Arabs and a great deal that might be further developed in the interest of the country as a whole. In this respect the meeting of the General Council of the Zionist Organization held in Berlin during the last week of August opened with a declaration made by their leader which held out more favourable prospects. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that, in spite

of a strong opposition, Dr. Weizmann stated that Palestine could become a Jewish State if it were an empty country, but it was not empty. Both Jews and Arabs had equal rights, and were state-forming elements in the country. They must therefore work together, and if the Jews at some future date became the majority they would not dominate the Arabs, just as they did not wish to be dominated by the Arabs. Under the circumstances this was most certainly a very fair and most conciliatory avowal, and it deserves every support and encouragement from all quarters concerned. May the time not be far off when the heavy atmosphere which is weighing on a land holy for all creeds will be lifted, giving room to mutual confidence and all-round prosperity and happiness. This will also be a day of rejoicing for the Permanent Mandates Commission.

R. SAID RUETE.

REVIEWS

ARABIA. By H. St. J. B. Philby, C.I.E. London: Ernest Benn ("Modern World" Series). 1930. Crown Octavo. 18s.

Mr. Philby's earlier contributions to our knowledge of Arabia and his close contact with Arabian affairs over a long period of years clearly marked him out for the task of preparing this volume in the "Modern World" Series. But he has still a third and equally important qualification. Members of the Central Asian Society will not need to be reminded of his devotion to the Arab cause, and it appears to be the rule in most volumes of the series to weight the scales much or little in favour of the country under discussion. When so much of our information about affairs in Arabia is derived from non-committal official sources on the one hand, and from irresponsible bazaar gossip on the other, Mr. Philby's vigorous and well-informed survey is doubly welcome. We know beforehand that we are invited to a feast of hero-worship, but since nearly all of us share to some extent Mr. Philby's admiration for his hero, our appetite is none the less keen on that account, and we can but congratulate Ibn Sa'ud on his fortune in finding so able an interpreter for his *Apologia pro Vita Sua* to the Western world.

The opportuneness of such a volume on Arabia at the present moment needs no emphasizing, and few will be disposed to quarrel with the author for taking the Wahhabi movement as the axis round which the recent history of the country revolves. It alone, among the complex political institutions of modern Arabia, stands out as a real historical force, and Mr. Philby has succeeded admirably in grouping around it all the other events in which the Hijaz and the outlying portions of the peninsula were more peculiarly concerned. A certain disjointedness cannot be avoided—the history of Arabia is disjointed; and to get a fairly comprehensive survey of the whole within reasonable compass is a unique achievement, whatever criticisms may be passed upon it in detail.

The plan of the book has made it necessary to devote a good deal of space to the beginnings of the Wahhabi movement, and its first third is taken up by a detailed account of the rise and fall of the first Wahhabi empire between 1744 and 1867, followed by another thirty pages on the fortunes of the rival house of Ibn Rashid at Hail. Mr. Philby complains with a certain justice that the history of modern Arabia has been all too much neglected by "both student and scholar," but there is in

fact a fair amount of reliable material available for the events of the last two centuries, though in a somewhat scattered state. One other source at least should be mentioned here—namely, the excellent summaries of Professor Musil, now revised and reprinted in his volume on *Northern Najd*, since, as will appear in the sequel, they are of considerable value as a supplement and corrective to the present history.

Nevertheless it is all to the good that Mr. Philby has drawn on local Arabic sources as far as they go, and his narrative, which is in general as accurate and as full as the one-sided exposition of these sources allows, has the merit of being the first detailed summary in English of the history of the first Wahhabi empire. Yet one cannot help feeling that it was a mistake to present this material in the raw and undigested form of the originals. The effect has been to overload the narrative with too many microscopic details of this sort:

"Attacks on Wushaiqir and Jalajil towards the end of the year were followed by alarms and excursions in 1758, resulting in the adhesion of Thadiq, Hauta, and Janubyia in the Sudair province to the Wahhabi cause. The desultory skirmishing round Riyadh continued unabated without any appreciable result, while Mubairik ibn 'Adwan, the Governor of Huraimala, took advantage of the preoccupation of Abdul Aziz in that direction to recant his allegiance. He was, however, rapidly crushed and deposed from office, and his attempt with the assistance of contingents from Sudair, Washm, and Majma'a to seize the town ended in failure."

To an Arabian reader such a paragraph may convey some definite idea in relation to the progress of the Wahhabi movement, but for us it requires to be interpreted. We should have been able to carry away a much clearer idea of what was happening had some space been given up to a chapter on the historical geography of Central Arabia, explaining the economic relations, strategic importance, and so forth, of its several districts. The exact statement of annual gains and losses might well have been tabulated in an appendix, and these data rather broadly summarized in the main narrative so as to bring out those essential points which alone are of general interest to us. Occasionally, but too seldom, does Mr. Philby furnish us with something in the nature of a general analysis (there is a particularly suggestive one dealing with Jabal Shammar on pp. 128-129). In the absence of these, as well as of any account of the old Wahhabi administration, such as was supplied by Burckhardt, we fail to grasp the real character of the first Wahhabi empire and its founders. For example, it is nowhere made clear to what extent the collapse of Wahhabi power in the Hijaz and elsewhere was assisted by the discontent of the townsmen, on the one hand, and the nomads, on the other, not so much with their religious views, as with their government or their interference with economic life. And

though scale is no doubt a relative term, it seems a pity that Mr. Philby has suppressed one of the most illuminating observations in his Arabic sources—namely, that in thirty years of constant warfare (1744-1774) the total number of killed on the Wahhabi side was 1,700 and on that of their opponents 2,300.

In dealing with the religious aspects of the Wahhabi movement, it is probable that Mr. Philby has rather over-estimated the familiarity of the general reader with the character and organization of the Muslim Church. Some preliminary explanation is necessary in order to give full weight to his contention that the doctrines of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and his followers are strictly Hanbalite and therefore orthodox. Theoretically, of course, this statement is true, as has frequently been attested since in 1815 the divines of Cairo gave a fine display of independence by declaring, in the full blast of the Turco-Egyptian campaign against the Wahhabis, that they could find no heresy in them. At the same time, in dismissing as mere political propaganda the view, prevalent until quite recently, that the Wahhabis were in some sense heretics, he omits one pertinent consideration. For even he would scarcely deny that it calls for an unusual exercise of toleration to hail warmly as a fellow-Muslim a gentleman who is in the act of slitting your throat for being an infidel. *Takfir*, or the imputing of infidelity, which figures fairly prominently in the pages of his Arabic sources,* may be orthodox enough when it is confined to academic argument, but to drive it home at the point of the sword is surely of the essence of sectarianism.

The second half of the book is devoted almost entirely to the history of the present Ibn Sa'ud, King 'Abdul 'Aziz. For the sequence of events prior to the war Mr. Philby has drawn chiefly, as he tells us, on oral communications from Ibn Sa'ud himself and others who personally took part in these events. His narrative is consequently in the closest agreement with that of Mr. Ameen Rihani, the author of an admirable *History of Nauj* in Arabic, who took down his material, often to dictation, from the same sources. But these sources, though first-hand, and even with all due recognition of Ibn Sa'ud's fairness to his opponents, have the defect of being all on the same side. Mr. Philby does not even suggest that there may be other angles of vision—for example, the angle from which the Turks and their Hijazi supporters viewed the re-crudescence of militant Wahhabism, and that other angle whose apex

* On p. 23 Mr. Philby passes it over lightly with the phrase "the test of heresy," which scarcely conveys the sense of Ibn Ghannām's words (*mā nusiba ilainā min at-takfiri bil 'umūm*). He might also have remarked that the Wahhabi emissary on that occasion similarly got out of the difficulty by adroitly changing the subject (*dhakara . . . anna nisbat al-kufri ilainā bil 'umūmi zürün wabuhtānun 'alainā*).

was at Ibn Rashid's capital of Hail. To a certain extent these points of view are supplied by Professor Musil, who was in close contact with both the Shammar and the Turks down to and during the war. A careful comparison shows that, though there is general agreement on the main lines, there are some considerable divergencies in detail. On the whole, Professor Musil makes out the inhabitants of the Qasim to have been less favourable to Ibn Sa'ud than would appear from Mr. Philby's account, and also represents Ibn Sa'ud himself as much more disposed to treat with the Ottoman authorities, and even to favour them as against Ibn Rashid. Mr. Rihani also hints that Ibn Sa'ud's relations with the Turks were at times positively friendly. One illustration of the difference in point of view may be given. Mr. Philby (on p. 231) represents the rapprochement between the Turks and Ibn Sa'ud towards the end of 1913 as due to the initiative of the former. Professor Musil is a little more explicit; according to his account, it was Ibn Sa'ud who sent Ibn Jiluwi to Baghdad "to ask for authority to administer and rule Inner Arabia in the name of the Caliph and the Ottoman Government"; the request was at first refused, but at length on May 5, 1914, Ibn Sa'ud was nominated *Wali* and Commander, with the title of *Sahib ad-Daula*. Even as late as 1916, according to Professor Musil, Ibn Sa'ud was in communication with the Turkish authorities at Damascus. It by no means follows that the Professor is a more reliable guide than Mr. Philby (indeed there are several improbabilities in his narrative), but it would appear that there is need for yet a third history of pre-war Arabia, based this time on official documents, before we can be reasonably sure of the facts.

From 1917 Mr. Philby is himself, of course, a first-hand authority, and it is unlikely, to say the least, that his facts can be seriously questioned. He gives a long and adequate account (pp. 235-254) of the negotiations with and revolt of the Sharif of Mecca, and the subsequent operations in Western Arabia, including a summary of the Macmahon correspondence and of the terms accepted by Husain. Since the British Government has persistently refused to publish the official documents, only those with access to them can say whether this summary is a faithful transcript. Arabic versions of the correspondence have, however, been published more than once, and in default of the official British text these, with which Mr. Philby's version agrees, are naturally accepted on all hands as a true statement of the case. In the issue between King Husain and Ibn Sa'ud Mr. Philby of course takes the side of his hero, though there is little to cavil at in his account of the Sharif himself. Indeed he puts forward (p. 295) the suggestion that "the acceptance of Husain's claim [in 1924] to supreme authority in Trans-Jordan would have been in the true interests of that unhappy country."

It is rather in his discussion of the British attitude to Ibn Sa'ud and the Wahhabi movement generally that Mr. Philby lays himself open to the charge of uncritical partisanship. Already in his account of the first Wahhabi empire he inveighs against the "frigid neutrality and veiled hostility" of Great Britain—an attitude which, one would have thought, even the most pro-Arab of Englishmen could hardly judge to have been anything but right under the circumstances. The same grievance runs through his exposition of more recent history, leaving the impression that British policy has been uniformly hostile to Ibn Sa'ud. It may be admitted that the odd division of control over British operations during, and immediately after, the war gave Mr. Philby some grounds for his grievance (though it is curious to compare with his view Musil's unqualified statement that "without British help 'Abdal 'Aziz would never have erected this empire . . . without British help he would be unable to hold it"). But his indignation has certainly run away with him in the violent twist given to the frontier troubles of the last two years. The building of control-huts at water-points is described as "a strange scheme for the erection of a series of forts along the north-eastern frontier of Najd," and the hut at Busaiya, which begins as "a small fort-like building," figures prominently thereafter as "the fort of Busaiya." It seems ingenuous to a degree to represent the long-maturing revolt of the tribesmen against Ibn Sa'ud as due exclusively to this (whatever the faults of British action following the first raid on Busaiya may have been), and to assert that "Arabia has suffered two years of turmoil for an easily avoidable mistake, which has brought no compensating advantage to the British Empire." Since Ibn Sa'ud, in spite of Mr. Philby's demand for a return to the *status quo ante*, is now reported to have agreed to the control-huts, it would appear that he at least does not view the matter in quite the same light.

In his concluding pages Mr. Philby puts forward suggestions for the settlement of the outstanding questions between this country, Ibn Sa'ud, and the Imam of Yemen, by the retrocession of the 'Aqaba-Ma'an district and the Aden hinterland, the withdrawal of support from the independent princes and Gulf chiefs, and the formation of a "Muslim Board of Control" over the Hijaz railway. Opinions will differ as to the wisdom and practicability of these proposals—as of any others—but in the long run the question at issue is the stability of the Wahhabi empire. Mr. Philby has no doubts on this point. The introduction of modern methods of transport and communication into Arabia has unquestionably revolutionized the problem of maintaining political control over the wide steppe-lands and desert spaces, and Mr. Philby, an eye-witness of the change, was one of the first to realize its significance. Ibn Sa'ud's policy of establishing *hijras* or agricultural

colonies of settled Bedouins, is also, as he is at pains to show, a new and important factor in political consolidation. But he does not explain what measures of administration have been adopted to ensure the effective unity of these colonies with the central power, a point of all the more importance since the experience of Artawiya and Ghatghat (the two oldest colonies) during the recent rising suggests that it is over-optimistic to say that "henceforth there was for them neither tribe nor kith nor kin." In spite of all the new developments, it seems hazardous to assume that the immemorial tribal system of Arabia can be reformed in one or even two generations. The same considerations apply even more strongly to the Hijaz and other relatively advanced communities incorporated in the Wahhabi empire. Economic interests are a powerful factor in ensuring their acquiescence for the present in Najdi rule, and, given time, may in the end lead to a deeper sentiment of unity. It is a little disappointing that Mr. Philby does not enter into any discussion of these issues, but assumes the fact of unity as casually as if he were writing of France or Italy. He has so often had the satisfaction of saying "I told you so" to his critics that he may indeed live to see realized his vision of "the Wahhabi king dominant . . . wearing on his head the triple diadem of Mecca, Riyadh, and San'a." And after? The whole history of Arabia goes to show that a purely religious unification imposed by the sword is unstable and ephemeral. Before we can accept this as the glorious consummation of Arabian unity we must feel some assurance that the powerful factors of disintegration which seem ingrained in the Arab character have been effectively countered. The reader will search this book in vain for evidence on this point.

It would be a pity to end on a note which suggests that there is more to criticize than to admire in Mr. Philby's survey. It is just because one expects so much from him that its weaknesses stand out so conspicuously. But, let it be repeated, as a narrative of events in Arabia from 1744 to the present day it will not easily be bettered, and Mr. Philby has richly earned the gratitude of all students of the East.

H. A. R. GIBB.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DRUZE PEOPLE AND RELIGION, WITH EXTRACTS FROM THEIR SACRED WRITINGS. By Philip K. Hitti, Ph.D. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 75. 10s. 6d.

This little book of seventy-five pages, forming vol. xxviii. of the Columbia University Oriental Studies, is a well-documented but, from the scientific point of view, curiously unequal work, ranging as it does from an artless *naïveté* in some chapters to sound exposition and reasoning in others. While it does not claim to be a complete study of Druze history or theology, it has the considerable merit of bringing

within its covers references to most of the literature of importance on the Druzes, and of thus affording in convenient form not only a *vade mecum* in respect of Druze beginnings, but a guide to those who desire to probe more deeply into the beliefs of this mysterious people. Chapter v., for example, on Druze theology and its sources, is a useful summary; chapter iv., on their Persian origin, contains interesting quotations and references. But the reader cannot help feeling that he is left by the author without guidance as to what he is to believe about so important a question as the racial origin of the Druzes. Regarding this, Dr. Hitti recites the opinions of various authorities, but fails to draw any clear conclusions from them. Chapter ii., on social and historical development, is almost too simple for a book professing to be a scientific study and not an *œuvre de vulgarisation*. One is left with the impression that Dr. Hitti is widely read on his subject, but that his exposition verges at times on the elementary.

What is perhaps one of the most interesting features of the Druzes of today is the manner in which this "strange national-religious body," as Dr. Gottheil calls them in his Foreword, combines its existence as a secret and esoteric sect with a very active participation in the life and problems of modern Syria. Thus, it is significant to find in chapter i. that in the American University of Beirut there were, in 1927, thirty-six Druze students and five Druze teachers. Dr. Hitti does not claim to deal with more than origins, otherwise he would doubtless have devoted a portion of his book to what is an anomalous but important tendency of modern influential Druzes—namely, to take part, being themselves neither Arabs nor Moslems, in Arab Nationalist movements. To such an extent have certain members of prominent Druze families identified themselves in recent years with Moslem-Arab politics, often in positions of great prominence, that their Moslem collaborators have tended for their part to regard them as of themselves, and to forget that Druzes stand outside the confines of Islam.

Two small corrections on points not directly connected with the Druzes may be pointed out: first, it is incorrect to say, as does the author in chapter i., that the Samaritans are becoming rapidly extinct. For some years the converse has been the case; and the Samaritans, who numbered 152 souls in 1904 and 157 in 1921, had risen by 1929 to 195, thus showing an increase of nearly 30 per cent. in the last twenty-five years. It is also perhaps misleading to describe the Castle of Belfort (Qal'at al-Shaqif) as being in Galilee, since the term "Galilee" now implies inclusion in Palestine, whereas Belfort lies within the boundaries of the Lebanese Republic.

H. C. L.

THE CALIPHS AND THEIR NON-MUSLIM SUBJECTS. By A. S. Tritton. 8vo.
Pp. 240. Oxford University Press. 1930. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Tritton has selected for his researches a subject of considerable interest in its details, and of deep and general interest in its wider bearings. He has studied it in all the original sources accessible to him at Aligarh, and his work shows abundant traces of a careful and laborious scholarship. His thesis is poles removed from the sloppy, half-informed enthusiasms or polemics of the journalist, traveller, and (too often) missionary: Mr. Tritton offers, with the maximum of compression and the minimum of adornment, the documented facts of his subject. In collecting these he should have deserved well of students of early Islam, and indeed of a wider circle than that; he has tried (and at what more can most research-workers aim?) to add his grain to the heap of proved and ordered knowledge.

This much said, and said cordially, the reviewer must turn to less happy aspects. And if he is troubled by some shortcomings in Mr. Tritton's work, it is fair to hint that the "general reader" is likely to be troubled still more.

In fact, the book illustrates the unsatisfactoriness of the highly specialized thesis as a published work. To make clear even to the most intelligent non-specialist the relation of an isolated closely studied fragment of history to history as a whole—to let him rise from his reading with a clear impression, a grateful sense that he has learnt something which fits and enriches his previous knowledge—this demands literary gifts denied to most of us, and certainly denied to Mr. Tritton. His conclusion (pp. 228 to 233) is, indeed, brief and clear enough; but the specialist will perhaps feel it to be little more than the known common ground of the subject, which so detailed an overhaul of the evidence has altered little one way or the other; and the general reader could acquire all that he asks of the subject by reading it and omitting the tangle of names and references which precede it. The author has probed and scrutinized his subject with lens and microscope; but he has, at last, not found much that is new and enlightening to say about it.

For this a large part of the blame belongs to the literary form to which, no doubt, circumstances limited him. But, within that form, there is a good deal to criticize. The author considers his Muslim to non-Muslim relations under various headings—Government service, churches, dress, society, persecution, etc. But under each heading there is the same flitting from country to country, from century to century, from author to author, until one feels that one is less following the course of history than the order of the excerpts in Mr. Tritton's impeccable note-books. A hint from third-century Egypt—a Khurassan anecdote of A.H. 750—a story of Khalid bin Walid—and back to modern Turkey; all documented, all relevant—but all inconclusive, unoriented, undigested, of various degrees of authority and written in various veins by writers of differing complexions, nationality, and epoch. Some of Mr. Tritton's chapters, written in a bald style with no concessions to attractiveness, are little more than catalogues of his references; and in by no means all of these does one feel that the true historical content of the passage quoted is clear and full. We feel, once more, that the uncritical reader will turn pages with moistened thumb and suspicious rapidity, while the student will submit to Mr. Tritton's rapid fire of quotations with some puzzled impatience. Will any one, one wonders, arise satisfied from the "Taxation" chapter, with its blend of minutest detail, not infrequent contradiction, and the omission of everything for which the author has not found a suitable reference? The subject demands either far more or far less.

The custom of adding "Additional notes" to the body of certain chapters

is a curious one. It is, however, far less troublesome than another practice of the author's, to which he refers in his preface : " Much more than appears in inverted commas is translation." This means that we can never tell whether we are reading the *ipsissima verba* of an early Islamic writer, or of Mr. Tritton himself. Surely he will admit the grave consequences of this most unnecessary embarrassment ? It adds an element of discontinuity, jerkiness, and non-confidence to an ensemble in which those qualities were already discernible.

It is, we believe, considered pedantic to refer to matters of transliteration ; but an Arabist of Mr. Tritton's capacity need surely not give us such a mixture of systems. One is particularly ill at ease over his treatment of the definite article, of elision in general, of the letter "e," and of his failure (except, oddly enough, in his formidable "List of authorities") to distinguish h from h, t from t, and so on.

The index is as incomplete as any we can remember. An example at random : of the sixteen proper names on p. 204, two are duly indexed as occurring on that page ; three more appear in the index, but p. 204 is not mentioned under them ; the rest are not mentioned at all ! S. L.

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET. By Emile Dermenghem. Translation by Arabella Yorke. 8*½*"×5*½*". Pp. xii+353. London: Routledge, 1930. 15s.

This is an interesting and pleasantly written biography of Mahomet, sympathetic in tone, popular in character. It is a translation from the French, and the translator occasionally retains French spelling in names which thereby appear strange to an English reader—e.g., *Qarouyne* for *Qairawan* (p. 95). The author describes his method in the following words :

" I have deliberately, however, cast out everything obviously false, such as miracles invented two centuries after the death of the person to whom they were attributed, and many other improbable things. Certain doubtful, although possible, facts have been accepted because of their importance, but then I have indicated their more or less certain or legendary character by careful distinctions. Strange and picturesque as this life may appear, it is in nowise a romantic history " (p. xi).

No doubt the French implied that it was a romantic history, but not a mere romance. From this programme we might expect a biography on methods guided by more or less scientific canons of criticism, but beyond the fact that the miracles have been omitted this does not seem to be the case. Accurate references are given to Koran quotations, but to nothing else ; incidents taken directly or indirectly from Sira or traditions are without indication of the source used. One fails to discover where are the "careful distinctions" which indicate whether "facts" are certain or legendary. It is a book of popular character without any indication of specialized study.

As an instance of this, the author tells us of the Prophet that " between his shoulder-blades, near the neck, Mahomet had a sort of tumour or round excrescence of flesh as large as a Byzantine dinar with a tuft of hairs in it " (p. 19). This refers to the so-called "seal of prophecy," which is probably based on a misunderstanding of Koran 33. 40, where the Prophet refers to himself as "the seal of the prophets" : no doubt the meaning is that he completed and confirmed the work of the prophets who went before him, and on this orthodox Islam bases the doctrine that he was the last of the prophets. But a naïve literalism led some early traditionalists to suppose that it implied an actual seal impressed upon his person. It is strange to see this tradition here treated as an historical fact.

This book is pronounced in its disapproval of Fr. Lammens and, by implication, of all who employ critical methods :

"His brilliant and ingenious books are spoiled by his antipathy for Islam and its Prophet. Employing in this history hypercritical measures which others have used against Christianity, the learned Jesuit says, for example, that when tradition agreed with the Koran, tradition copied the Koran" (p. x).

Elsewhere, it is true, our author very suitably acknowledges the debt which he and all other students of the origins of Islam owe to Fr. Lammens (p. xi). If the story of the visible seal be explanatory of Koran 33. 40, and the story of Khadija's covering Mahomet (pp. 62-65) be similarly explanatory of Koran 74. 1, then at least some traditions are exegetical in character ; they are necessarily later than, and dependent on, the Koran text. In fact, the later part of Mahomet's life is reliable history ; but there is no historical record of his childhood or early ministry, so traditionalists have tried to conjecture details from obscure references in the Koran, and it is to this that Fr. Lammens' criticism especially refers. M. Dermenghem himself admits this dependent character in the legend of the cleansing of the heart, which he, no doubt correctly, refers to a misunderstanding of Koran 94 (pp. 32, etc.).

On p. 111 he refers to "Ibn Hisham, one of the Prophet's earliest and most important biographers"; in fact, Ibn Hisham is only the editor who has expurgated and revised Ibn Ishaq's (lost) biography, passages of the unexpurgated text still surviving in citations by Tabari and Waqidi.

Is it "hypercritical," or does it indicate "antipathy to Islam and its Prophet," to employ in Mahomet's biography the critical tests now generally applied to historical evidence and freely used in the criticism of the Gospel narrative ? Hadith and Sira were committed to writing when more than a century had elapsed after the Prophet's death, and during that century Islam passed through far-reaching changes as it became a cosmopolitan religion instead of a tribal cult, whilst those who recorded the traditions were, for the most part, of an alien race, so that neither Hadith nor Sira rings true to the times of Mahomet. Outside the Koran the material, so far as it relates to the earlier life and ministry, is precarious ; the Koran references themselves are obscure ; a critical sifting of the available material would be a valuable service and useful to Muslim scholars who, so far, have not worked in this direction. Modern Muslim lives of Mahomet are written solely for purposes of edification. We may not agree with Fr. Lammens' conclusions, but at any rate he has opened the way to scientific criticism on sounder lines than the mere omission of obvious improbabilities. So far as the religion of Islam itself is concerned, the important thing is not the person or life of Mahomet, but his teaching.

This book as a popular and agreeable account of Mahomet's life, expurgated in accordance with twentieth-century ideas, has its merits, and, if it rouses interest in the Prophet's life, will serve a purpose ; but we can hardly say that it is a serious contribution to our knowledge of that life.

D. O'LEARY.

ORIENTAL MEMOIRS OF A GERMAN DIPLOMATIST. By Dr. Friedrich Rosen. 9 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xiv + 288. Illustrated. Methuen. 1930.

The scope of these interesting memoirs, as outlined by the author, who for a few months in 1921 was German Minister for Foreign Affairs, is to give an impression of different countries of the Near East at the various periods when he saw them. As regards personalities he says he has tried to

speak unbiassed by subsequent events, but, nevertheless, a certain bitterness here and there transpires. Modestly disclaiming any English literary style, he has written, in a language that is not his own, an account of places and people which is informative and full of local colour, and also provides easy and fascinating reading of a lighter kind.

Part I., his description of life in Jerusalem in the sixties, when the inhabitants lived in close touch with Biblical days, is particularly charming. He speaks of the friendly relations subsisting between the ruling classes—viz., the Turkish civil and military authorities and the native Arab population—commenting, pointedly, that the so-called Arab Movement was devised to promote the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Of the manners and customs of the Moslem and Jewish communities he writes with pleasant humour. His account of the Anglo-Prussian community in Jerusalem, which originated in the wish of the British and Prussian Governments to counter-balance to some extent the two great Christian communities, the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox, shows that the interest taken in the Holy City, at the close of the nineteenth century, by the Emperor William II. was not merely the result of a sudden whim. Up till then German interest in the Near East was, he says, quite overshadowed by those of the other Great Powers, and he declares that the "great fuss" made over Germany's Anatolia Railway Concession was mainly due to Russian jealousy.

Part II., his description of his journey from India in 1887 up the Persian Gulf and of his experiences along the road from Bushire to Tehran, evokes happy memories of travel in Persia in the nineteenth century. Summing up his experiences in India, where he had just spent one and a half years, he remarks (on p. 82) that the great diversity of races and religions must "for a long time prevent the Indian peoples being able to govern themselves in a way similar to other Commonwealths." His admiration of the British rule does not, however, prevent his making an insinuation against the Indian Government and the Indian authorities, of whose hospitality he is, nevertheless, appreciative.

Part III. opens with Dr. Rosen's comments on the fall of Bismarck ; in his view, the power of Germany in Europe was no longer uncontested in 1890, and the régime of the Chancellor had already outlived its usefulness. His next appointment—viz., to the Consulate-General at Beyrouth—brought him into contact with the Syrian question, arising out of the fierce struggles in 1860 between the Druses and the Maronites, which brought about the intervention of the Powers—another instance, according to him, of the French preparing the ground for future events. Here he found leisure for travel, visiting the Lebanon. He maintains that the administrative corruption in the country that existed under Turkish rule was not unduly resented by the population. After less than a year he was transferred to Tehran, and travelled via Constantinople ; here he tells some entertaining tales regarding the influence at the Porte in the nineteenth century of the interpreters, and the part they played in the work of the European Embassies.

Part IV.—Diplomatic life at the Persian capital is described with great spirit ; he confesses that only two Legations, the British and the Russian, counted for much, the others being merely spectators of their activities. A visit to the neighbouring shrine of Shah Abdul Azim (p. 137), in company with his friend the Master of Ceremonies, formed one of his most exciting experiences; he also gives a graphic picture of Nasr-eddin Shah, of his sense of humour, and of his cruelties. He discusses Russian and British policy towards Persia during the nineties, and contrasts the steady advance of

Russia with the vacillating attitude of various British Cabinets ; he considers that by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 Persia was sacrificed to the imaginary danger of German political activity in those parts. Speaking of the different British Ministers, he thinks that the outwardly easy-going ways of Sir F. Lascelles were more useful to British interests than the restless activity of Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and he is critical of the cold and haughty manner of Sir M. Durand. His sympathy with the Persian people and his love and knowledge of their language are throughout very evident. A curious story is told of a report on Persian affairs by the author, which found its way into *The Times*, having, presumably, been communicated to Chirol, then *The Times* correspondent at Berlin, by Baron Holstein, of the German Foreign Office, and here he refers to the part played by Chirol in 1901 in connection with the efforts then being made to improve Anglo-German relations (see p. 180).

Part V. consists chiefly of extracts of letters written from Baghdad, the journey there across the desert being vividly described. Here, again, he asserted he had little work to do, as German interests were nil, and the campaign against the Baghdad Railway Concession was, he declares, started by the Russian Embassy in London. He had now considerable leisure to travel, and he gives a graphic account of his visit to the Vali of Push-ti-Kuh, the most powerful chieftain on the Persian border. Transferred back to Tehran, we get an interesting account in Part VI. of his trip across the Kurdish hills, of tribal raids, and of truly Oriental methods for the elimination of tribal leaders. His stay was, however, short, as in 1900 he was hurriedly moved to Jerusalem, where he notes many changes, mostly for the worse, and the following year is at the Foreign Office in Berlin, not sorry to leave the East, the modernization of which was becoming painful to him. He wanted to play a "modest" part in trying to remove the misunderstandings between Germany and Great Britain that arose out of the South African War. Subsequent events, however, he says, frustrated these hopes, and led "to the greatest crime and the greatest folly in history"—the war between England and Germany.

Dr. Rosen's respect for his English-speaking readers seems to be deeper than his knowledge of their mentality. Various touches betray national jealousy. His apology for not abusing his late Sovereign (p. 261), and his regret (p. 281) that Miss Gertrude Bell, whom he greatly admired and with whom he was on terms of close friendship, should have employed her knowledge of the East, which she owed greatly to German aid, to the detriment of Germany, are rather jarring. At least a couple of minor slips are noticeable, in particular one relating to the late Empress Charlotte, widow of the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian, who died in Belgium during the Great War. Also a few more dates would have been convenient. The illustrations are well chosen and reproduced, the sketches by the author's mother being particularly charming.

E. R.

ALAI! ALAI! ARBEITEN UND ERLEBNISSE DER DEUTSCH-RUSSISCHEN ALAI-PAMIR-EXPEDITION. By Willi Rickmer Rickmers. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 300. Illustrations. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1929.

Mr. Rickmers is well known in the geographical world, and one can safely say that any mention of the Pamirs will certainly be incomplete without a reference to his pioneer work there. He journeyed to Bukhara in 1894, and between then and 1913 visited Turkestan no less

than eight times. A volume of his travels appeared in 1913 under the title of "The Duab of Turkestan," published by the Cambridge University Press. It was not, however, till that year that the author showed his great powers of leadership and organization when he led the expedition of the German and Austrian Alpine Association to the Alai-Pamirs. The war and the difficult political situation in this part of the world prevented any further exploration for many years except by Russians and Sir Aurel Stein in 1915.

The present expedition, the official title of which is the Alai-Pamir Expedition, 1928, is well described by Rickmers in his book. He was the leader, and the expedition was in reality a continuation of the German and Austrian one fifteen years before, for they intended to begin their work where the other expedition had finished. The objects in both cases were in substance the same—namely, to map out the little-known mountains in the Alai-Pamirs. Readers who have the leisure to read and to compare the accounts of the two expeditions will be struck by the great advance made in the scientific side of exploration. In 1913 the late Doctor Deimler completed a photo-grammetric survey of parts of this region, when that science was then in its infancy. Finsterwalder during the present expedition made a photo-survey of a large area with the most modern half-plate photo-theodolites by Zeiss. We have here one example of the advance which has been made in photo-surveying, and those who are technically conversant with this branch of science will find a comparison of the greatest interest.

The Alai-Pamir Expedition of 1928 was run under the auspices of the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Berlin and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences in Leningrad. The costs of the expedition were shared chiefly by the German and Soviet sponsors, though the German and Austrian Alpine Association also contributed. The expedition consisted of thirty members, Austrians, Germans, and Russians, the majority being the latter two. Space does not permit of mentioning the names of all the specialists, but suffice it to say that every conceivable kind of scientist was included. Comparison can only be made to the two famous Italian expeditions to the Kara-Korams, the Duke of the Abruzzi's and the Duke of Spoleto's, the wonderful organizations of which are familiar to us all.

The first part of the book, as far as page 188, consists of the author's diary, beginning on May 9, 1929, from Bremen, and ending on November 28 in Berlin. It is unfortunate that a serious misprint should occur at the beginning of the first line of the first chapter, making it appear as if the expedition took place in 1929 instead of in 1928. A first glance at a travel book written in diary form always makes one feel a little doubtful about it, as one fears that the usual monotony may have crept in, but Rickmers is not only an experienced

traveller but possesses also the art of writing and describing his adventures. This part of the book has undoubtedly been well polished, so that it in no way reads like a diary. Now and then the diary is enlarged by letters from the other members of the expedition, no doubt also slightly edited. The names and places in this part of the world are not very familiar, though it is not difficult to follow the route by referring to the excellent map at the end of the book.

The second part of the book consists of reports and diaries from some of the other members of the expedition, all written in the same style. One of the most interesting parts is the report of Doctor Lentz, who discusses the different Pamir dialects. These languages, the writer says, belong to the East Iranian branch, and he is afraid that they may become extinct by reason of the political and economic conditions prevailing, and may be replaced by modern Persian or Russian or some cosmopolitan language introduced by passing caravans. Doctor Lentz obtained a large number of phonographic and musical records of songs and recitations in the various dialects.

The third part of the book deals with the plans of the expedition, and this is perhaps the most interesting. The main object was to study the region known as the Sel Tau. Rickmers had already begun to explore this area in 1913, and it is curious that during the intervening fifteen years no explorer had actually touched that area, though Russian explorers had skirted it. The nearest visit was paid by Sir Aurel Stein in 1915. It was intended to make a map of this area which would include a large number of scientific observations. Doctor Finsterwalder made a series of triangulations, and it is understood that he is preparing several maps which will fill in many of the blank gaps in the Alai-Pamirs. This expedition was without doubt the most thorough of any which has gone to that part of the world. It was not only composed of the ordinary specialist, such as the geologist, botanist, and meteorologist, but it included specialists in highly technical branches of science, such as geomagnetism and radiology. The expedition was away for only six and a half months, five of which were actually devoted to exploration. It can be seen therefore, even from the preliminary reports, the vast amount of work which each of the many specialists performed. It speaks very highly indeed for Rickmers's organization, bearing in mind that there were three nationalities, two of which, German and Russian, possess temperaments so totally opposed that friction might easily have arisen. To Rickmers must be given the credit for the lion's share of the success, though it speaks highly of the international spirit which exists among explorers.

The author has devoted the last part of the book to a description of The Turanian Doab, and ends with several schedules, of which the

botanical one is the most interesting. A glossary of native terms forms one of the schedules, which with the index are valuable features of the book. The photographs are out of the ordinary and extremely good, and the photographer and the publisher deserve to be congratulated for the respective parts they have played in producing the finished article. The publisher has again seen fit to use German type, though with a book with an international interest Roman type would be more appropriate. This is, however, the only criticism which can be made, for he has given us an excellent map, which, with the beautiful photographs and the good general production, are all in keeping with a first-class travel book. describing one of the best organized expeditions which has ever visited the Alai-Pamirs. The scientific results will be awaited with great interest, and when published should fill in many gaps in that region which has hitherto not received the attention which it deserves.

B. K. F.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERSIA. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. x+253. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1930.

To his brilliant survey of the history of the Persian Gulf, published in 1928, Sir Arnold Wilson appended a list of some 500 works relating to that sphere. In the present work he has extended the scope of his research to the whole of Persia, and has provided us with a most valuable bibliography dealing with over 5,000 items. He makes no claim, however, to have exhausted existing material, and explains that in casting his net he made no attempt to include every field of interest which bibliography may be considered to cover. On the contrary, with becoming modesty he describes his volume as mainly a "Bibliography of Authors," of works, or translations of works, printed in one of the principal languages of Europe. At any rate, it is just what many of his fellow-countrymen and others interested in the region in question have been awaiting for many years past—in fact, ever since the publication (in 1892) of the late Lord Curzon's monumental volumes on "Persia and the Persian Question." It may be remembered that in his preface to that great work its distinguished author adumbrated the appearance at no distant date of a supplementary volume which was to include a comprehensive general biography, and had the exacting preoccupations of public life but allowed him to snatch a spell of uninterrupted leisure sufficient for the purpose, there is no doubt that this would have been the first literary task to which he would have turned his hand. That purpose, alas, was never destined to be fulfilled, but the task of compiling the bibliography could have devolved on no one better qualified to do it justice, and all "students of Persia and things Persian" (to use his own words) will be grateful to Sir Arnold Wilson for this fresh product of his tireless industry, and for the presentation thereof in convenient and attractive setting such as we are wont to associate with the Clarendon Press. Its appearance at the present time is all the more welcome in view of the coming Congress and Exhibition of Persian Art which we hope to enjoy in London next winter, and which must prove a great stimulus to public interest generally in the history and art of that ancient kingdom.

P. Z. C.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA. By Edward Thompson. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 321. Map. London : Faber and Faber. 1930. 10s. 6d.

The prime difficulty with which a conciliator of the Indian quarrel is confronted is that of bringing the parties on to a common ground and inducing each of them to study attentively the other's case. They stand at a distance, hurling scorn and abuse across the interval and cheerfully striking the mediator with the same missiles. Mr. Thompson will not then be surprised if he is unpopular. He really attempts to be impartial, to examine the claims of both sides and to tell the truth as he sees it. Perhaps he does not succeed in telling the whole truth ; probably no human being can do so. To some of us it is welcome to read nothing but the truth, so far as the author's knowledge and judgment extend. Many, on the other hand, will continue to deny that it is true.

The articulate and educated classes of India are conscious of an inadequate scope for their liabilities under an administration which, though predominantly Indian in personnel, has always filled a majority of the higher posts with British officers and demanded of Indian officers an acceptance of a rigid set of British ideas. The unofficial meanwhile was long invited to sit still and watch the smooth and efficient movement of the machine. His advice was not solicited, criticism was acceptable only in the most respectful and moderate form. Vexed by this exclusion and by the personal bearing of foreigners in a country which he regarded as his own, the Indian invented a fantastic series of economic libels and repeated them until he was convinced of their accuracy. The British meanwhile shut their eyes to the reality which underlay the Indian's complaints, the futile existence to which men of force and capacity were condemned, the sense of humiliation under which they suffered. Each party dwelt on its own claims and ignored those of the other, with the result that the gap between them has increased and mutual understanding is now only possible if many illusions are swept away.

We have been arrogant, Mr. Thompson points out ; we have been indifferent to the racial feelings of others and denied them scope : our promises of equality have been so interpreted as to appear worthless. Indians have been unreasonable, over-confident of their powers, reluctant to reform their own social organization. Violence and insult have been met by insult and violence, and both parties are to blame. On the other hand, we have not intentionally done harm to India, while Indians have until recently been long-suffering and trustful. Yet India is now in a tangle of distrust, and the only way out which Mr. Thompson (or any other intelligent person) can offer us is a Round Table Conference in which all will be generous and try hard for a settlement. He is clearly right, though few will be confident of the result. Success will only be attained if British as well as Indians, in England as well as in India, realize that justice does not lie entirely with their side, and will make this admission so frankly as to convince everyone to whom they are speaking.

Suggestive comments are made by Mr. Thompson on page after page, and it is only possible to take up a few points. When describing the narrowness and remoteness of the Indian Government, it is not right to make so rare mention of the servants of Government in the districts, who frequently speak the local vernacular with fluency and are by no means so unfamiliar with the people as he appears to imply. Service in the eastern provinces has perhaps misled the author in this respect. Comparatively little, again, is said of the peasant, who will, as Mr. Thompson is aware, be the chief sufferer under inefficient administration. It is true that illiteracy does not necessarily mean

ignorance, but it *does* mean a very grave liability to be misled by an idle rumour or an unscrupulous liar, and until the peasant is literate and able to compare conflicting views he will find it hard to vote wisely and will be likely to damage himself and his country. There is a tendency to overlook this reaction on the village, when sympathizing with the educated townsman and conferring political control on him. The village therefore must be enlightened, and since the task costs money (as proved by Mr. Brayne's experiment in Gurgaon) further taxation is inevitable. Only a government of Indians can now venture on an appreciable increase of taxes, and we have therefore to grant self-government in order to create the conditions in which self-government will be safe. The main problems of India—defence, the princes, and communal strife—are all discussed in a manner which excites thought and provokes a thousand answers. The financial danger is less fully treated. Opium and salt revenues must be abandoned, because they are, or are widely held to be, unjustifiable. Excise is to follow them with less reason. Defence and internal administration will not be cheaper under Home Rule ; the abolition of the Permanent Settlement will only benefit part of the country. How, then, is India to raise more money ? Only by a high tariff, it is evident ; and though Mr. Thompson rejects this disastrous policy, the Fates are against him, and we shall see the peasant paying more for his cloth, his trinkets, and his sewing machine, while his wheat, jute, and cotton are taxed at the place of export. In each case the peasant pays, and India will even then (and perhaps for this very cause, as in Russia) have to face a crisis in her budget.

It is easy to be critical. Mr. Thompson is discursive and pursues each hare which crosses his path ; he sometimes returns to the road at a different point from which he left it. But he takes us into fresh air, those of us who are willing to breathe it. The reviewer has seldom read a book on India which inspired a deeper feeling of regard for the writer's sincerity and courage, and has thoroughly enjoyed the experience of reading it.

C. F. S.

RUSTICUS LOQUITUR. By M. L. Darling. 9×5½. Pp. xi+400. Map. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 15s.

The contribution made by Mr. Darling to our economic knowledge of India and of the Punjab in his former book, "The Punjab Peasant," is renewed by the close study of peasant life and mentality in "Rusticus Loquitur." Writing with the intimacy which is won only by the touring officer and with the critical judgment which is based on observation and experience, Mr. Darling considers the Punjabi from the economic, social, and religious points of view. His narrative is inevitably disconnected, for it is an account in diary form of journeys made by him on horseback in outlying districts now (since the advent of the motor-car) visited less frequently than a generation ago. Conclusions are consequently deferred to the final chapter, and even then are tentative, but the reader does not lose interest and gradually builds up his own ideas as the story proceeds.

The money-lender, the *pir* or religious guide, and the landlord play a large part in the rural life of the Punjab and in the tales of Rusticus. The former is losing ground. Indispensable in the absence of alternative sources of supply, he is now being displaced by the credit society, the commonest type of co-operative activity in debt-ridden India. Many villagers, however, lack the firmness of character to resist his wiles, and in the shape of the agriculturist money-lender he has regained much of his strength. Mr. Darling,

perhaps, tends to forget that if the money-lending peasant indulges in the usual large family of sons, his property will be divided among them, and this division, compelling them to cultivate, will remove a great part of the evil. No great class of non-cultivating landowners will thus be developed from agriculturist money-lenders, and the actual degree of this redistribution by inheritance deserves detailed investigation by rural economists. Stress is laid on the peasant's poverty, and Mr. Darling is tempted to weigh carefully the policy of home-spinning on the *charkha* as a means of supplementing his income. No rational economist can, however, advocate this remedy for the loss of a cultivator's spare time. Widen his outlook, render him accessible to new ideas, and by utilizing better seed and improved methods of agriculture he will add to his income, while retaining leisure for reading and for listening. We have to raise the general level of rural life and to spread the "new light." Mr. Darling is aware of this, and it is surprising that nowhere in this stimulating and impartial book does the author mention the Rural Community Councils, which, though uneven in their results, have done much to co-ordinate the rural agencies, official and unofficial, of the province, and to present to the villager a new vision of what might be. The impermanence of the Gurgaon reforms, due largely to the use of official authority by Mr. Brayne, does not rob them of value as an example, and Mr. Darling is not ungenerous in his treatment of the Gurgaon experiment. Future reformers will be wise to adopt many of Mr. Brayne's propaganda methods, preferably through the Rural Community Councils, and to extend the system of educative broadcasting in the villages, rather than to devote the spare time of the cultivator to earning two annas daily on the *charkha*. With a quickened intelligence he will earn more than this in his fields.

There is little good to be said of the landlord. With rare exceptions—to one of which, a well-known instance, Mr. Darling does full justice—the landlord is a parasite, serving no purpose to the cultivating tenant or the community. If he will not mend his ways and fit himself to lead, the time of his end is not far off, and the Green Revolution in Eastern Europe, no less than compulsory land purchase in Ireland, show how strongly the tide is setting against the landlord, good and bad. The Punjab does not suffer to the same degree as Bengal and the permanently settled districts of other provinces, where many owners have never seen their lands and some would be unable to locate them on the map; but retribution will undoubtedly visit the landlord under a truly self-governing India, and the innocent are likely to perish with the guilty.

The discussion of the *pir* or religious leader is particularly valuable. He, too, is morally out of date. Mr. Darling shows the peasant's economy from a new angle, and it is probable that few of us, who have moved in the Punjab villages, were aware of the steady drain which the *pir* keeps up without performing any real function in return. It is refreshing to learn that his influence is dwindling. So deeply, however, does superstition penetrate the mind of the countryman, that his traditional attitude towards charms and the holy man will not lightly be altered. Many will remember the sight of Muslims in the western Punjab sitting silently around the piled heaps on their threshing floors and waiting until the fall of darkness before weighing out the grain. Measurement by day, or any mention (even by a friendly traveller) of the size or height of the heap, would give the Jinns power over it, and the weight would be mysteriously diminished. The *pir* must bless the grain, therefore, to ward off the Jinns' attacks.

The "new light" is changing the mind of the cultivator, and for good or

evil his outlook is becoming more economic. How far is the change to go? The same development may be watched in Palestine, where the Arab fellah, stung and encouraged by the example of the Jewish colonist, aspires to intensive agriculture and a less thriftless manner of life, yet is reluctant to surrender his customary hospitality and his improvident ways. In the Punjab we should aim, Mr. Darling thinks, at a standard of moderate sufficiency for the peasant: a *pakka* (brick or stone) house, a surplus of money in his credit society, and education for himself and his wife. To these he would add, and very rightly, a sense of beauty, with scope for its exercise in his houses and surroundings. The sense is there, however primitive, and just as the Russian *moujik* responds to music, the Punjabi loves flowers and small objects of beauty in his home. Where opportunity offers, as in the Kangra hills or in the canal colonies, many little courtyard gardens are maintained, and there is no task which our utilitarian schools in India might with greater advantage undertake than the cultivation of a sense so easily stunted in the young. And yet—one sees the picture! The curriculum from 11 to 11.20 on Tuesdays will include "Beauty, the sense of; instances, European and Indian; spiritual and economic value of," and all taught by an urban schoolmaster on twenty-five rupees! Will this be worth teaching? But if beauty is lost, the peasant will become only too soon a greedy hunter of annas, and a sad citizen of Swaraj India.

Mr. Darling has laid before us the facts as he sees them. He has a pleasant art, and no one will underestimate the importance of the service rendered to England and India by his account. Will he go further? The civil servant, trained to observation and caution, shrinks from bold pronouncements, but if he is silent, the impetuous and the uninstructed hold the field. "*The Punjab Peasant*" and "*Rusticus*" are good books, helpful to the student and the statesman, rich in ammunition for political gunmen. They should be followed by a book constructive and brave, provoking unpopularity, facing the risk of error: the book, therefore, which a Civil Servant dislikes writing, since it commits him to generalization and judgment where he would wish to hesitate and qualify, but without which an alert and balanced mind cannot subscribe its full share to the world's capital stock of understanding.

C. F. S.

EMERSON AND ASIA. By F. J. Carpenter. Harvard University Press, 1930.

The isolation of the United States in politics and economics is gradually breaking down. In some ways the process is almost unconscious, or a natural corollary to the march of events, in which America almost played her part against her will. But in ideas the United States has never been isolated. Almost from the first the spirit of discovery, the pioneer spirit that took nothing for granted but went on extending its horizon, has attracted her thinking minds and found voice in her literature. She was an heir to Europe in her civilization, but an heir that was anxious to develop her spiritual estate and explore her neighbours' boundaries. Her idealism built on Immanuel Kant and made of it the Transcendentalism of Thoreau and Emerson. When the first contact of the English mind (through Sir William Jones and Colebrook) and the German mind (through Goethe) rediscovered the thought of

the East, Emerson was one of its outstanding exponents in America who wove it into the texture of popular literature.

Mr. Carpenter has attempted the interesting task of tracing the germs and growth of Emerson's "Orientalism." In some places Mr. Carpenter's attitude almost justifies us in supposing that he was exploring Emerson's "Orientalization." But that term is certainly too strong with reference to Emerson, and is, I think, too strong with reference to the balanced judgment of Mr. Carpenter. Mr. Carpenter's sane views and painstaking method keep his enthusiasm within bounds. He has carefully studied the whole of Emerson's Works, as edited in twelve volumes with notes by Emerson's son, Mr. Edward Emerson, between 1903 and 1915, and compared them with the admirable ten-volume Selection from Emerson's Journals published by the same pious editor. Emerson's Journals contain almost a complete record of the growth of his mind from a very early age to within seven years of his death. They contain notes about the books that he read, the passages which appealed to him and which he copied out, the ideas suggested to him which he stored up, the interesting people he met and places he visited, and a list of the books he read from year to year. There is thus abundant material for tracing the growth and development of any particular phase of Emerson's thought, and Mr. Carpenter has made skilful use of it in relation to the Orient.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Orientalism of Emerson is of the same brand as the Orientalism of the American Oriental Society, which was founded in 1842, when Emerson was thirty-nine years of age. Nor is it the Orientalism of that small coterie in the Middle West which accepts Hindu "Swamis" as teachers of mankind, or at least as apostles of a higher spiritual teaching than can be found among any other people in the world. The Orient, to Emerson, was a happy undiscovered country from whose bourne travellers like the early Orientalists returned with strange tales and strange ideas. In seeking for his larger spiritual horizon, Emerson took his starting-point with the Neoplatonists, whose mysticism he confounds in some measure with the doctrines of Plato. In neither case are his ideas historically correct, but the picture he formed in his mind is well expressed in a passage quoted by Mr. Carpenter (p. 29):

"Plato, in Egypt and in Eastern pilgrimages, imbibed the idea of one Deity, in which all things are absorbed. The unity of Asia and the detail of Europe; the infinitude of the Asiatic soul and the definite, result-loving, surface-seeking, opera-going Europe—Plato came to join, and by contact to enhance, the energy of each. The excellence of Europe and Asia are in his brain."

The phrases here used about Europe are scarcely fair. But if we take Europe to be a conventional label for a certain attitude of mind, which

(according to Emerson himself) is at least equally prominent in America, we might say with justice that "the excellence of Europe, Asia, and America" is in the ideal which Emerson was seeking to express in literature.

When Emerson in 1840 calls the Vedas "the Bible of the *tropics*," and in 1843 he speaks of the Bhagavad Gita as "the much-renowned book of Buddhism," the phrases may be casual slips in letters to friends, but they evidenced the somewhat vague boundaries which he assigned to the Orient. The Christian Bible would be outside this definition, as a book of the Occident. The mysteries of Egypt and Babylon were still hidden from him. In Confucius and Chinese thought he took little interest. Japanese thought had scarcely yet risen above the horizon of Europe or America. (Professor William Leonard Schwartz, of Stanford University, has recently attempted to appraise the influence of Chinese and Japanese on the poetry of the United States.) Emerson's ideas on Zoroastrianism are based on such forgeries as "The Chaldean Oracles" and "The Desatir." And the views he formed of Hindu and Muslim literature were based on the imperfect translations and writings in European languages available till about the middle of the nineteenth century. Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyám's "Rubáiyát" was published in 1859, and became famous a year or two afterwards, but it never appealed to Emerson. It was really outside the boundary of his "Orient."

The enthusiasm which Emerson showed for Muslim literatures was an enthusiasm for certain traits in what he conceived of as folk movements among the Persians and Arabs. Saadi was a greater man to him than Hafiz. Many of the professed quotations from the Quran are not quotations from the Quran at all. The asceticism and fatalism which he ascribes to Islam ("Works," x. 177) may be ascribed with equal justice to most other forms of faith. Sometimes Emerson took his opinions of Islam from chance acquaintances, like a Mr. Vethake, of whom nothing else is known.

If we pretended that Mr. Emerson founded a cult of Orientalism in America, we should not be on sure ground. Nor should we be right in saying that an accurate study of the East formed his mind. His mind had a bent in certain directions, and he culled from everywhere anything which supported that bent. He often distorted his material, not consciously, but from the nature of the case; the distortion often led to new forms of beauty or opened up new vistas of thought. One great service he did render, and in that he was a spokesman of a movement which is gathering strength and which must win the approval of all minds that care for the solidarity of mankind. He greatly strengthened, if he did not initiate, the study of Comparative Literatures and Comparative Religions, the movement for a spiritual sympathy between the

Orient and the Occident. And we are grateful to Mr. Carpenter for the impartial study of this Emersonian attitude which he has given us.

A. YUSUF ALI.

MUGHAL RULE IN INDIA. By S. M. Edwardes and H. L. O. Garrett.
 $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. vi + 374. Oxford University Press. Price 15s.

This is an excellently and concisely written account of the reigns of the great Mughal Emperors, which will be of interest to the general reader as well as to the student. The first or historical portion is from the pen of Mr. Garrett; the second, which deals with the administrative, social, and artistic aspects of the period, was prepared by the late Mr. Edwardes. Neither portion lays any claim to original research or to fresh views, but the authorities are well handled, and are up to date, with the possible exception of the treatment of the revenue system. Mr. Garrett's historical portion is clear and well balanced, and he is particularly successful in depicting the character of Aurungzeb, who did much to accelerate the ruin of the Empire while acting from motives which must be regarded as highly conscientious. The only point on which Mr. Garrett's opinion is likely to be seriously questioned is his acceptance of the view that Afzal Khan, and not Shivaji, was the aggressor when the Moslem fell a victim to the Maratha's knife. Therein he follows the view of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and of recent Maratha historians. But this was not the opinion of contemporary observers, such as Carré, or of so supreme an authority as Grant Duff, to say nothing of the writers of the Maratha ballads, who gloried in the deed which they ascribed to Shivaji. After all, preparation is generally regarded as evidence of premeditation, and Shivaji had made ample preparations for the result of a treacherous attack, while Afzal Khan had made none. On the other hand, it would be absurd to make no allowance for the customs of the time, and to view the deed, supposing Shivaji to have been the aggressor, with excessive moral reprobation. Mr. Edwardes's portion of the book is written with his usual grace and felicity, and it is sad to realize that it was the last product of his pen. The chapter on Mughal art and architecture is specially good. For the facts of the administration this part of the book is mainly dependent on Mr. Moreland, and no better authority could be followed.

It is not possible to realize the lessons to be learnt from the decline of the Mughal Empire without making some application to modern times. The authors show that the six Emperors from Babur to Aurungzeb were all men of remarkable capacity and physical as well as mental gifts. But they worked through a corrupt bureaucracy, and, as the rulers deteriorated or lost their grip, the administrative system became not merely corrupt but inefficient. So long as there was a

steady influx of new blood from the hardy North, both the officials and the army were strong and competent. But Akbar's policy, for which, of course, there was much to be said, was "India for the Indians," and with the adoption of that policy began the decline of the Empire. Another source of the weakness of the later Emperors was the entire absence of sea-power, and here again the application to present circumstances is clear. The authors are careful to point out that the circumstances and the defects of the Mughal administration should be properly compared with the Europe of the period, and not with the present day. But they indicate the terrible ravages of famine and disease which exceeded anything to be found in Europe, and it has yet to be seen whether the diminution of these evils under British rule is a permanent feature or is dependent on efficient administration. The general conclusion to be drawn from the book would appear to be that the Mughal Empire was indeed magnificent, but the magnificence concealed the distress of a poverty-stricken and oppressed people.

P. R. C.

SWARAJ : THE PROBLEM OF INDIA. By Captain J. E. Ellam. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.
Pp. xiii + 288. Hutchinson.

MUST ENGLAND LOSE INDIA? By Lieut.-Colonel A. Osburn. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$.
Pp. 280. Knopf. 7s. 6d.

These two books are to some extent mutually corrective. Captain Ellam points out the advantages which British rule has brought to India, and the inability of the sub-continent to stand alone. Colonel Osburn, on the other hand, can see no good in British administration in India, or indeed in any other part of the world. Whether in Ireland, Egypt, or South Africa he is ready to put the worst construction on the conduct of his fellow-countrymen. In other respects also the contrast between the two books is equally great. Captain Ellam lays no claim to long acquaintance with India: but his book is the result of recent and careful enquiry on the spot. He gives a summary of Indian history from the earliest times which, though exception might be taken to certain details, gives a fair idea of past causes and present circumstances for the general reader. He gives a careful account of the importance and the status of the Indian States. He lays too much stress on the claim of the British to be Western Aryans. Even if it be assumed that the British came of the same stock as the Aryan invaders of India, the latter are too much diluted in India to justify a claim of kinship. His dislike of the Brahmins seems somewhat too inveterate. Even if it be agreed that they embody the original Hindu concept of hatred for foreigners, and if the other writer castes be included with them, they are not the preponderating force among the intelligentsia of the greater part of India. While also it may be agreed that the parliamentary institutions of Anglo-Saxon countries are unsuited for Indian conditions, and further that the British are under no pledge to apply them in their entirety, it is not possible to rescind the Government of India Act of 1919, as Captain Ellam suggests, without a breach of faith. The pathway which led to that Act was entered upon many years before, and cannot now be deserted, although the recent advance along it may well have been too hurried,

and a halt may even be advisable. The book is, however, a painstaking study of the Indian position from one angle of view, and the recent death of its author gives it a melancholy interest.

Colonel Osburn's book stands on a different footing. His favourite theme is the brutality of the English Public Schools, and to this he attributes the misguided and indefensible conduct of the British not merely in India but, as has been observed above, in every other part of the world. His personal knowledge of India seems to be slight and of no recent date, and most of his allegations are based on entirely anonymous support. The extent of his own knowledge may be judged from such statements, among many others, as "To many Englishmen and to most Englishwomen the mere sight of a poor-class Indian is an offence"; "undoubtedly the Black and Tans in Ireland were the lineal descendants—politically speaking—of the punitive police employed in India"; and that there is an "ever increasing army of highly paid English officials." The value of his constructive suggestions may be judged from one of them: "The misguided efforts to increase personal contact in social matters between the average Hindu and the average European in India should not be persisted in." The book has no quality to compensate for its defects.

P. R. C.

LOYAL INDIA. By P. H. Dumbell. 9 x 5½. Pp. xxiii + 243.
Constable. 12s.

This is an interesting compilation by an official well known at the India Office of passages principally taken from the speeches or dispatches of Secretaries of State or Viceroys dealing with the relations between England and India during the last seventy years. The title is perhaps misleading, since it is not, with the exception of references to the War, a record of the loyalty of India to England, while it does by implication set out the esurience of the Indian politician. The loyalty of England to India, as shown by the attempt to fulfil pledges and meet aspirations by the successive grants of powers of self-government, would perhaps be a better description of the book. The author's special admiration is reserved for Lord Morley, "the most eminent of the many eminent personages who have held the high office of Secretary of State." Yet it is not without significance that the author applies the term "principate" to Lord Morley's period of office. That word is generally used of the unchecked autocracy of the early Roman Emperors; and it is sometimes considered that Lord Morley brought for the first time something of this overbearing power into the relations of the Secretary of State with the Viceroy. It can hardly be disputed that the position of the Government of India was thereby injuriously affected, coupled as it was with the practical dismissal of a Lieutenant-Governor who was obnoxious to the Secretary of State, and the reversal of the Partition of Bengal, though the latter actually occurred shortly after Lord Morley had ceased to be in charge of Indian affairs. Moreover, though the author rightly states that Lord Morley's statesmanship might with advantage have been emulated by "later and more headlong constitution-

mongers," and, though Lord Morley repudiated the idea that his measures were in any sense a step towards parliamentary institutions, it is obvious that by the creation of non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, he weakened the power of the executive and made popular control of all assemblies inevitable. It thus became possible for his successor to say in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, that "the Morley-Minto constitution ceased within ten years to satisfy the political hunger of India" and that it created an inherent weakness because "we are trying to govern by concession, and each successive concession has the air of being wrung from us." The result has been that the warning of Mountstuart Elphinstone, "Legislation for India should be well considered, gradual, and slow," has been totally disregarded, and, as Lord Meston said in the House of Lords of Indian politicians, "Immediately they secure one stage of political advance they ask for another." The extracts in the book are of varying merit, and the long one regarding the Bengali student might well have been shortened or omitted. But there is much of retrospective interest, including the assertion that the cost of the transfer of the seat of government to Delhi would be at the outside four millions, and Mr. Montagu's aspiration to disturb 95 per cent. of the people of India out of their placid, pathetic contentment. Few aspirations of English politicians in regard to India have been so signally attained as this one. Perhaps the most interesting, because the most unconventional, of the extracts is that which gives the view of an Indian country gentleman on the earlier reforms, that "the Sarkar seems to be seeking to set up an opposition so that it may argue with it." This appears to contain the truth that the Government of India, and still more the Secretaries of State, did much to create the forces which are now in the majority. The book is well worth study in connection with the Report of the Simon Commission as showing that in matters of Indian reform it is certainly true that the appetite comes with eating.

TURKEY FACES WEST. By Halidé Edib. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xiv + 273. Illustrations.

London : Milford. New Haven : Yale University Press. 1930. 14s.

The book opens up certain new vistas in the study of recent Turkish history. We hear the question from the point of view of a Turk—a Turk of the new régime and one in whom are embodied many of the characteristic merits and failings of this to us so new country. We are, for instance, at times carried away by Halidé Edib's enthusiasm ; we respect her zeal, her broad-minded patriotism, and above all her admiration for learning and her desire to search for explanations of recent events deep down in history and in the soul of her people. But we see too thought which, however sound, is ill-digested—statements that are ill-considered or contradictory, and here and there a definite ignorance of date. Her ideas as to the general acceptance of Islam in Anatolia as early as Seljuk times are, for instance, definitely exaggerated. A statement such as the following can hardly pass without

comment (p. 14): "The whole of Central and West Anatolia, swept by a common conversion, had become Turkish and Moslem by the end of the eleventh century, and nothing remained but some inscriptions on stones to speak of that remote past when that region had been beneath the sway of Hellenic culture and had spoken the Greek language." To suggest that the Greeks have had any right to Anatolia since the fall of Byzantium is to strain at the dictates of history. But to maintain that there were no Greeks in Anatolia, and that their language ceased to exist there in the eleventh century, is a definite distortion of fact, as foolish and as narrow in the one direction as are the writings of missionaries or Greek refugees in the other. Actually even today there are Moslem villages in the hinterland of Trebizond whose inhabitants habitually speak Greek, though they are no longer Christians.

The author adopts without question the somewhat uncertain theory of Zia Keuk Alp regarding the position of women in early Turkish times. Actually the power of women in everyday life has so long been suppressed that these facts of history can be of little help to us in a study of the Turk as he was during the last century and is at the present day. More important is the examination which Halidé Edib gives to the feelings which underlie Turkish life and religion—how there is no word for and no meaning attached to "soul" but only to "heart"; how the Turk, though in no way representative of a pure stock in the anthropological sense, is nevertheless strikingly nationalistic, strikingly thoroughbred in what he believes himself to be. This belief in the unity of the Turkey of today is one which will have the greatest force in the development both of the nation at home and of its influence abroad.

Further the author brings out the differences which distinguish Turks from Arabs and Persians both in everyday life and in religion. The latter feature is one of importance, for it is one on which the policy of the Angora Government is at present undecided. She shows with considerable clearness how the Caliphate had become a useless, even a dangerously outworn, institution, and that with its end the Turks have assumed the position of the Protestants of Islam—a position which admirably suits their national character. How very slightly ingrained religious fanaticism was is shown by the fact that today a Christian can walk where he will within the precincts of Eyoub, at Constantinople, whereas, only eight years ago, he would have been met with imprecations, if not with violence.

Halidé Edib's examination of the traits that Turkey inherits from her predecessors, Persians, Arabs, or Byzantines, is just and unbiased. She tells of the live-and-let-live characteristics of the Turk and of his forgiving nature. Both factors are doubtless true of the peasant, but they are hardly characteristic of the governing classes. Even today Byzantine monuments are destroyed in order to obliterate the memory of a civilization to which the Turks owe more than they are often prone to admit. Surely it would be better to nurture the fine qualities for which that Power was responsible and to let drop the bad rather than to declare a war against the whole!

Halidé Edib traces the course of recent events back to an old longing of the spirit of Turkey for development—a longing which expressed itself early in Turkish history and which differentiated the Turk from Arabs and Persians. The reforms of the Ghazi she regards as no sudden explosion, but as the culmination of an age-long development. If the theory be true, it may to some extent explain why European diplomacy has so unfailingly been at fault in its judgments of Turkey. In recent times we see this spirit striving for expression in the reforms of 1839, the importance of which the author considerably

stresses. It was then that an universal desire for liberty was born. This period marks the turning-point between the old Ottomans, who Ottomanized Persian, Arabic, and Byzantine culture, and the new Turks, who turned for inspiration to the West.

Chapters V. and VI., which deal with Turkey during the eighteenth century, are more interesting. We have so often heard the various questions discussed from the point of view of one or the other of the players in the Near Eastern game ; now we hear of it from that of one of the pawns. Certainly Lord Salisbury's ironical remark, "We have backed the wrong horse," must be more than galling. Halidé Edib points out the very true fact that the European Press has in general hardly been just in its criticism of Turks. When Christians are massacred we read of "martyrdom" ; when Turks are killed it is a just revenge. One must remember that in the Near East life is less valuable than in the West, and that massacres come about with comparative ease ; that the spirit of the blood feud survives, and above all that one side is as bad as the other. There is every reason to believe, too, that the Armenian massacres of the last century were entirely due to Abdul Hamid. The Turks, Halidé Edib points out, actually suffered more from this despot in the course of his reign than did the Armenians in a single massacre, however severe it may have been.

A few minor inaccuracies call for comment. On p. 71, for instance, the Czar mentioned was actually Nicholas I. and not Nicholas II., while on p. 72 the date of the Czar's visit to London was actually 1840, not 1844.

One cannot close without calling attention to the admirable description of the Greeks on p. 146. The Turks of today are only too anxious to be on friendly terms with their neighbours in general, and their efforts to secure a final settlement with Greece are proved by the treaty finally agreed to this summer.

D. T. R.

THE INNER HISTORY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. By T'ang Leang-Li.

8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xv + 391. London : Routledge. 15s.

The title of this book clearly explains its contents. During the period with which it deals, the reviewer was in Peking and had personally met not a few of the revolutionary leaders. To him and to other foreigners who were on the spot this Inner History is interesting.

But it would be Greek to almost anyone else because of the mass of detail and the impossibility of disentangling the maze of Chinese names on every page.

There is a very readable first chapter on "The Meaning of the Chinese Revolution," though somewhat partially written from a revolutionist's point of view. An account is given of the wrongs which were to be righted by the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in favour of a Republic. If read in the light of today and in the history of the Republic since it began in 1911, it is permissible to sigh at the grievous miscalculations which have brought the governance of China into its present parlous state. The author recognizes this when he says: "While it is true that at the present moment the new Government at Nanking is nominally supreme in China, it is doubtful whether the era of peaceful reconstruction is at hand. . . . Feudal militarism and foreign domination are still dominant in China, and even if the death-knell is sounded by the new social consciousness among all classes in China, the realization of the social and economic emancipation of the masses is still in abeyance."

A good account is given of Sun Yat Sen's life, and the author shows how during the various times that Sun was wandering about the world he was able to infuse Chinese students in the various capitals with revolutionary ideas. A group of men sprang up who felt that "a new social and political order could not be established by reorganizing the Manchu Dynasty on constitutional lines, nor by the enthronement of a new dynasty of native origin, but only by the foundation of a democratic Chinese Republic and the reconstruction of the life of the people on a socialistic basis."

To realize this revolutionary ideal, Sun and his disciples set themselves to organize and consolidate the available revolutionary forces in China and abroad.

The story is told of how the Tung Meng Hui—the United League—came to be formed in Brussels in 1905, and of its vicissitudes up to the time of the Wu Ch'ang Revolt of October 10, 1911, which gave the death-blow to the Manchu Dynasty. From this point the author leads us through the establishment of the Republic and the consequent chaos and confusion till the time when the Kuo Min Tang—the National Party—was founded. The earlier struggles were marked by a constant conflict between old and new China, and on almost every page we are treated to examples of true Oriental intrigue. There are, however, far too many names of nobodies introduced : they confuse the story, which is otherwise a fascinating one of plot and counterplot.

The extent to which the Soviet secret agent Borodin entered into the Councils of the Central Executive Party and how, while acting as High Adviser to the Chinese Foreign Office, he insidiously introduced the propaganda of Communism is told in a sympathetic vein, which shows the author's bias. But one regrets to observe the way in which these Chinese political leaders allowed themselves to be swayed by this arch-Russian plotter, who carried out Stalin's policy of instilling all possible hatred against Great Britain and Japan ; and they fell a ready prey to his colleague, the Indian Communist, M. N. Roy, who, with no previous knowledge of China, arrived as a representative of the Third International and was straightway appointed to an important advisory rôle. It is pathetic to note how Chinese "statesmen," trying earnestly to promote the people's welfare, became ensnared in the wily net of Communism and got lost in political antagonisms.

Recent events in China have proved the foolishness of all the philandering with communistic doctrines and propaganda at a time when the whole country was looking for guidance and in need of constructive administration.

At the meeting of the First National Congress, Sun Yat Sen's policy of co-operation with Soviet Russia and of admission of Communists in the Kuo Min Tang was endorsed. Sun had sent General Chiang Kai Shek to Moscow to study the situation for six months, "during which time he had frequent interviews with Trotsky and Stalin, who explained to him the organization of the Communistic Party of Russia, of the Red Army system, and of the political and economic system. Chiang reported very favourably on the Russian system, and his Report made the organization of the Kuo Min Tang inevitable."

Neither President Sun nor General Chiang nor the Kuo Min Tang had any prevision as to what a cuckoo in the nest this policy was going to become. At the present time Chiang has declared a war to exterminate all Reds and to undo some of the evil of which, as this book shows, he had been the prime originator.

Though the author only touches lightly on British policy in China and each time in antagonistic vein, one can gather from this Inner History how extremely difficult has been the task of our British representatives in trying to

safeguard the legitimate interests of our nationals in a friendly and peaceful way.

Mr. T'ang Leang-Li has been most industrious in collecting a mass of information, and perhaps it is praiseworthy that he should have had the courage to try and unravel such a tangled web in this English publication.

Six years ago a leading Chinese statesman characterized returned students as being the "curse of the country." Mr. T'ang's book shows to what extent this is true, for there can be little doubt that China's tragic plight is principally due to this class of men who have returned from abroad and who with glib oratory and insidious intrigue have spread revolutionary ideas far too advanced for the great majority of their countrymen.

G. D. G.

CHRISTIANS IN CHINA BEFORE THE YEAR 1550. By A. C. Moule. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$
Pp. 293. Illustrations, maps. London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 18s.

The Preface to this admirable volume opens with the words :

"The plan of this book has been to gather into one volume the available evidence of the existence of Christians in China in the early and middle ages of the Christian era, and to give in English translation the actual words of the original authorities in every case, avoiding as far as possible all generalizations, summaries, or expressions of personal opinion. Careful references and necessary explanations have been given in footnotes. But when all is done the book remains incomplete, for the evidences of the presence of Christians in Old China have accumulated at a pace which has outstripped my leisure and abilities."

But the data which Mr. Moule has accumulated provides a clear record of the intercourse between the Chinese and Christians in the period he deals with. The Preface reads further :

"To some it will be a disappointment to find that the book is not the story of the far-off beginnings of a Christian Church which has grown and increased and become established in the land, but rather the record of the residence in China for longer or shorter periods at various epochs of larger or smaller numbers of foreigners who were in name or fact Christians, though that record will include the story of at least two great if disappointed evangelistic missions. Nor will any attempt be found to discuss the possible influence of Christianity on Buddhist doctrine or on Chinese thought. Little or no evidence has yet been published which tends to justify the late Timothy Richard's words that a famous Buddhist treatise is 'an Asiatic form of the same Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,' or Professor Saeki's 'the China of the Tang Era was under Christian influence actually, if not in name.'"

From the nature of the case a reviewer's approach to the book seems best from a "tabulatory" point of view, if I may so express myself. I will therefore proceed to record the contents.

As "the first certain point in our knowledge of Chinese Christianity" is the Nestorian Mission of A.D. 635, and as no book on Christianity in China can fail to include an account of the famous Nestorian monument at Ch'ang An—the present Sian, Shensi—Chapter I. opens with a discussion of the stone itself and a translation of the inscription, a very beautiful translation indeed. Then follows a discussion of the precious little MS., dating from *circa* A.D. 800, found at Tun Huang by Paul Pelliot in 1908, and known as the "Tun Huang *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*"; it is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. In his translation Mr. Moule preserves, with happy effect, the recurring parallelisms so characteristic of Chinese verse; a form,

however, not very commonly used in the Buddhist documents which form the major part of the Tun Huang finds.

Besides the *Gloria in Excelsis* four other Christian MSS. have been found among the thousands discovered at Tun Huang, but only one, the *Hsü t'ing mi shih so ching*, is here given, in paraphrase and in translation.

In addition to these Nestorian documents a number of allusions to Christians and Christianity from independent sources, principally Chinese literature of the T'ang period, are cited; and from these one may conclude that during the last five hundred years of the first millennium of our era Christianity was widely recognized in the Central Flowery State.

Mentions of the Faith during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries are few and extremely vague. Mr. Moule believes that nothing has as yet been found to suggest that there were Christians surviving in China during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. With the rise of the Mongols, however, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Nestorian Christians, followed by Catholics, made their way once more to the Far East, and the documentary evidence from Chinese sources alone is far too plentiful to include in a volume such as the one before us.

Chapter III. is devoted to an interesting discussion of the "Zaitun Crosses and other Relics." The Fang-shan stone crosses, first reported by Mr. H. I. Harding in 1919 as having been seen by him in a temple near Peking, are the most important remains of the later Nestorians. In an additional "Note" to the chapter, relics of mediæval Christianity in the shape of fourteen small bronze crosses are reported as having been bought from a dealer in North China in 1929.

Chapter IV. contains an account of the lives of the Nestorian Patriarch, Mar Jabalah III., and his older companion, Rabban Sauma; and Chapter V. gives very interesting extracts from Marco Polo's "Description of the World," most of which are taken from the MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which was written early in the fourteenth century in Italy, in a rough Franco-Italian dialect. The difficulties of translation must have been almost as great as are those in the case of ancient Oriental texts!

The history of the Christian Community established in the thirteenth century at Chén-chiang Fu is given in Chapter VI., and in Chapter VII. appears a thrilling account of the Mission of the Franciscan Brothers. This is taken from the letters preserved in manuscript form in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and few documents can surpass them in vitality or interest. One is tempted to quote long extracts from the letters of Brother John, legate of the Pope, who must have possessed courage and application in no small degree. Writing on January 8, 1305, he says, for instance:

"Now I am in the act of building another church with the view of distributing the boys in several places. I am now old and am become white more from toils and troubles than from age, for I am fifty-eight years old. I have a competent knowledge of the Tartar language and character, which is the usual language of the Tartars; and I have now translated in that language and character the whole New Testament and the Psalter, which I have had written in their fairest writing. And I understand and preach openly and in public as it were in testimony of the law of Christ."

Later he says:

"But on account of the winter I could not finish the church. But I have the timbers collected in the house, and by the mercy of God I shall finish it in the summer. I tell you that it seems a sort of marvel to all who come from the city and from elsewhere, because they had not rumours from this

hitherto, and when they see the place newly made and the red Cross placed aloft at the top!"

Brother John became an Archbishop and died about 1329, but not before Odoric of Pordenone, of whom more later, had seen him. The Mission came to an end with the murder of James of Florence, Archbishop of Zaitun, somewhere in Central Asia in 1362.

But two more chapters are contained in the book. These are devoted to "Christians in China under the Mongol Empire from Oriental Sources," and "Western Writers in the Fourteenth Century," of whom the aforesaid Odoric of Pordenone was the most interesting. His account of the monastery near Hang-chou, where he saw quantities of "unusual and strange wild beasts," supposed to be the "souls of great lords and noble men," is absolutely fascinating! This was probably the Monastery of Ling Yin, shown in an exquisite photograph by Dr. R. F. Fitch, D.D., which serves as frontispiece to the volume.

The work is a model of documentation and careful collation; the result of years of unflagging study and impassioned research. One might only wish that the author had not been quite so self-effacing, so self-denying, so impersonal; that he had not so completely avoided "all generalizations, summaries, or expressions of personal opinion." The pen capable of such lively translations could have added a commentary of thrilling interest. Perhaps, however, Mr. Moule is right; perhaps the facts alone, presented like flashing jewels in an invisible setting, shine even the more brightly than they would were they surrounded by a richly chased setting of imagery! In any case, the worlds of theology and sinology are definitely enriched by this fine account of "The Christians in China before the Year 1550."

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

TOWARDS DISASTER: THE GREEK ARMY IN ASIA MINOR IN 1922. By H.R.H. Prince Andrew of Greece. Translated from the Greek by H.R.H. Princess Andrew of Greece. Pp. xi+304. Illustrations. John Murray.

On December 2, 1922, Prince Andrew of Greece was arraigned in the Chamber of Deputies, at Athens, before a jury of officers, and was considered by them to have abandoned a position, without orders, when in contact with the enemy. In the introduction to this book, which is his defence, Prince Andrew states that he intends to relate honestly and fairly the events concerning his commands in Asia Minor in the summer of 1921, and in the opinion of the reviewer he has done so. The main point at issue is the purpose which determined the withdrawal of the 2nd Greek Army Corps on the night of September 10-11, 1921, under Prince Andrew's orders, during a critical phase of the decisive battle fought near the Sakaria river. Had this movement received the sanction of Greek General Headquarters?

Prince Andrew shows by documents that his intention was to move his Army Corps from the right flank of the Greek Army to the left, to attack the Turks who were attempting to outflank and envelop the Greek left wing—an envelopment which, if successful, would have destroyed the Greek Army by forcing it away from the railway on which it depended largely for its supplies. His night march, it would appear, was sanctioned by Greek G.H.Q.; at the time it was made the Prince assures his readers that he had no thought of withdrawal, and in this book he proves his contentions. After the final defeat of the Greek Armies in Asia Minor, political enemies attempted to discredit

the Royal Family by placing the responsibility for the Sakharia defeat falsely on the shoulders of Prince Andrew.

During the advance of the Greek Armies on Angora Prince Andrew's Second Corps was given the post of honour on the right ; it was hoped to secure a strategic surprise by advancing over a waterless area, which the Turks were inclined to consider as impassable. Prince Andrew and his Chief of the Staff from the beginning objected to the plan, which they considered too risky. They would have preferred to have kept closer to the railway and so to have simplified the supply problem, but this would have entailed frontal attack upon prepared and wired positions. The acute divergence of opinion between Corps and Greek G.H.Q. is apparent all through. Strategic surprise having failed for the various reasons narrated in the book, Prince Andrew suggested to Greek G.H.Q. that it would be possible to secure a tactical surprise, on a considerable scale, by transferring his Corps at night from the right to the left, and after some delay his plan was accepted. Had it been followed out, instead of a general retirement being ordered, Prince Andrew claims that the Greeks might have won a great tactical success. As it was, through no fault of his own, he was made a political scapegoat for a retreat which Greek G.H.Q. ordered at a time when he claims that more vigorous determination would have achieved success.

H.R.H. was found guilty also by the court of officers before whom he was arraigned of being without the necessary experience for a superior commander and for being undisciplined. The narrative describes Prince Andrew's command of the 12th Division in the earlier operations in July, 1921, which led to the capture of Eskishehr by the Greek Army. In these operations the Prince must be held to blame for the destruction of Colonel Ziras' flankguard, which consisted of an infantry regiment and attached troops, who were attacked and annihilated while unsupported. Admittedly, means of inter-communication were defective and the detachment was carrying out the orders of Greek G.H.Q. : still the responsibility for the defeat of one of his brigades must be accepted by the divisional commander. However, Prince Andrew was exonerated and promoted to the command of the Second Corps, in which, although he opposed the plan of Greek G.H.Q., he appears to have tried to carry it out loyally when overruled, and so was not undisciplined.

The book is written by one who had full knowledge of the inner position of the Greeks at the time, and gives an authoritative insight into the acute political differences which divided the Greek nation and its military commanders at the time of trial. It shows clearly that for political reasons Greece, with insufficient military forces and inadequate preparations, attempted the impossible. It hints at the baneful influence exerted by one of the Great Powers which urged Greece to further adventure in Asia Minor, yet promised assistance only if she succeeded. It fails, though, to give sufficient credit to the hardiness and sticking power of the Greek soldier. Prince Andrew, though appreciative at times, writes on p. 257 :

"The temperament of the Greek soldier is very sensitive ; so long as he advances, so long as he attacks, in spite of all unpleasant conditions, such as toil and hunger, he considers himself the victor and his morale is perfect. But the moment that he retreats, even when victorious, as was the case of the Second Army Corps on September 10, his morale collapses and the slightest occurrence upsets him."

Hardly a fair tribute to the hardy soldiers who, insufficiently equipped and poorly commanded by officers who were divided politically against themselves, yet held at bay for months the Turkish peasant army fighting to regain

its own country, led by skilled and devoted officers. The impartial reader will also not share Prince Andrew's opinion that the Second Corps was victorious ; it had fought gallantly and inconclusively, and was ordered to retire when, according to the author's account, it was still full of fight.

There are other instances which show bias, especially so in the case of political opponents who in Prince Andrew's opinion are quite unable to possess either military ability or honesty of purpose. Yet despite this the book is human and full of interest to those interested in past events in the Middle East and its possibilities in the future. To the soldier this story gives much to think about, especially as regards manœuvre, mobility, and the difficulties of attacking without sufficient artillery support in a country where it is impossible to keep guns supplied with ammunition, owing to the absence of roads and scarcity of water for motor vehicles, man, and beast. It shows the strength of the Turks in defence and their limitations in attack and in a battle of manœuvre. It fails, though, to give the Turks sufficient credit for the bold use of mounted troops which, by interfering with the source of supply, helped materially to defeat the Greek plan, which possibly was too ambitious. But the Greek Army was asked by its Government to achieve the impossible, considering its limited resources and capacity and the huge extent of territory invaded.

D. S.

BEHIND THE SCENES IN MANY WARS. By Lieut.-General Sir G. MacMunn, K.C.B., etc. 9×5}. Pp. ix+370; maps and illustrations. Murray. 1930. 15s.

General MacMunn has written many good stories, but he never wrote a better than this story of his own career. The breeziness of the author pervades the whole book, making it eminently readable. Nor is it a mere chronicle of personal achievement. It deals with problems as interesting to the civil as to the military administrator, and it throws much light on the inner history of our recent wars, small and great. Above all, it is a testimony to the value of "the will to win."

General MacMunn, by his own showing, had only his own sound brain and stout heart and his family tradition to help him when he received his commission as a subaltern in the Royal Artillery : but a professional soldier could have no better equipment. Adding to it enthusiasm, industry and an abundant sense of humour, it is easy to understand why he has risen so high in the service and filled so many important posts with honour to himself and great benefit to the army both in peace and war. His first adventure, his baptism of fire, when he forced his "little party of mules and ponies" through the unexpected opposition of unknown and almost unseen tribesmen to the reinforcement of the little post of Sadon in Upper Burma, is emblematic of his whole career. Whenever he had a job to do he did it in spite of difficulties ; and so his book is to be commended, not only to his own generation, for its memories, but also to our sons, for its lessons. There is many a good laugh in it, too.

After Sadon, MacMunn was lucky to escape the long years of humdrum garrison life which form the commencement of most soldiers' careers. A tour with the Kashmir I.S. Artillery gave him his first experience of the North-West Frontier of India and, we may guess, his first interest in Indian frontier history, a subject on which he has written much in his later years. He commanded his battery in the Tirah Expedition of 1897-98, and there had his first taste of frontier fighting on a large scale ; and then, as though to prove the

versatility demanded of a gunner, he was transferred from the frontier to a siege train company at Gosport! A year later he raised the howitzer portion of an ammunition column at Woolwich and took it to the South African War; but it was broken up before many weeks, and MacMunn went through the rest of the campaign as a captain of field artillery. His descriptions here are in his lightest manner.

From South Africa to the Staff College; and then ten years of alternating regimental and staff employment led to what the author himself recognizes as the turning-point of his career. In 1911 he was called to the Remount Directorate at the War Office, and was thereafter definitely consecrated to the administrative staff of the Army. From this time on, he really was "behind the scenes."

Probably it was his very efficiency in helping to solve the remount problem which kept him glued, as he himself expresses it, to his War Office chair until July, 1915, when at last he got a war appointment overseas, at the Dardanelles. Of the campaign there he writes: "I can but tell that part of it with which I was personally cognizant, the attempt to build up a system of communications too late and the planning and carrying out of the evacuation"; but the seventy-five pages which he devotes to the telling of this tale are of absorbing interest. From such a tale criticism cannot be excluded, but General MacMunn's criticisms are not forced down the reader's throat. He restricts himself, as far as possible, to narrative, illuminated by some very sane comment. The evacuation has been recognized by the military students of every nation as a masterpiece, both in its conception and its execution. Our author's share in it may be gathered from the immediate acknowledgment of his chief, Sir Edward Altham, who wrote to him on December 21: "I cannot congratulate you too warmly on the perfect staff work of the evacuation."

His next important appointment was as Inspector-General of Communications in Mesopotamia, where, as he was warned by Sir John Cowans, he was to "find things in a sad mess behind the front"; but, with the promise of full support from Whitehall, it was a job worth tackling. Kut was still in the last throes of its defence when General MacMunn landed at Basra. His Mesopotamian service extended to nearly four years, with only one brief holiday, and provided him with very varied experiences, coloured by the depression of 1916, the successes and enthusiasm of 1917-18, the troubles and forebodings of 1919. Things behind the front were, indeed, in a sad mess on his arrival; and no one could be better qualified than he to deal with them. His descriptions make quite clear the inefficiency of administration which disfigured the earlier stages of the Mesopotamian campaign and the herculean efforts by which all difficulties were overcome and General Maude's advance to Baghdad made possible. The comparative comfort of the troops throughout the subsequent far-flung operations of General Marshall and during the occupation of Iraq and all its frontiers after the Armistice is the best testimony to the soundness of the system built up by General MacMunn. He well describes both the building of the system and its working. His narrative, even when most serious, is never dull; it is full of amusing tales and of pen-portraits of personalities, both great and small. The author is to be congratulated alike on the moderation with which he treats of certain episodes and on his just apportionment of honour where honour is due.

Iraq has a history of its own after the Great War and our author, as Commander-in-Chief during 1919, had much to do with the beginnings of that history, for he was political as well as military chief in the country. He foresaw the Arab rebellion, but it did not come in his time. There was, how-

ever, unrest enough, especially in Kurdistan, to keep him and his troops busy. Post-war conditions were difficult and he "would have preferred to see the Mesopotamian trouble out"; but he was wanted to fill the Quartermaster-Generalship in India and to India he went in January, 1920.

Some inaccuracies of detail will be found in his Mesopotamian chapters—e.g., the statements that "General Fanshawe had succeeded Egerton in the IIInd Corps" before the early autumn of 1918 and that the Divisions left in Iraq in 1919 were "the 16th and 17th, commanded by W. Leslie and T. Fraser." Actually, Sir Raleigh Egerton retained command of the IIIrd (there was no IIInd) Corps until it was broken up and the Divisions in 1919 were the 17th and 18th, commanded by George Leslie and T. Fraser respectively. Such errors matter little; but there are errors which do matter, from the point of view of history, in the description of General Marshall's final operations in 1918. It is also incorrect to credit the 250 selected men of the Bengali battalion with "commendable endurance," when they were sent up as a trial to Kurdistan in the summer of 1919. Only 98 of the 250 were able to endure the journey, by rail and march-route, from Basra to the Taslujah Pass! The Bengali battalion was, indeed, a dismal failure in every respect. Many will disagree with the author, too, in his statement that the officers' and soldiers' families allowed in Iraq after the Armistice "were no very great embarrassment." In 1920, during the Arab rebellion, their presence did not make General Haldane's task any easier!

But by that time General MacMunn was facing a task of very different character. As a result of new conditions produced by the War, there were many problems demanding solution by Army Headquarters in India, notably in connection with the inauguration of political reforms and the Indianization of the Indian Army. Moreover, the military situation in India, resulting from the Afghan invasion in the summer of 1919, was by no means a pleasant one and the outbreak in Mesopotamia produced a heavy demand for stores and additional forces just as the Quartermaster-General's departments had begun to close down their war purchases and extra establishments. General MacMunn sketches his trials with a light hand; yet even he admits that his "term as Q.M.G. was really hard business." We can well believe it.

His book ends with a chapter on "Quartermastering the Army, India," which he styles "highly technical," thereby doing it scant justice for, although most instructive, it is easy reading and a chapter to be read with pleasure and profit by all serious soldiers.

We close the volume with regret and place it among the best of military autobiographies.

This review, however, would not be complete unless attention were directed to one serious misstatement, which calls for public correction—viz., the reference to "Holkar" on p. 88. For "Holkar" the author should have written "Baroda."

T. F.

INDIAN AFFAIRS, Vol. I., No. 2, 1930. Edited by Sir Albion Banerji, Kt., C.S.I., etc. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. 118. 5s.

On his second number Sir Albion Banerji is again to be congratulated. This volume covers a very wide range of Indian subjects, which are ably and thoughtfully considered. If criticism may be made, the lack of cheerfulness, humour or wit is striking, and perhaps the deep depression which runs through all the articles only conveys the despondency of the outlook of India today. "Current Indian Politics" and the "Muslim Viewpoint" are accurate and careful articles, but with no constructive ideas. When the whole situation

insists on constructive ideas and all are weary of the old arguments it is refreshing to read Dr. Mookerji on the "Treatment of Minorities." He does not, unfortunately, go far enough. He does not work out in detail how his scheme would work in India, but he has suggested a solution out of which something practical might come.

Again, Sir P. S. Aiyer in his article on "Education" and Dr. Muthu when writing on "Tuberculosis" show that they are trying to think out a remedy for well-known troubles. If Indians are to impress their English audiences they must realize that Sir R. Burney in his treatment of a motor-car has given them a fine line of thought, and that Vol. I. of the Simon Report has given a fairly complete picture of India today.

Sir Albion Banerji is working to a high ideal, and it is sincerely hoped that his quarterly will be widely read, and that his patriotic enterprise will not involve him in any business loss.

The following books have been received for review :

- "Arabian Peak and Desert," by Ameen Rihani. $9'' \times 6''$. 280 pp. Illustrations. (London : Constable. 1930. 15s.)
- "Behind the Scenes in Many Wars," by Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., D.S.O. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. ix+370 pp. Illustrations and maps. (London : Murray. 1930. 15s.)
- "Christians in China before the Year 1550," by A. C. Moule. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xiv+293 pp. Illustrations. (London : S.P.C.K. 1930. 15s.)
- "High Tartary," by Owen Lattimore. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. xiv+370 pp. Illustrations and maps. (Boston : Little Brown. 1930. 21s.)
- "The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution," by Tang Leang-Li. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xv+391 pp. (London : Routledge. 1930. 15s.)
- "The Life of Chingis-Khan," by Vladimirtsov. Translated by Prince D. S. Mirsky. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. xii+172 pp. (London : Routledge. 1930. 6s.)
- "The Life of Mahomet," by Emile Dermenghem. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xii+353 pp. (London : Routledge. 1930. 15s.)
- "Mughal Rule in India," by S. M. Edwards and H. L. Garrett. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. vi+374 pp. Illustrations and map. (Oxford University Press. 1930. 15s.)
- "The Non-Muslim Subjects of the Caliphs," by A. S. Tritton. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 240 pp. (Oxford University Press. 1930. 7s. 6d.)
- "Oriental Memories of a German Diplomatist," by Friedrich Rosen. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. xiv+288 pp. Illustrations. (London : Methuen. 1930. 15s.)
- "Plant Hunting on the Edge of the World," by F. Kingdon-Ward. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. 383 pp. Illustrations. (London : Gollancz. 1930. 21s.)
- "The Reconstruction of India," by Edward Thompson. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. 320 pp. Map. (London : Faber and Faber. 1930. 10s. 6d.)
- "Rusticus Loquitor," by M. L. Darling. $9'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. xi+400 pp. Map. (Oxford University Press. 1930. 15s.)
- "Towards Disaster," by Prince Andrew of Greece. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xv+304 pp. Illustrations. (London : Murray. 1930. 15s.)
- "Turkey Faces West," by Halide Edib. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. xiv+273 pp. (London : Milford. 1930. 14s.)
- "Women under Primitive Buddhism," by I. B. Horner. $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$. 391 pp. Illustrations. (London : Routledge. 1930. 15s.)

The Council wish to thank the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales vivantes for the following valuable additions to the library :

- “ Recueil de documents sur l’Asie Centrale.”
- “ Geographie historique des seize royaumes” par Abel des Michels.
- “ Description topographique et historique de Boukhara ”
- “ Oumara du Yemen,” tome ii.
- “ Documents arabes relatifs à l’histoire du Soudan.”

The following articles on Asiatic subjects have appeared in the April-May issue of the monthly journal of the Turkman Soviet Republic entitled *Turkmenovedeniye* :

- “ India in the Struggle.” Written in a tone of triumph over the progress of the risings in India, to the effect that the masses have definitely rejected Gandhi’s weak policy of non-violence, that the revolt against the tyranny of British Imperialism is well started and nothing can now stop it.
- “ Scientific Labour and the Social Reorganization of Rural Economy.”
- “ Scientific Basis of Economic Structure in Turkmenia.”
- “ Cotton Culture in Turkmenia.”
- “ Turkman Geophysical Observatory.”
- “ Waters of the Kopet Dagh.”
- “ The New Five-Year Economic Plan for the Turkman Socialist Soviet Republic.” Interesting ; summarized at length.
- “ Turkman Academy of Art.”
- “ Designs of Turkman Carpets.”
- “ On the Chimbai Front.” History of the operations about Khiva from 1918-20 of the Soviet forces against the Ural Cossacks and the Basmachi (anti-Soviet Muhammadan insurgents). Specially interesting as little known before, and on account of connection with operations of British troops in Transcaspia. Translation, with map.
- “ The First Russian Caravan to Merv.” Specially interesting history of the steps which the Russian Government took in 1882 with the object of annexing the Merv oasis. Corroborated by quotations from secret official documents. Translation.
- “ Yulbars of Saksan Aul.” A story conveying Soviet propaganda.
- Poems :
 - “ Turkmeniya.”
 - “ The Water Wheel.”
 - “ Black Sands.”
 - “ The Knot.”
- “ A Brigade of Soviet Writers in Turkmenia.”
- “ First Impressions.”
- Bibliography :
 - “ New Books on the East.”
 - “ Journalistic Novelties.”

NOTES

MOSUL OIL AND THE PIPE-LINE.

SIR HENRY DOBBS, writing in the September number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* on the many-sided problems connected with the opening-up of the Mosul oilfields, says: "The matters now arising in connection with the construction of a pipe-line to take the oil of the Mosul oilfields to the Mediterranean are of international importance. There are in Iraq two proved and tested oilfields, the development of which is held up by the absence of a pipe-line. The first is the Baba Gurgur field, near Kirkuk, on the north-western border of Iraq, in the hands of the Iraq Petroleum Company, consisting of British, French, American, and Dutch groups holding in equal shares; and the second, the Naftkhana Field, near Khanakin, on the Persian border, worked by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. This field lies partly in Iraq and partly in Persia. The Baba Gurgur oilfield is probably one of the largest and most prolific in the world, but its distance of some 600 miles from the Mediterranean must make the carriage of the oil to a port on that sea very expensive. On the other hand, Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf, is only about 450 miles away, but the Suez Canal dues upon oil-tankers are so heavy that it would be profitable to the company to avoid them at the price of constructing the extra 200 miles of pipe-line involved by the Mediterranean route.

"The present low price of oil, its over-production in America, and the immense oil resources held in reserve in Venezuela would, in the absence of other considerations, make most of the great international oil interests sharing in the Iraq Petroleum Company reluctant to bring the Iraq fields immediately to the point of production. The American, British, and Dutch interests have long been working for a general agreement for restriction of output throughout the world, and, were they free to follow their inclination, they would undoubtedly, after exploring the oil resources of the Mosul area, refuse to develop them further until consumption had overtaken production. But they are not free agents. Under the terms of the Iraq Petroleum Company agreement Iraq has the right to declare the whole concession forfeited if the company does not, within four years of completing the testing of the area of the concession and the selection of working plots, begin to construct a pipe-line to the sea. And Iraq is growing impatient. It is now nearly four years since the tapping of the first great 'gusher' well in the Baba Gurgur field. This one well alone is said to be capable of yielding 1,000,000 tons of oil a year. Iraq is in financial difficulties owing to the fall in the price of agricultural produce, on which she mainly depends for revenue, and she needs the royalties on her oil."

Then, taking the question from the French point of view, he says: "To secure her object France also is impatient, so impatient that some of the English financial papers have hinted that her withdrawal of gold from England is due to a desire to put pressure upon the English financial and oil interests and force them to agree to an early construction of a pipe-line from Kirkuk to the Mediterranean. For France has made her share of the Mosul oil the basis of all her arrangements for the monopoly of the refining and sale of oil within her boundaries, and she regards its delivery at a convenient Mediterranean port as a vital factor in her defence. She can no longer contemplate dependence in time of war upon the conveyance from vast distances in neutral vessels of so essential a commodity, nor the being forced to bid for it in the open market against enemies or neutrals. At great sacrifice she has completed all

plans for her security, and she cannot tolerate the gap left in them by the absence of an assured supply of oil under her own control. Up to this point the desires of France and Iraq are identical. They both wish to have the Mosul oil flowing to a Mediterranean port as early as possible. But the question of which port it shall be, whether a Syrian port (Tripoli or Alexandretta) or a Palestine port (Haifa), divides them sharply.

"France, with her mandate over Syria, naturally presses for a Syrian port. Not only would the delivery of the oil on the Syrian coast increase the prosperity of the chosen port and so benefit Syrian trade, but it would also in the event of war give France greater security for the conveyance of the oil to her own shores. For, even were Britain a benevolent neutral, France could not have such a free hand at Haifa, under British control, for organizing the delivery of the oil to her tankers as she would have at Tripoli or Alexandretta. And supposing that Great Britain's sympathies were not with France in the war, there might be, she fancies, unpleasant possibilities of obstruction. She is prepared, therefore, to go to great lengths to secure her object.

Iraq, he says, wishes the pipe-line to run to Haifa, firstly, because "she believes that a pipe-line from Kirkuk to Haifa would inevitably be accompanied by a railway, since between the Euphrates and the Jordan the line would traverse an almost uninhabited desert, and without a railway its construction and maintenance would be difficult. For a pipe-line to Tripoli or Alexandretta a railway would not be so essential, as the line would at no point after entering the desert be more than about 100 miles from existing railways (Aleppo-Nisibin or Aleppo-Homs), and supplies are easier to procure on that route. Thus, if Iraq can insist on the Haifa route, she hopes to get a railway to the Mediterranean constructed by the oil interests without expense to herself. Such a railway would run wholly through Iraq, Transjordania, and Palestine—Transjordania ruled by King Faisal's brother and Palestine under the mandate of his British ally. There have been times when relations between France and Iraq have been difficult, and leading Iraqis have even had trouble in getting passports to traverse Syrian territory. Iraq does not wish to be dependent on French policy for her intercourse with Europe. Moreover, a Haifa railway would secure for Iraq a large share of the profits arising from the transit of European and American goods to Persia. These now go round by the Red Sea and Persian Gulf to Basra and thence on the Iraq railways through Baghdad to Khanakin, on the Persian border. But Persia is building a railway from the Persian Gulf to Teheran, which will divert all this traffic, and threatens the Iraq railways and Baghdad commerce with a serious loss, unless a new route through Iraq can be devised which will be even more attractive to Persian imports than the new Persian railway."

"Now, a railway from Haifa would enable all goods destined for Persia from Europe and America to avoid the Suez Canal dues; and this saving, combined with the greater speed of conveyance, should attract them to Haifa and retain for Iraq the profits of their transit, leaving to the Persian railway from the Gulf the carriage only of Persian trade with India and the Far East."

The strategie value of the railway to Iraq is then discussed and the second point brought forward.

"Secondly, Iraq hopes that a railway and pipe-line to Haifa would permanently secure for her the desert corridor joining her territory to Transjordania and Palestine, which the ambitions of the desert tribes of Nejd threaten, in spite of the cordial relations recently established between King Faisal and King Ibn Saud. This corridor passes east and west between the southern frontier of Syria and the northern frontier of Iraq, and is at its

narrowest not more than 70 miles wide. The Nejd tribes resent its existence, since it runs right across the routes followed by their caravans trading with Damascus, and they have often proclaimed their intention of obliterating it, although agreements between Nejd and Transjordania provide for the free transit of such caravans. If they had their way, they would completely cut off Iraq from the Mediterranean and would block the air route between Cairo and Baghdad. The British Air Company using that route would then have to bargain with Nejd for leave to fly over this desert, and might have to pay heavily for it, if indeed their passage were not entirely prohibited. It is evident that if a railway and pipe-line were built through this desert corridor by international interests, the Nejd tribes would not dare to encroach upon it, and Iraq need not trouble further about the security of her access to the Mediterranean and Egypt.

"The railway would run for some 450 miles through Iraq, mainly in flat desert country where construction would be cheap, and for some 250 through Transjordania and Palestine, partly in hilly country. The latter section would be proportionately expensive. Palestine is no less anxious than Iraq that the pipe-line shall go to Haifa, and shall, if possible, be accompanied by a railway. She has received a large loan from the British Government for the improvement of Haifa Harbour, and were this port to be the point of departure for oil-tankers, and to be connected by rail with Kirkuk and Baghdad, its prosperity would be assured. Numbers of passengers between Europe and India would use this route, and the tourist traffic both in Palestine and Iraq would be immensely encouraged."

Of Great Britain he says: "Lastly, Great Britain must prefer that the pipe-line shall terminate at a port under her control. It would be inconvenient that the British Mediterranean Fleet should be dependent on a Syrian port for its oil, and Great Britain is keenly interested in the stability and prosperity of Palestine, Transjordania, and Iraq.

"Thus there is a sharp conflict of interest between France and Syria on the one hand, and Great Britain, Palestine, and Iraq on the other, as to whether the pipe-line shall debouch on the Syrian coast or at Haifa, being in the latter case accompanied by a railway. But, be the political interests what they may, the decision would normally rest with the Iraq Petroleum Company, which would obviously be guided by considerations of cost, harbour facilities, and security. As to cost there can be no question. The pipe-line to the Syrian coast, probably to Tripoli, would be cheaper, since it is about 100 miles shorter and avoids the expensive crossing of the Jordan valley. Moreover, water is more plentiful on this route. In the matter of harbour facilities there is some doubt. Tripoli could be equipped no less easily than Haifa with storage tanks and with arrangements for the discharge of the crude oil; but it is said that the prevailing wind at Tripoli is such that the oil-tankers arriving there empty and awaiting their load would have difficulty in mooring, and that the anchorage is inferior to that of Haifa."

The whole complicated question of security and of the problems set before the Oil Companies is very clearly stated. "The question of security is debatable. The western portion of the Tripoli line in Syria would pass just north of the Lebanon, near territory inhabited by a turbulent population which gave trouble to the French during the rising of 1925. If Alexandretta were preferred to Tripoli, the terminus would be threatened by Turkish ambitions and by brigand inroads from Turkey. On the other hand, the Haifa line would, for some 200 miles in the Iraq-Transjordan corridor, run close to the northern frontier of Nejd, exposed

at first sight to attack. But all this country is practically uninhabited, and is far to the north of the area infested by the warlike Akhwan tribes of Nejd, who, bearing in mind the danger of bombing from the air, would scarcely venture to raid so far from their bases. On balance the security of the Haifa line seems greater than that of the line to Tripoli. If the Iraq Petroleum Company were free to decide, they might incline to the Syrian route, the question of cost outweighing all other considerations. But unfortunately for them they have difficulties about their concession, for the solution of which they may be obliged to bargain with Iraq ; and Iraq, with unyielding voice, demands as her gain from the bargain that the pipe-line shall go to Haifa and that it shall be accompanied by a railway.

"This situation has arisen in the following way. Shortly after the war the American Government were obsessed by the groundless fear that their oil supplies were approaching exhaustion, and by negotiation with Great Britain they not only secured to American interests a quarter share in the Turkish (now Iraq) Petroleum Company, but also succeeded in limiting the original monopoly of the company over the whole Mosul province by the 'policy of the open door.' Under this arrangement the company were, after a reasonable period of prospecting for oil, to select a fixed area for their operations, and the whole of the rest of the Mosul province was then to be thrown open to public tender. The Americans doubtless hoped that in this competition their financial resources would secure them the lion's share, which would be additional to the quarter share of the company's oil already obtained by them. Later on, in the negotiations of 1923 between the Company and Iraq, the company, who probably did not then realize the enormous extent of the Mosul oil deposits, themselves proposed that the area to be selected by them in pursuance of this arrangement should consist of twenty-four rectangular plots of eight square miles each, and the final Convention between the company and Iraq embodied this provision. It was stipulated that the company should thereafter act as agent for the Iraq Government in conducting the auctions for the additional areas outside the company's twenty-four selected plots. These were to be held by the successful bidders from Iraq on the same terms as to royalties and other obligations and rights as the company's own plots, the element of competition consisting in the sums offered at auction. The Iraq Petroleum Company, in consideration of the fact that it originally held the concession over the whole Mosul province, was to receive the sums bid by the successful bidders at the auctions, the Iraq Government being content with its royalties on the oil.

"The time has now arrived when under the Convention 'the Iraq Petroleum Company should select its twenty-four plots. But it is most unwilling to do so, because it is doubtful whether the 160 square miles allotted to it by the Convention will suffice even to cover the whole of the Baba Gurgur oilfield, the only oilfield which it has had time thoroughly to test. If this oilfield were not completely covered by the company's holdings, and rival companies were able to secure a corner of the field by bidding at the auctions, an era of competitive drilling, which has proved so injurious to the American and other oil industries, would set in : for the huge oil pool underlying the field could be tapped by the rival companies, and a frantic and uneconomic race might then ensue, each trying to drain away as much oil as possible before the others should succeed in exhausting the oil. This would obviously be grossly unfair to the Iraq Petroleum Company, which has borne the heat and burden of the day in securing the concession and discovering and testing the field, and it would be against the real interests of

Iraq. These would be best served by the methodical development of the field through one agency, which, like the Anglo-Persian Company in southern Persia, could make large plans undisturbed by competitors. It is true that the oil of the field might be got out more quickly by the competition of two or more rival companies, and that for a comparatively few years Iraq might gain huge royalties ; but this would be achieved at the expense of so flooding the market with oil and lowering its world price that, with the expense of constructing and maintaining the long pipe-line, the operations of the rival companies would scarcely pay and the whole oil industry of Iraq might suffer a setback. It would be better for Iraq to receive a substantial, but not enormous, annual sum in royalties for a long period than for it to receive an extravagant amount for a few years ; for when it had learnt all the financial vices of opulence, it might find that its chief oil pool was empty, and that the oil interests of the world were unwilling to risk the expense of testing and developing other fields under the ruinous system of competitive drilling. Moreover, experience elsewhere has shown that competitive drilling into one oil pool is a very wasteful system, and may spoil the field and lose a great part of the oil. The wisest policy for Iraq, then, is to insist on receiving early an adequate sum in royalties from what is suspected to be her greatest oil pool, but at the same time to conserve her oil resources and prevent waste by leaving its development in a single hand.

"These reasons combine to make the Iraq Petroleum Company anxious to obtain from the Iraq Government a modification of the terms of their concession which shall give them a larger area, and perhaps a longer period, for experimental borings before they have to make their final selection. But the *quid pro quo* demanded by Iraq, the selection of Haifa as the terminal port for the pipe-line, and the construction of a railway alongside it, is too expensive for them.

"And even were Iraq to get her way, it seems doubtful whether the opposition of France could be overcome. France feels so strongly on the subject, for reasons already explained and to which the Press of Paris and Syria bears witness, that she would probably be prepared to use all the resources of her diplomacy to frustrate the Iraq plan ; and the means lie ready to her hand. She is none too enthusiastic about the proposal that Iraq shall enter the League of Nations in 1932, since this may embarrass her in Syria. Moreover, as traditional defender of the Eastern Christians, she sympathizes with the objections of the thousands of Christians in the Mosul district to being left in the uncontrolled power of an Arab Government, as contemplated in the new Anglo-Iraq Treaty. The protests of these Christians have already reached the English Press, and the Baghdad newspapers in their comments on the new Treaty have already expressed a fear that France will oppose the candidature of Iraq and prevent her obtaining the suffrages of two-thirds of the League Assembly which are necessary for her admission. Or even if France did not go to this length, she might insist on reimposing the 'capitulations' in Iraq, which she, like some other nations, professes only to have suspended for the duration of British control of the Iraq courts. If there is a real danger of such action, the exasperation of France over the pipe-line question would increase it, and the opposition of France in the League might bring all the painfully worked-out policy of Great Britain and Iraq to the ground. An issue must be sought from this dilemma.

"Nor do the complications end here. While the tussle between Iraq and the oil company has dragged on, new interests have intervened and made Iraq even more reluctant than before to yield her point. A syndicate known as the

British Oil Development Company, under the presidency of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Wester Wemyss, and with the backing of Lord Inverforth and other leading financiers, came forward in 1927 and asked for a concession similar to that of the Iraq Petroleum Company of twenty-four plots of oil-bearing land in the Mosul area outside the plots to be selected by the latter company. They urged that it was to the interest of Iraq to make the Iraq Petroleum Company select its plots without delay and to throw the rest of the country open to development; and, learning that in the eyes of Iraq the decisive factor was the construction of a railway to Haifa, they dangled before her somewhat indefinite prospects of financial help for that purpose. Later on, in order to avoid the opposition which might grow, both in Iraq and in the League of Nations, to the grant of a special concession to a purely British company, they invited to join them an Italian group, the Agenzia Generale Italiana di Petrolio, and subsequently a German group backed by certain well-known German industrial concerns, and a Swiss-French group. They carried on propaganda in Baghdad, with the result that the public opinion of Iraq has become confused and distracted between the rival offers and tends towards driving the hardest possible bargain with the Iraq Petroleum Company and refusing any amendment of the original concession, except at the price of a pipe-line and railway to Haifa.

"The position of the British Oil Development Company is, however, weak, because their demand is, not that they shall be allowed, as provided in the Iraq Petroleum Company's Convention, to compete with other aspirants at an auction for the areas which they desire, and to pay the price to the Iraq Petroleum Company, but that these areas shall be assigned to them in return for definite financial help to Iraq. This could be arranged only by an amendment of the Convention, to which, of course, the Iraq Petroleum Company would, in its turn, not consent without a substantial *quid pro quo*.

"Thus we have the following position. Four great oil groups—British, American, French, and Dutch, joined into one company—have discovered and tested an immense oilfield. They are now bound by the Convention to begin the construction of a pipe-line to the Mediterranean, which, after traversing Iraq, must go either to a Syrian or Palestine port. Great Britain, France, and Syria have under the strict terms of the Convention no voice in the choice of a route or harbour, which rests with the company. The route to a Syrian port (Tripoli) is cheaper, but less secure, than that to a Palestine port (Haifa). The French group favours Tripoli; the other three groups probably favour Haifa. France and Syria back the French group; Great Britain, Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordania desire Haifa and would support any groups which freely decide to vote for that port. The company is forced by circumstances to ask Iraq for an amendment of the Convention, failing which it may suffer grievous loss at the hands of rivals. This gives Iraq her chance to insist that her choice of Haifa shall prevail and also that a railway shall be built alongside the pipe-line to Haifa.

"Iraq really cares only about the railway, and is indifferent as to the route of the pipe-line, provided it is built quickly so that she may begin to get her royalties on the oil. The company shrinks from the heavy cost of a railway in addition to that of a pipe-line, for though the railway might ultimately pay, some years would pass before it would do so. Iraq is adamant and will refuse to amend the Convention in the way which the company desires unless she gets her way. France is equally adamant, and might ruin the future of Iraq if her views are not met. In the meanwhile another great company consisting of British, Italian, German, and Swiss-French groups has intervened and

asks Iraq to grant, in return for financial help to Iraq which might go some way towards building the railway, an oil concession outside the area to be selected by the Iraq Petroleum Company. Iraq would like to do this, but is prevented by the Convention with the Iraq Petroleum Company. She, therefore, in her turn wishes to amend the Convention so as to enable her to grant areas to the new company. This latter would probably agree with the three non-French groups of the Iraq Petroleum Company in favouring Haifa as a terminus for a pipe-line, either an independent line, if they found enough oil, or a joint one with the Iraq Petroleum Company."

The article ends with a possible solution: "What is the solution of this conflict of desires and policies? In the first place, it seems obvious that the two great companies should come together and attempt by mutual concessions to work out an agreed plan to present to Iraq. If they could each give a substantial contribution towards the railway, Iraq and Palestine might borrow on favourable terms the balance required—Palestine for the expensive portion within her own territories, and Iraq for the cheaper portion within hers. The British Government might then well help with its credit—at all events, for the Palestine section. In return for such an arrangement Iraq might amend the Convention so as to give the Iraq Petroleum Company the right to select and work a larger area than that which they at present possess, and a delay of a year or two more in which to make the final selection of such additional area. Against this the company would undertake to build immediately a pipe-line to Haifa for the oil of the already proved Baba Gurgur field, and would consent in their tifra to an amendment of the Convention as desired by Iraq. This amendment might permit the new British Oil Development Company to begin prospecting for oil at once, and to select a separate area as soon as the short additional period granted to the Iraq Petroleum Company should expire. To meet French views a separate branch to carry the French quarter share of the oil might take off from the main pipe-line to Haifa at the nearest point to Tripoli, which would probably be at Rutbah, in the desert, half-way between Baghdad and Damascus. This branch would be about 250 miles long, and the French group would doubtless be ready to bear the exclusive cost of their branch, in lieu of sharing in the cost of the remainder of the main line between Rutbah and Haifa, which would be some 400 miles long. The result would be that the British, American, and Dutch groups would each bear one-twelfth more of the cost of the latter portion than they would have done had there been only a single line to Haifa paid for equally by all four groups. Such a plan as regards the French share of the oil was suggested by a French writer in the *Correspondance d'Orient* as long ago as April, 1928, and would probably satisfy the French groups.

"An amicable arrangement between the Iraq Petroleum Company and the British Oil Development Company might provide that the latter shall, if successful in finding oil, either pay a proportionate share of the cost of construction of the Haifa pipe-line or a fixed charge for the conveyance of their oil in it—a plan which the Convention already envisages for the oil produced by outside companies. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company would also wish to have the use of the pipe-line to Haifa for their oil from the Naftkhana field which was mentioned at the beginning of this article. There should, therefore, be no real difficulty in the way of providing funds for the pipe-line.

"The foregoing is, of course, merely a slight sketch of a possible solution. It depends primarily upon the willingness of the British and French Governments to bring pressure to bear upon the eight international groups concerned

(two British, one American, one French, one Italian, one German, and one Swiss-French) to co-operate in friendly fashion. Iraq would benefit, not only from the early receipt of her royalties on the oil and from the advantages of the Mediterranean railway, but also from the fact that so many international groups would be vitally interested in her stability and prosperity. France would obtain the desired delivery of her share of the Mosul oil at a port under her control, while Great Britain would similarly have oil delivered for her Mediterranean Fleet at a port under her mandate; Palestine would rejoice in the prosperity of the port of Haifa and in the profits of the large passenger and tourist traffic which the railway would bring. Finally, the construction of the pipe-line and railway, and the provision of the oilfields plant, would give an immense amount of employment in the countries of all the groups. So far as the British Oil Development Company is concerned, it has already arranged that Britain and Italy shall divide between them 50 per cent. of all orders, and that 38 per cent. shall go to the German and 12 per cent. to the Swiss-French interests. With a similar arrangement between the groups of the Iraq Petroleum Company Great Britain would secure such a volume of orders as would sensibly help to solve her unemployment problem. All interests would then be satisfied."*

ON THE CHIMBAI FRONT.[†]

By T. KOZLOV.

THE Delta of the Amu Darya and its lower course constitute an extensive oasis in the sandy desert. Here meet the borders of the Turkman, Khorazm, Kirghiz, and Kara-Kalpak autonomous provinces. Before the economic reorganization of Turkestan, part of this oasis, or delta, and the right bank of the Amu Darya, constituted the province of Amu Darya with its capital at Petro-Alexandrovsk (now Turt Kul).

This fertile area was very inadequately connected with the industrial and cultivated districts. The nearest railway station was at least 400 versts from Turt Kul; the way by the river was unreliable owing to the rapid rising and falling of the capricious Amu Darya, constantly changing its channel and the rapidity of its current. The changeableness of the flow of the Amu Darya, in the complete absence of any irrigation works, resulted in many places with ample water available, suffering from years of drought. Lakes changed to fields, fields to lakes; sea water (in the northern part of the delta) frequently flooded the cultivated lands. Hence the uncertainty of agriculture.

In the delta region the original inhabitants were settled in isolated farms, in a few instances two or three farmsteads joined together. As regards the composition of the population, it was extremely mixed: Kara Kalpaks, Uzbegs, Kirghiz, Turkmans, Russians, Tajiks, and others.

Recent immigrants settled here were Cossacks of the Starovieri sect (old belief); they came as a result of persecution by the Czarist Government and the Orthodox priesthood. The Cossacks formed settlements also in the towns on the Amu Darya up to Charjui, where even today the term "Uralka" has survived.

* *The Nineteenth Century and After*, No. 643, vol. cviii., September, 1930.

† This and the following article have been translated from the *Turkmenovedeniya* (Monthly Journal of the Turkman Soviet Republic).

In pre-revolution time this oasis was a cotton-producing area, but since 1917 cotton cultivation has ceased. The cultivation of sugar, lucerne, and wheat began to prevail. Cattle-breeding takes a prominent place. There is a considerable fishing industry on the Sea of Aral. Exports from the district are: cotton, lucerne seed, wool, leather, and fish. Imports: bread and other cereal products, building materials, kerosene, and also factory-made wares.

Isolated from civilization and industrial areas, this district, left to itself in the past, lived a life of its own. Politics were quite unknown, and not even any solid lasting social relations. In the lower Amu Darya on the island of "Muinak" over a thousand Ukrainian peasants were occupied in fishing. They knew nothing of passing events, and at the time of the class war were not drawn into the defence of the Soviet power.

The Khiva campaign of General Madritov in 1916 for the pacification of the insurgent Yomuts, after the well-known order for the mobilization of the local population for work in the rear of the force, served as a signal for a Turkman outbreak against the rule of the Czar. The rising, however, was not successful, and it degenerated into simple hole and corner guerrilla. The punitive expedition itself contributed to this; savage repression, attacks upon peaceful inhabitants, plundering and murdering innocent Turkmans, venality of the command—such were the means by which the "brilliant" pacifiers distinguished themselves! After the pacification the Czarist forces were gradually withdrawn from the Khanate of Khiva.

During the period between the February and October revolutions, small bands of brigands appeared, carried out raids, and crossed to the right bank of the Amu Darya. The number of the bands increased. One of the Khans, a certain Kurban Muhammad Sirdar, of the family of Junaid Khan, took the lead. Carrying through a successful fight with the leaders of the other bands, he managed to defeat them, and to unite the small bands into one.

The February revolution, the growing movement of the working class, and even "October" only had their reverberation here through telegrams and orders from Tashkent, and only the small garrisons in Petro-Alexandrovsk and other fortified points reacted to the progress of events, forming in places Committees and Soviets of soldier-deputies.

On the demobilization of the old Army, in the spring of 1918, the garrisons in the Khanates of Khiva broke up. Junaid Khan with his band and a few thousand Turkman occupied the country up to Dargan Ata, almost without opposition. The victors occupied the towns and plundered the Khivans. The Khivan Khan Esfendiar was killed, and Junaid Khan appointed Seid Abdulla Khan in his place.

Junaid Khan's action against the Red Army detachments stationed at inhabited points of the Amu Darya oasis, following on the formation of the Trans-Caspian front, proves beyond doubt the co-operation of Junaid Khan with the Askhabad White Guards. His band was well armed with English rifles and ammunition.

Junaid Khan promptly attacked Novi Urgench. There he disarmed the garrison, arrested all the Europeans, and looted the establishment and the factories, as well as private property. This led the Soviet of Amu Darya to take measures for the fortification of Petro-Alexandrovsk.

In the spring of 1918 the plenipotentiary of the Turkish Republic, Konoplev, arrived in Petro-Alexandrovsk. Upon his arrival the Charjui Red Army detachment, which was in the town, returned to Charjui.

To guard against Junaid Khan's bands, the inhabitants of the town were mobilized.

The Ural Cossacks, called to arms, formed Cavalry sotnias. They established communication with the places on the lower Amu Darya. A Cossack sotnia was mobilized on Muinak Island, and at Zaiza. The Soviet for defence and war organized a staff.

RAIDS OF THE BASMACH.

A detachment sent to Novi Urgench under command of Konoplev removed all the European residents. In Novi Urgench one Yomut and three Turkmen who had brought ammunition to Novi Urgench from Askhabad were captured and shot. Attacks of bands increased in strength. The right bank of the river was heavily bombarded. For fear of the Basmach crossing to the left bank all boats found on the left side were destroyed. The savagery of Junaid Khan's bands, their violence and brigandage, caused a flood of complaints from the Khivans to pour into Petro-Alexandrovsk; moreover, representatives of the inhabitants were sent with a request for the union of Khiva with the Turkish Republic. The President of the Khivan Assembly also came to Petro-Alexandrovsk on a similar mission.

The Kirghiz population suffered especially from the incursions of the Basmach bands. The bandits ravaged whole districts, carrying off the women into captivity. Their gangs spread as far as Ilchik (near Charjui).

On the night of November 25, 1918, the Basmach crossed to the right bank of the Amu Darya, to Ak Kamisha (25 kilometres below Petro-Alexandrovsk). Thence they moved upon the town. Two troops of Cossacks, putting up Red Army men upon their horses, moved out to meet them and with difficulty checked their advance 4 versts from the town. A night conflict was indecisive. The Red troops retired, and occupied entrenchments around the town. At the same time bodies crossed to the right bank lower down, at Bir Bazaar (60 kilometres) and Kapchek (120 kilometres). The garrison of Kapchek fell back upon Bir Bazaar, and joining hands with the defenders of the Ural settlement, retreated to Petro-Alexandrovsk.

The conduct of the defence of the town was entrusted by the Committee to Konoplev. The Kirghiz inhabitants of the suburban area and the Uzbegs took refuge in the town. Petro-Alexandrovsk was invested. The Basmach, adapting themselves to the ground, and availing themselves of ditches and buildings for cover, approached to within one hundred paces of the trenches and instituted a regular siege. The position of the town became critical.

On the seventh day of the siege, the steamer *Tashkent* arrived in Petro-Alexandrovsk with Tsereitskin and Timoshenko, members of the department of foreign affairs of the Turk Republic, and with a body of internationalists. The situation was relieved at once, and the Reds were able to change from the defensive to the offensive. At the same time the Basmach cut the telegraph wire 30 kilometres from Charjui and attacked the Kabaklin post.

Junaid Khan conducted the siege of the town. His force consisted of more than 4,000 mounted men, in corps commanded by Charik Bey, Sapar, Umak Bey, and Ishan Khan (from the Askhabad district).

During the siege our losses were small compared with those of the Basmach. The bodies of those of the Red Army who fell were brutally mutilated; some headless corpses were found. Among the killed was comrade Kirillov, treasurer to Konoplev.

From examination of prisoners it was learnt that Junaid Khan maintained communication with the Staff of the Trans-Caspian White Guards. Junaid Khan was to advance on Charjui after the capture of Petro-Alexandrovsk, making use of the artillery and machine guns found at the latter place. Before

the siege Junaid Khan received 3,000 rifles, and a large supply of ammunition from the White Guards in Merv.

The warding off of the attack did not ease the situation for the inhabitants of the town. Junaid Khan made preparations for a fresh attack. His ranks were filled by horsemen of the Turkmen population, who resented the requisitions and oppression of the former Khan of Khiva, nominee of the Czarist Government. Moreover, the plundering and violence of Madritov's punitive force rendered the unfortunate inhabitants destitute, and prepared for the influential and crafty Junaid Khan, favourable ground for the realization of his plans.

The bands grouped themselves around their leaders. The brigands, in search of supplies, pillaged the inhabitants. Petro-Alexandrovsk and its vicinity were filled with crowds of refugees. Communications with the fortified post at Nukus was interrupted. Nukus itself was attacked by one of the bands. The attack was repulsed. Guns and machine-guns were despatched under a strong guard to reinforce Nukus.

Petro-Alexandrovsk, the town of the district, the population of which in time of peace numbered about 4,000 souls, now contained, with the refugees, more than 20,000. The majority of the refugees were Kirghiz and Usbeg.

Life in the town, proclaimed in a state of siege, went on. Town business was dealt with in the Assembly of the Amu Darya Soviet of soldier, workman, and peasant deputies. Sessions of the Assembly took place almost daily. The Soviet for War regulated the defensive measures of the town. With it co-operated in Khiva the collegiate mission from the Foreign Affairs Department of the Turk Republic. Konoplev was head of the college, as commander of the forces of the Amu Darya Division; members of the college were Pertitzki and Timoshenko. The monotony of life encouraged the spread of epidemics among the populace. Cases of typhus occurred.

Soon after the repulse of the Basimach from the town, an agreement was concluded with Junaid Khan. This fact, however, did little to improve the state of the local populace. Isolated bands continued their depredations from time to time.

In order to some extent to ensure the peaceful life of the inhabitants, a river bank guard was organized. On the lower course, from Ak Kamisha to Koja Kuli (140 kilometres), and from Koja Kuli to Zair (150 kilometres), mounted posts were allotted to sections, and patrols instituted.

HOW THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION MOVEMENT WAS ARMED.

With the development of the operations against Junaid Khan's bands, counter-revolution elements began to appear in the lower Amu Darya. Feelers of the White Guards from the Transcaspian front stretched to Khiva. Stirring up and preparation of the inhabitants for an active struggle with the Soviet power began. White Guard agitators had some success among the reactionary and economically secure Ural Cossack folk and among the backward local inhabitants.

Special excitement was caused by the formation at Guriev (a small township near the point where the river Ural falls into the Caspian) of General Tolstoy's force detached hither from a division of the Central Ural. Connection between the White Cossacks and formations in the Chimbai district was strengthened. A link was formed between Kolchak's front and that of Denikin. The beginning of counter-revolutionary action was made

by the former commander of the forces of the Amu Darya Division and president of the collegiate mission of the Turk Republic, Konoplev. His conduct, his relations with outsiders, the slackening of discipline, and the licentiousness of the Red Army units that he commanded, raised the question of his removal from his responsible position. At the time of his presence in Petro-Alexandrovsk, the military units pillaged the inhabitants and committed acts of violence ; there were even cases of traffic in women. Konoplev sowed discord between the former inhabitants and the Ural Cossacks. High-handed Chauvinism, especially on the part of the Cossacks, received every encouragement from him.

There were rumours in the town of communication between Konoplev and the Askhabad White Guards. Konoplev himself hastened the march of events. On February 21, 1919, he escaped from Petro-Alexandrovsk. With him fled Tsilikh, Karpenkov, Usinin, and Ephremenko. The Soviet for War determined upon their arrest. The fugitives were captured and sent under guard to Charjui to the Staff of the Transcaspian front. By night, during a halt, taking advantage of the sleep and lack of vigilance of their guards, the prisoners seized arms, killed some Red Army men, and escaped—to the Askhabad White Guards, it was said.

The inhabitants of the Amu Darya district were robbed of everything by the bands of Junaid Khan. A severe food crisis set in. Supplies were exhausted, and the Red Army dragged out a half-starved existence. They were without boots and equipment. Such a state of affairs just suited the White Guard agents, who were widely extending their activities, especially among the Cossacks. The Zair Cossack sotnia, quitting subordination to the garrison command, went off to Zair on their own.

In July, reconnaissance revealed that the Khivan Government under pressure from the Askhabad White Guards were preparing for a renewal of hostile activity against the Soviet power. This news was confirmed by an increased movement of armed bands on the Amu Darya.

Counter-revolutionary agitation was openly carried on in Red Army units and among the Cossacks. Units were incited one against another. The Nukus garrison divided into two camps. The Ural Cossacks adopted a definitely hostile attitude towards the Soviet authority.

REVOLT OF THE URAL.

The levy of a contribution from the Cossacks Chevelev and Mordinov as representatives of the strong kulak (peasant-proprietor) class, and the demand by the commander of the Amu Darya expedition for the surrender of the Cossack Philichev, served as pretext for the open revolt of the 3rd Sotnia of the Zair Cossacks. The Commander of the Sotnia, Philichev, nominee of Konoplev, monarchist in his opinions, an out-and-out kulak, exercised considerable authority among the Cossacks.

The Commander of the Amu Darya expedition, Comrade Naumov, summoned Philichev, Salnikov, and Gutopov, to Petro-Alexandrovsk, as responsible for the voluntary departure of the sotnia from Nukus. They did not, however, appear. Instead of answering, the Cossacks demanded repayment of the contribution, threatening to obtain satisfaction by force.

On August 10, at the request of the special commission in Chimbai, a flying column of eighty Red Army men, with two machine-guns and one field-gun, was sent from Petro-Alexandrovsk to Nukus, to disarm the 3rd Sotnia of Zair Cossacks. The leader of the column was Comrade Zamislaev, and the

troops forming the garrisons of Nukus and Chimbai were put under his orders. While Zamislaev's column was on the march, important events occurred which presaged the destruction of this column.

A special Commission for the peaceful settlement of the conflict arrived in Chimbai. At the head of the Commission were Christophorov, President for Khivan affairs, Kasianenko, President of the Committee of the Amu Darya Soviet, and Sladkov, Director of Military affairs. The whole establishment of the Commission, including the guard, numbered thirty men. Christophorov organized the "Revkom."*

The Cossacks were called upon to lay down their arms forthwith. In reply the Cossacks suddenly attacked the "Revkom" at 2 p.m. on August 20. The members of the "Revkom" and the guard were not prepared for resistance. Some were killed, the rest disarmed and made prisoners.

The Red Army men who were in the town were also attacked, and quickly disarmed ; rifles, cartridges, three machine-guns, and two field-guns were taken. On the same day the insurgents marched to meet Zamislaev's column. The encounter took place by night, 19 kilometres from Chimbai. The Cossacks stopped the column when they were passing through a narrow depression enclosed on both sides. They summoned Zamislaev to lay down arms. The column deployed for action and opened fire on the Cossacks. The unequal contest continued till dawn, when the column surrendered, and was disarmed. The prisoners were sent under guard to Chimbai. More than half the column were casualties ; eighteen men were killed.

In the town the prisoners suffered brutal treatment. They were shut up in one of the rooms of the "Khiva" cotton mill. They were called out according to a list made up beforehand and taken to the nearest irrigation channel of Kechel. The prisoners to the number of twenty-eight were placed along the channel, and irregular fire was opened upon them. Comrades Christophorov, Kasianenko, Sladkov, Yunusov, Zamislaev, Nicolaiev, Lipovski, and others were shot.

Five hundred Mussulmans (of the Balobai), well-armed, soon joined the insurgents, as well as soldiers of the Khan of Maksum. All the village groups of the district except two also took the side of the insurgents. The Cossacks levied a contribution on the village groups that did not submit. Friendly relations were established with Junaid Khan.

The Zair kulak, the Cossack Philichev, assumed the title of Ataman, and became the head of the White Guard kulak class. Active co-operation was established between them and the Cossack staff at Guriev. On the lower Amu Darya, proclamations by General Tolstoy, printed in the Russian language, were broadcast. In these proclamations he summoned the "glorious Turkman" to the struggle for the common weal and the faith, called to mind the famous campaign of General Kornilov with the Tekke Turkman, and promised every sort of support.

The seriousness of the situation on the lower Amu Darya was appreciated by the Staff of the Transcaspian front, and at the beginning of August a Communist company was sent from Charjui to Petro-Alexandrovsk under the command of Comrade Shaidakov. The Amu Darya Division was declared in a state of war. Two companies of the Petro-Alexandrovsk garrison joined the Communist company, with four machine-guns and four field-guns. The first Cossack sotnia in Petro-Alexandrovsk voluntarily surrendered their arms.

* Revolutionary Committee.

The second sotnia in the Ural settlement (20 kilometres from the town) refused to give up their arms.

When Shaidakov's column marched for Chimbai the garrison of Petro-Alexandrovsk was reduced to 200 Red Army men. In the Ural settlement Shaidakov found only old men, women, and children. The Cossacks had departed earlier, and he was not able to disarm them.

Hearing of the advance of the Red Army column, the Cossack bands concentrated in Nukus fort, hastily evacuated everything of value, and themselves retired and took up a position 13 kilometres from Nukus in the direction of Chimbai. They also destroyed the bridges over two deep canals. In Nukus Shaidakov received detailed information of these occurrences—of the destruction of Zamislaev's column, and the shooting of the Bolsheviks by the Cossacks.

In Nukus a comparative statement of the strength of both sides was drawn up. In Shaidakov's column were 420 fighting men. To march them in a body against the Cossacks would be risky, as the situation demanded the retention on the spot of a reliable force for the protection of the steamer on which the column had come.

The White Guards had 500 Cossacks and about 3,000 Kara-Kalpaks. They had with them two field-guns and three machine-guns. They occupied a well-chosen position in thick bush protected by two deep canals.

The conditions were far from being equal; moreover, any further movement of the column far into the Chimbai district, with Junaid Khan's bands ready to swoop down in the rear and on the left, would risk its destruction.

An attempt was made to settle the revolt by peaceful means. Negotiations were opened, but the leaders of the White Guards, conscious of their strength, made the following conditions:

1. Complete freedom and impunity of the initiators of the events, and of those guilty of the shootings. (Philichev, Salnikov, and the rest).
2. The handing over of the Chimbai district to the Cossacks and non-interference by the Soviet power.
3. Handing over to the Cossacks of two machine-guns, fifty rifles, ammunition and equipment, machine-gun belts, etc.
4. Delivery to the Cossacks of stores, payment, and provisions.

In reply to these insolent demands, a letter was sent pointing out that ruthless punishment awaited the Cossacks as enemies of the Soviet power, if they did not come to their senses and lay down their arms, and that the ignorant masses of the Mussulman population who had become involved in the conflict would be compelled to make severe reprisals upon the Cossacks. In conclusion the Cossacks were warned not to submit to the provocative domination of the kulak class.

Shaidakov's column then returned to Petro-Alexandrovsk. On the way the steamer was attacked by Junaid Khan's bands.

In October, 1919, a Red Army detachment (formerly Comrade Reviakin's military train) was embarked on a steamer at the "Aral Sea" station for Muinak island. On its arrival the Urals tried a second time to subdue the island, but this time they sustained defeat. The Red Army met them with well-aimed fire, and the attackers suffered heavy losses.

At the beginning of November, the Staff at Petro-Alexandrovsk received information about the situation in Muinak, and of the strength of the enemy. At that time Comrade Skladov, plenipotentiary from the Transcaspian front, had come from Charjui with a detachment. He decided to take action against

the White Guards, the Urals, the Kara-Kalpaks, and the bands of Junaid Khan.

Two columns were organized, a northern and a southern. The southern column proceeded from Petro-Alexandrovsk to Novi-Urgench. The northern, under command of Comrade Shaidakov, left Petro-Alexandrovsk on November 11, on the following march route : Nukus—Khojeili—Kunia-Urgench—Porsu—Tashauz.

On November 18, boats with Shaidakov's column were fired on from the left bank by Yomuts. One Red Army man was killed. Our side did not open fire. On the same day a report was received of a skirmish between Red Cavalry and the Cossacks near Khoja-Kul. Under pressure of the enemy's superior force our squadron retreated to the hills.

Next day on arrival at Khoja-Kul news was received of a second encounter with the Cossacks, who to the number of 800 attacked our squadron. Half a company of infantry were sent to their aid.

On November 21, hot exchange of fire with the Yomuts continued throughout the day. On the left bank the enemy was driven back with heavy loss by a combined attack of infantry and artillery. On the right bank of the river an advance was made against the Cossacks. In the course of three days the artillery and infantry drove the Cossacks out of the undergrowth which extended for 20 kilometres along the right bank of the Amu Darya.

On November 24, they advanced to the Cossack entrenchments, situated 13 kilometres south of Nukus fort. Deep canals were utilized by the enemy as trenches, and nests of machine-guns established. There were 8-inch guns on both banks of the Amu Darya. Besides his artillery, the enemy disposed of 600 Cossacks and 3,000 Kara-Kalpaks. All day long the engagement continued without result, and only at nightfall the advance line of the Red Army force, bombing the canal occupied by the enemy, forced him to retire. Junaid Khan, seeing the discomfiture of the Cossacks, sent across 800 horsemen to their aid. On the next two days a stubborn fight took place for the possession of Nukus. During the night of November 27, the Cossacks evacuated the fort ; Junaid Khan's horsemen re-crossed to the left bank and dispersed. The fortress was taken.

The burial of eighteen Red Army men, killed in the fight, took place in Nukus. About fifty wounded were taken to the newly constructed hospital.

The Urals, driven out of the fortress, quickly recovered themselves from the losses inflicted upon them. General Tolstoy sent about two hundred Cossacks from Guriev to their help.

The surroundings of Nukus were overrun by bands who tried to cut off the fortress from Petro-Alexandrovsk. Notwithstanding, communication between the garrison of Nukus and Petro-Alexandrovsk was maintained by a circuitous route across the desert.

At the beginning of December the garrison of Petro-Alexandrovsk was reinforced by three battalions of the 5th Turkestan Soviet Regiment. Transport was sent to Nukus under escort of a Red Army company. Shaidakov's column was thus enabled to leave small garrisons in Nukus and Khojeili and to move further in the direction of Kunia-Urgench.

At this stage the southern column defeated Junaid Khan's bands, and occupied Khiva without fighting. Seid Abdulla, the Khan of Khiva, nominee of Junaid Khan, fled. The columns joined hands in Tamauz. The direction of Khiva was cleared of bandits. Junaid hid himself in the desert.

Soon the Cossacks, recovering strength, again attacked Khojeili and Nukus. The garrison of the fort at Khojeili was beaten ; the commander of the

garrison, Comrade Kostinkov, with twenty men of the Red Army, fled. The rest were killed. Khojeili was only a few hours in the hands of the Cossacks. Shaidakov's column hurrying up defeated the Cossacks with great loss, and drove them back to Kungrad. Skladov's column reached Nukus.

At this time on the Ural front the Whites suffered defeat after defeat. The Reds advanced to Guriev. General Tolstoy, having rallied the scattered bands to the number of 700 to 800 men, moved in the early spring of 1920 with the booty they had pillaged, across the Ust Urt and farther across the desert in the hope of making their way to Persia. After an arduous march over the Kara-Kum desert, losing about half his men, who succumbed on the way to incredible privations and want of water, he reached the line of railway. Here dodging the Red Army cordon by clever manœuvring, Tolstoy got through by night between Kizil Arvat and Kazanjik and found refuge in Persia.

In Chimbai and Kungrad dissension began among the Cossacks. Destitution and the deception of their Kulak leaders weighted the scales on the side of the Soviet power. A peace delegation came to Comrade Skalov in Nukus. An agreement was reached. The Cossacks gave up their arms. The front was dissolved.

THE FIRST RUSSIAN CARAVAN TO MERV.

BY P. ARIEKOV.

AFTER subduing by force of arms the Akhal Tekke oasis, the Czar's Government set before themselves the aim of capturing the rest of Turkmenia (the Tejend and Murghab oases).

The Czar's Government was bound by a formal diplomatic agreement with the English Government to cease from acquiring territory in Central Asia by force of arms. It was therefore obliged to seek means of "peaceful" conquest of the Merv oasis.

This "peaceful" conquest was carried out in two ways: the first—flattery, ingratiating themselves with and bribing the hereditary leaders of the Turkman (Khans and Katkhudas), by which means the Czar's Government strove to draw them into its sphere of influence, and through them to get control over the free Turkman people: the second, involving the population of the unsubdued part of Turkmenia in trade with Askhabad.

The Czar's Government was interested in the political subjugation of Merv, and Russian capital in the acquisition of the Merv oasis as a market and as a way to the rich market of Bokhara.

It was necessary to investigate the political and economic condition of the Merv oasis. For this purpose the first Russian caravan to Merv was organized in the form of a reconnaissance.

The organization of the caravan began at the end of 1881, and was finally completed in February, 1882. On February 6 the caravan set out from Askhabad.

The Czar's Government strove to create the most favourable conditions for its work. With this object letters were sent on January 4, 1882, to the Khans and Katkhudas of the Sichmas, Bek, Bakhshi, and Dash Ayak tribes, and personally to Baba Khan, Kara Khan Beg, Seyid Nazar Yuzbash, Aba On Beg and Khoja Kuli Khan of Tejend, inviting them to co-operate with the caravan that was being organized.

This letter is so remarkable and interesting that we reproduce it in full.*

"To THE HONOURABLE KHANS AND KATKHUDAS (RESIDENT IN MERV),—
After wishing you every blessing from God, I address you as follows :

"From various letters received from the Khans and Katkhudas of Merv, as well as from conversations with your people, who have often visited Askhabad, I observe with great pleasure that the time has come when the people of Merv, like all well-disposed people of Asia, understand that happiness and wealth are to be acquired, not by brigandage and disorderly living, but by peaceful labour and commerce.

"In view of this fact, being constantly solicitous for the welfare of the subjects of the Russian Czar, who live in the lands which, by order of the commander of the province, General Rerberg, I, for the time being, administer, as well as for the welfare of the inhabitants of the neighbouring lands, I have decided to send to Merv our merchant Severian Kosikh, with a caravan of Russian goods for trade with our neighbours of Merv.

"This first caravan serves as the foundation of future commercial relation between us and Merv for the good of the people of Merv.†

"I beg the Khans and Katkhudas of Merv to afford the merchant Severian every help and hospitality, and, where necessary, to furnish him with an escort for the protection of his caravan from evil-disposed persons, of whom, regrettably, there are still many, but who will sooner or later be heavily punished."

The staff of the province attached to the caravan two officers for purposes of espionage.

The start was made from Askhabad on February 6, 1882. With the caravan were—the president of the trading firm of Konshin, the officially appointed Severian or Severin Beg, and two officers, Lieutenant Ali Khanov and Ensign Sokolov, who went in the disguise of clerks of the merchant Severin Beg, Platon Aga from Tiflis, and Maksut from Kazan. Ten well-armed militiamen, under Ali Murad Sirdar, accompanied the caravan.

From a letter of the administration, preserved in rough-draft form, without date, number or signature (apparently signed by Aminov), addressed to Kosikh, it appears that the following instructions were given to him :

1. To collect information about the industrial resources of the country and indigenous industrial activities.
2. To draw up a memorandum on the possibility of trade with Merv, with what kind of goods and in what quantity.
3. To investigate the degree of profit from trade with Bokhara.
4. To collect information about the relations of Merv with other neighbouring countries.
5. To preserve the incognito of the spy officers, and to afford them assistance.

The Staff of the Army gave the caravan the following march route. Askhabad-Kaakhka-Karriband (on the Tejend)-Merv, and back by the caravan route via the lake Anna-Waz-Jugul. This route was chosen with the object of ascertaining the shortest way to the Merv oasis, and the caravan was given the strictest injunctions to follow the route indicated whatever might happen. Moreover, Aminov, apparently acting upon information in the hands of the

* Civil Department of the Staff of the Transcaspian province, No. 18 of 1882.

† *I.e.* in plain words—I take charge of you.

Staff of the Army, warned the leaders of the caravan that the Turkman would try to deny them access to Karriband. This warning, as we shall see later, was well founded and opportunely given.

Aminov sent telegrams reporting the departure of the caravan to General Rerberg, then in St. Petersburg ; to the commander of the district staff, and to the General Staff. The despatch of a telegram to the General Staff definitely indicates that the highest military circles of Russia were interested in the caravan. The closest communication was maintained with them, and they regularly reported their progress to the staff of the district by letters of February 8, 12, 15, 19 and 20. Apparently in accordance with the plot all letters were signed "Merchant and two clerks."

On February 7 the caravan reached Kaakhka. On the way from Askhabad to Kaakhka the following events occurred :

First, near Giaurs the camel-men refused to go on to Merv. Thereupon the leaders of the caravan, to quote their letters, resorted to energetic measures, "administering a light flogging to the instigator of the matter," and threatening to send the rest as prisoners to Askhabad. The writer of the letter adds with satisfaction: "The camel-men became compliant, and we moved further."

The second occurrence was near Lutfabad. There the caravan had a meeting—one must suppose purposely arranged by the Persian authorities with the object of examining the uninvited guests—with a representative of Alla Kuli Khan, an official from Mubammadabad. The Persian official was informed, for report to Alla Kuli Khan, that this was a caravan of the Russian merchant Severin Beg, that with him were two clerks—Platon Aga from Tifis and Maksut from Kazan, and that the caravan was going to Meshed.

At Kaakhka the caravan was met on January 30 by an envoy, Ali, who provided it with a guard of four men. They remained at Kaakhka till February 11, and at nine o'clock that day started in the direction of Tejend.

The people of Kaakhka, among them Sejjid Nazar Yuzbashi, tried to prevent the caravan from taking the road to Karriband, dissuading them by every means from starting by this route. In order to avoid a conflict the leaders of the caravan resorted to stratagem. They left Kaakhka by the Alaman-Urgut road which was pointed out to them, but after proceeding a few versts on this road they turned off to the Karriband road.

In the Tejend oasis the caravan did not meet such an obstructive attitude on the part of the Tejend Khans as had been shown to them at Kaakhka. The Tejen Khans, Khoja Kuli and Oraz Sirdar, refused to comply with the demand contained in Aminov's letter to furnish an escort, and also refused to accompany the caravan themselves.

The attitude of the Khans may be seen from the original wording of the letter : "They looked at us wolfishly and hostile."

The members of the caravan had to dispute for a long time with the Tejend Khans, and, at length (to quote from the original), "after six hours' fruitless arguing prevailed upon the arch-scoundrel Oraz Sirdar* to go with us,

* Presumably the same Oraz Sirdar who commanded the combined Russian and Turkman force with which the British troops of the Malleson Mission co-operated in the campaign in Transcaspia against the Bolsheviks in 1918-19, though he must have been a very young man in 1882. I know from his own lips that although he reached high rank in the Russian service he retained till the end the bitterest resentment against the Russians for their treatment of his country and his people. He was made K.C.M.G. and died in Persia a heartbroken refugee in 1922 or 1923. He was son of Tekme Sirdar, who led the Turkman against Skobelev at Geok Tepe in 1881.—J. K. T.

promising him positively mountains of gold from ourselves and from you."*

Up to Tejend the caravan was accompanied by an escort from the Ali Ili tribe of ten men under command of Ata Murad and Shah Nazar. The Ali Ili men were not averse to accompanying the caravan to Merv, but Khoja Kuli Khan opposed this, declaring that not a man of the Ali Ili should pass through Tejend.

The caravan left Karriband at midday on February 12. The caravan leader Komek of Merv sent five men to meet the caravan, and they met it sixty versts from Merv. At forty versts from Merv, near the well of Konen-Kuluk, the caravan intended to halt for the night, but the Merv Turkman declared that the Otamish tribe were hostile to the intrusion of the Russians, and that it was necessary to pass the Otamish Auls under cover of night.

The caravan reached Merv at four in the morning of February 15, and took up quarters in Komek's house. The same morning the visits of Turkman began. Among the first to appear were Kara Khan and his cousin Siakhtum Ata Jan.

The appearance of the caravan in Merv was diversely received. The Otamish expressed their friendship and declared that they were very pleased at its coming, and would be all the more pleased if both peoples were to fraternize. A similar assurance was also made confidentially by Makhtum Kuli Khan. The Khan of the Bek family, Kara Kuli Khan, held aloof. He told his cousin, Komek-bai, to destroy the house where the Russians had taken up their abode, and prevented merchants from doing business with the caravan.

On February 17 a conference took place of fifteen leading representatives of the nobility. Among them were the head of the Vekil family, Makhtum Kuli Khan, and the head of the Bek family, Maili Khan; also the Bakshi Sichmaz-Sari-Batir. Kosikh and Alikhanov were present in the capacity of interpreters for the caravan. Describing this conference, Alikhanov said that they were received as men under examination. On their entry no one stirred nor interrupted the sepulchral silence. Alikhanov was the first to speak, and explained the object of the coming of the caravan: "We are men of property, Severin Bek a rich trader. He is greatly respected by the Russian authorities, and before his departure was with 'the Staff,' who commissioned him to give their 'salaam' to the people of Merv."

In conclusion Alikhanov asked those assembled how they regarded the matter. After a long silence, an old man said: "Trade is a good thing, but we are in danger of bringing upon ourselves responsibility in the event of an attempt upon you of evil-disposed persons, of whom there are some among us. Therefore we are sending with you our delegates. Go to Askhabad, discuss matters with them, and first unite the two peoples. The question of trade

* Colonel Aminov, after receiving information of the action of the Tejend Khans, broke out with a threatening letter, extremely interesting from its tone.

"*To KHOJA KULI KHAN OF TEJEND.*—In my letter to you I ordered you to furnish the Russian caravan with an escort for its protection from evil-disposed persons. I request you to inform me why you have not carried out my order (!). Although I have no doubt that by the strength of my authority (!) and without your escort the caravan can proceed safely to Merv, nevertheless you ought out of friendship to have obeyed my order. If it is true that Oraz Sirdar has gone with the caravan, then he will be well rewarded.

"I order you (!) to inform me whether the caravan has reached Merv safely, and when it returns to furnish it with an escort."—17/II, No. 892.

will decide itself." From these words it appears that the Turkman evaded a direct answer by vague references to evil-disposed persons. Thereupon Alikhanov said : "We are merchants, and it is not our business to occupy ourselves with politics."

In conclusion, to impress the assembly Alikhanov added : "I warn you that the matter will be taken at Askhabad in an unfavourable light (*i.e.*, as disfavour is expressed by the Russians) if you close to us the road which Persians, Bokharans and others use freely. Then Makhtum Kuli Khan, having explained to the conference the sense of Alikhanov's statement, declared in the name of those present that the caravan might remain for some time in Merv.

Two hours after the communication to the Russians, a deputation of the Bek clan with Alla Kuli Khan at their head, appeared and declared that they would turn out Kara Kuli Khan if he should continue his hostility to the caravan. After this visit Kara Kuli Khan's policy changed abruptly. On February 20 Kosikh and Alikhanov were invited to come to him. They accepted the invitation, but, to be prepared for any eventuality, they concealed two revolvers apiece under their cloaks.

Kara Kuli Khan held a diplomatic discourse with Alikhanov. He tried to ascertain from them whether they had any other commission ; what was the position of Mussulmans in Russia ; what were the reasons for the conquest of the Akhal by the Russians ; with whom was the "Ak Padshah" (White Czar) now fighting, etc.

With reference to the presence of the caravan in Merv, Colonel Aminov, in a telegram to General Rerberg of February 25, 1882, reported : "The arrival of the caravan and my letter caused great excitement in Merv. There was a conference of the elders of all the clans, which very nearly came to a conclusion unfavourable to the caravan—that is to say, with a decision against their trading in Merv and sending them back—but, thanks to the resolute action of Makhtum Kuli Khan, who exercises great influence, it was decided to show hospitality to the caravan. After this deputations from the various clans came in declaring their goodwill with regard to the opening of trade."

On February 16* the caravan returned to Askhabad. About this Baron Aminov telegraphed as follows to General Rerberg, chief of the district staff, and to Zinoviev, the Russian Minister in Tehran : "Yesterday Konshin's caravan returned safely to Askhabad from Merv, having sold their goods, part being given on credit. Simultaneously with the caravan there came numerous deputations from all the clans, and among others from Maili Khan, the Khan newly elected by the Otamish."

To the telegram to the Minister Zinoviev was added : "The general order of affairs in Merv, and who exercises real influence there, has now been made quite clear."

On March 10 Baron Aminov sent a telegram, No. 493, as follows : "Moscow. To NICOLAI NICOLAIEVITCH KO..SHIN,—Your caravan returned safely to Askhabad, having sold its goods. For further success of the business begun by you, another caravan is wanted quickly, so as to instil trading and peaceful life. Honour and praise to you and your courage.—AMINOV."

The district staff were extremely well pleased with the results of the caravan. This is evident from the telegram from Colonel Aminov in Tiflis to the Chief of the Staff of the Circle : "Results gained by the caravan are rich. Much information ; access to trade opened through Merv. A reliable Turkman came to Merv with the caravan who will undertake to conduct caravans as

* Apparently some confusion in dates here.—J. K. T.

desired from Bokhara and Charjui via Merv to Askhabad. In Merv there are others. The only danger is from Bokharan Turkman near the Amu Darya. The Turkman leaders must see about this. From Charjui to Askhabad twelve to fourteen days' caravan journey. I am busy over the despatch this year of all the Bokharan cotton of the Kamenskis by Askhabad.—AMINOV." (No. 508.)

At this time the General Staff were elaborating further plans for the capture of the Merv oasis. In a cipher telegram, No. 86, of June 28, 1882, signed by General Adjutant Obruchev and addressed to General Rerberg, the General Staff enquired :

"In considering the political situation of the Transcaspian province and the programme for the future, the need arises of accurate information as to what results were gained by the first caravan which went to Merv in February. May this experiment be regarded as successful from the political and the commercial point of view? Would it be possible without risk to repeat this experiment, or are other steps necessary for the establishment of commercial relations? Early reply by telegraph requested, and detailed information by post."

In compliance with the General Staff's instruction, General Rerberg furnished a circumstantial report to the commander of the troops of the Caucasus military division. In this report General Rerberg, referring to the results of the first caravan to Merv, states :

1. The caravan made a detailed reconnaissance of the principal routes leading from the Akhal-Tekke oasis to Atek and Merv, and also acquired a mass of military and statistical information.

2. A way for caravans was opened up, and the people of Merv were dissuaded from forbidding access to their country. The people of Merv said : "Now that the Russians have been in Merv, Merv may be reckoned as conquered."

4 (sic). Information collected of the political situation in Merv and of the political grouping.

5. Simultaneously with the return of the caravan, a deputation of the Khans arrived in Askhabad, and in May the Khans of the Otamish appeared—Maili Khan and the Tokhtamish Kara Kuli Khan.

6. Information collected as to what kinds of Russian goods, and what quantities would find sale in Merv, also about the resources of the country and the trade relations between Merv and the neighbouring countries.

7. Information collected as to the possibility and the advantages of directing Bokharan trade with Russia through Merv and Askhabad.

8. Komek-Bai, who built a house and shops in Askhabad in order to start trade in Bokharan goods, came to Askhabad with the caravan. Komek-Bai also organized a small caravan to Bokhara with iron and kerosene.

9. From the time of the return of the caravan till July 1, 4,750 head of good cattle and 10,000 sheep and goats were sent to Askhabad by ten Merv merchants.

10. *In the Merv bazaar the population were notified of the necessity of sowing cotton.*

Passing to the question of further measures for the capture of the Merv oasis, Rerberg in his report urges the following practical steps :

1. Sending to Merv Russian caravans, though without profit, will render important service towards the pacification of the country, as by this means the Turkmans of Merv will become gradually accustomed to see Russian

people among them ; for this reason I consider a repetition of the experiment of sending caravans to be useful.

2. For the security of trade it is necessary to occupy Karriband with Russian forces.

In conclusion we may affirm that the first Russian caravan, organized by the staff of the province and the merchant Konshin, formed the prelude to the enslavement of Merv by Russian imperialism.

The Czar's Government, as a result of this caravan, obtained a complete picture of the political condition of the Merv oasis. It is true that the Czar's Government could not forthwith realize the achievements of the caravan, and two years were needed for the final seizure of the Merv oasis, but this delay occurred in connection with the general international situation.

It may be mentioned here that the capture of Merv was effected by armed threat carried out by Colonel Muratov's Karriband column, which fired several volleys at Merv. Only after this did the Merv Khans "voluntarily" recognize the authority of "the White Czar."

Thus the record of the official history of the "voluntariness" of the submission of the Merv oasis is a brazen-faced lie.

As a matter of fact the treaty of peace with the Turkman was signed to the accompaniment of the volleys of Muratov's column.

COLLECTIVISM IN TRANSCAUCASIA.

THE grave events of which the Caucasus (Azerbaijan in particular) have been the theatre since last spring, events which have remained so far without any definite issue, are worthy of close attention in view of the light which they throw on the attitude of the people in these regions towards the Soviets, and more especially that of the Mohammedan population with regard to Communist doctrines.

Soviet sources, generally so ready to spread news of discontents where other countries are concerned, have passed over in silence these grave disorders which in many districts of Azerbaijan and Armenia have degenerated into actual revolt and in places into regular guerilla warfare.

When the first rumours of the peasants' uprising in Azerbaijan appeared in the European Press, the Soviet agency *Tass* attempted to deny them. But as the insurrectionary movement gathered force and began to pass beyond the confines of U.S.S.R., the local Caucasian Press was constrained to reveal what was going on, if only through the medium of reports giving the proceedings of the Communist Congresses which were held in each of the Transcaucasian countries—Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia—towards the end of May, and for the whole of Transcaucasia in June.

The following are some of the allusions or avowals made on the subject of these events by Communist leaders, which have found their way into the Soviet Transcaucasian Press.

M. Tchapline, Secretary of the Transcaucasian Regional Committee, in comparing at the Communist Congress in Armenia the movements against collective farms (*kolkhozy*) in R.S.S.R. with that in Transcaucasia, made the following statement :

"Anti-*kolkhozy* movements have taken place in various parts of U.S.S.R., but thanks to the success of the Central Committee of the Party in checking

these divagations, we can consider them liquidated. On the other hand, *the very complex conditions in which the Transcaucasian peasant is placed have caused us far greater difficulties than elsewhere in U.S.S.R. These specific conditions and the peculiarities of Transcaucasian villages, especially in Azerbaijan and Armenia, have given rise to certain aggravations*" (*Zaria Vostoka*, No. 140, May 29, 1930).

Another qualified Communist, M. Lominadze, another Secretary of the same Committee, spoke in similar terms at the Communist Congress in Georgia :

"If we compare the actual situation in Transcaucasia with that of other regions in U.S.S.R., even where serious errors have been committed, we are bound to admit that nowhere is the situation as bad and as unsettled as in the villages of Transcaucasia" (*idem*, No. 144, June 2).

Further on :

"Elsewhere it has taken place under different forms, but is now at an end. As for Transcaucasia, it is another matter. The state of things in our villages is extremely bad" (*idem*).

It is not difficult to grasp the significance of this *Æsopian language* which Bolshevik politicians affect when referring to events compromising to themselves. Without actually employing the word *insurrection*, Lominadze expressed himself in these terms :

"In Azeri (i.e., Azerbaijani) and Armenian villages vast numbers of peasants took part in the struggle; it was a struggle in which the activity of the enemy of our class attained its most acute proportions; a struggle which laid bare our mistakes, leaving its political impress on recent events. It must be admitted that the events which occurred in our villages at the beginning of this spring, and which are not yet terminated, constitute a political episode of the highest importance in Transcaucasia; all else is secondary" (*idem*).

Speaking of Azerbaijan :

"In the Azeri villages the situation is most alarming. In the Nukha district the poor peasants are disorganized, terrorized by the kulaks (well-to-do peasants), mussavatists (national elements), and clergy" (*idem*).

The same M. Tchapline dots the i's of his Georgian colleague's statement :

"During the recent events in the villages in close touch with the anti-kolkhozy movement, odious incidents occurred which reveal how our village cadres failed to perform the tasks assigned them. The Communists on being assailed by the 'kulaks' acted as cowards and even as traitors. The fact that at the crucial moment in the district of Nukha many Communists and Comsomols (Young Communists) went over openly to the enemy should be an additional lesson for us that the kernel of the Party must be composed of trustworthy elements which have stood the test" (*Khorurdain Ayastani*, of Erivan, No. 117, May 23, 1930).

A. H. Karaef, a notorious Communist who played a leading part when Baku fell into Bolshevik hands, stated at the Transcaucasian Congress :

"At the present moment we ought to fix our entire attention upon the situation which has arisen in the villages of Transcaucasia and especially of Azerbaijan. We must concentrate all our forces on the urgent measures which this critical situation requires. No one ignores that what is happening in Transcaucasia, and especially in Azerbaijan, is due to the application during the last six months of the policy of collectivization" (*Zaria Vostoka*, No. 167, June 26, 1930).

Significant words, also, those of M. Elyava, head of the Government of the Federal Republic of Transcaucasia :

"It is not merely a question of the faults committed and of their corrections ; it is for the possession of power that the 'kulaks' and all who foment disorder continue the struggle. I am in entire agreement with those comrades who preach relentless war against all fomenters of trouble. Unhappily, the struggle is being carried on with little ardour. Nevertheless our adversaries have never displayed such energy and audacity since the Soviets assumed the reins of power. The political situation of our villages has a reverberation beyond our frontiers where comment and criticism are not wanting. It is for this reason that we should strive to uproot all insurrectionary movements and definitely crush groups of partisans. We should endeavour to render any mass uprising impossible" (*Bakinski Rabochi*, No. 144, June 23, 1930).

D. Bunyat-zade, Commissar of Agriculture for Azerbaijan, spoke even more categorically :

"Not only are the 'kulaks' in revolt against us in our villages, but even the poor peasants and the 'batraks' (agricultural labourers)."

To which M. Elyava replied :

"That shows that the peasants of moderate means are also taking part in the movement" (*idem*).

Thus, in spite of all the pains taken by the Communists to conceal their weak points from "bourgeois" opinion, they are obliged to speak of the insurrectionary movement in Azerbaijan (and Armenia). What, then, are the causes which have forced the Azeri peasantry to take up arms ?

Above all, it is the logical consequence of the antagonism between two opposing conceptions—that of communism, with its negation of the principle of private property, and that of Islam, the very basis of which depends on that principle. This antagonism has never ceased to exist between the occupying Power and the population under its sway, and it manifests itself now by violent reactions (armed insurrection), now by a menacing attitude of passive resistance. The latter showed itself more especially in the question of the distribution among the peasants of the lands belonging to the former Beys. The peasants refused to take over these lands on the grounds that they were *haram*--namely, prohibited by the prescriptions of the *Shariat*. Cases of this kind have been noted as lately as 1928. When forced to take possession, the Azeri peasantry either returned the lands to their former owners or, where this was not possible, shared secretly with them the usufruct (*Le Temps*, No. 21,836, 1921 ; *Baku Communist*, Nos. 212, 231, 1924 ; 103, 1925 ; 37, 225, 1927 ; 177, 1928 ; *Bakinski Rabochi*, August 6, 1928).

It was upon a people imbued with such moral conceptions as these that the Bolsheviks thought to impose the collectivization of rural property as practised in Russia. In Azerbaijan the system was naturally doomed to failure notwithstanding the manœuvres employed by the authorities. Out of a total of 350,000 rural holdings the number of *kolkhozy* did not exceed 500 in 1929. Subsequently, thanks to various material and other advantages accorded to the *kolkhozy* and by dint of increased propaganda, the Soviets increased the number, according to their own statistics, to 4 per cent. at the beginning of 1930. By far the greater part, however, of this form of holding was composed of farms in the hands of colonists from Russia. The collectivization of the holdings of Musulman peasants made no progress, and Azeri Communists were themselves obliged to admit that a reform of this nature was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to carry out. But the Central Government had determined to achieve by 1931 the collectivization of all rural properties throughout the Union. The warnings of the Azeri Communists as to the peculiarities of the Musulman peasants and the necessity of advancing

gradually fell on deaf ears, and the new "Viceroy" of Azerbaijan, in the person of Guikalo, an emissary from Moscow, gave orders that collectivization must be applied by force, with the result that by March, 1930, the number of *kolkhozy* in Azerbaijan increased to 28, 5 per cent. (in Georgia to 63, 7 per cent., in Armenia to 63, 7 per cent.).

It was then that the peasants began to resist the measures imposed upon them by force, and administrative reprisals followed. The functionaries, unable in certain cases to overcome resistance by their own means, had recourse to military aid.

The first encounter of this kind was the signal for uprisings in many localities, the most serious being those in Gök Chai, Nukha, Zakatali, Karabach, and Nakhchevan. The most sanguinary occurred at Gök Chai, during the course of which an OGPU leader of the name of Martinof and 40 of his men together with 400 Russian soldiers were killed, the local units joining hands with the peasants.

A characteristic of these conflicts was the new solidarity between the Musulmans and the Armenians, who previously had been accustomed, in the mixed districts, to side with the Bolsheviks. During the recent events they acted together with Azeri peasants against the Bolsheviks. It will be remembered that since 1904, thanks to the Russian policy of *divide et impera*, the Musulmans and the Armenians in the Caucasus were disunited and often engaged in conflict. Now in face of the common danger overriding all other considerations, this fratricidal struggle is giving way to a perfect harmony, and it is that which constitutes possibly one of the most positive effects of the Soviet régime.

In any case, the general situation is far from clear. Many families from Azerbaijan have sought refuge across the frontier in Persia, and the remaining insurgents are in hiding in the mountains.

The Soviet authorities in the meantime are making reprisals against the population. According to reports from varied sources, mass arrests, deportations, and executions have taken place. Refugees in Persia tell the same tale.

In order to satisfy public opinion, the Soviet Government has relieved of their functions certain highly placed local officials, notably the secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist party, Guikalo, and has recalled them to Moscow. The Central Party hopes evidently in this way to shift the responsibility on the shoulders of others.

According to official statistics, the number of *kolkhozy* has dropped since these events by 10 per cent. in Azerbaijan (21, 3 per cent., in Georgia; 12, 3 per cent., in Armenia).

THE MELVILLE PAPERS : LETTERS FROM MAJOR JOHN MORRISON RELATIVE TO BENGAL AND PERSIA

IN October, 1929, and January, 1930 (Vols. XVI. and XVII.), Sir Arnold Wilson printed in the JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY some unpublished despatches of Captain John Malcolm, who was the British Envoy at Teheran from December, 1795, to May, 1801, and of Malcolm's successors, Sir Harford Jones and Sir Gore Ouseley (July, 1805, to May, 1810). They form part of the Melville Papers. The following letters are from the same collection, and Sir Arnold Wilson (who has acquired the volume) has asked me if I will supply an introduction. They are divisible into two sections. The first is concerned with proposals made by a certain Major John Morrison, who came to London in 1773 as the "plenipotentiary" of the Emperor Shah Alam, to strike a bargain with the British Government, whereby, in exchange for the tribute which Warren Hastings was withholding from the Emperor, the revenue payment of Chait Singh, the famous Raja of Benares, was to be transferred to the Imperial Treasury, plus an annual payment in England of £50,000. Half of this sum was to be handed over every year to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) as a *nasir (nazar)*, or present, and the other half was to be spent in the purchase of stores and "such things as His Imperial Majesty might stand in need of." The Emperor was also to be supplied with officers to train his troops and with arms and ammunition. In return, Shah Alam, who had long since lost all authority over Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was to make over these provinces entirely to the British Government.

These proposals cannot be said to have any direct connection with Central Asia, but the letters cannot be separated conveniently from the later correspondence, which is concerned entirely with Persia. Here again Major John Morrison figures as the principal performer. He is now putting forward plans for an alliance with Jaffier Khan, "one of the most powerful competitors for the Throne of Persia," whom he had met at Shiraz on his return to the East in 1786-1788.

I have not come across any references to Major John Morrison in contemporary literature, but I am far from suggesting that none can be found. The correspondence here published reveals him as a most pertinacious individual who pestered Dundas and other Ministers for a long series of years, and although he failed to persuade them to accept

gradually fell on deaf ears, and the new "Viceroy" of Azerbaijan, in the person of Guikalo, an emissary from Moscow, gave orders that collectivization must be applied by force, with the result that by March, 1930, the number of *kolkhozy* in Azerbaijan increased to 28, 5 per cent. (in Georgia to 63, 7 per cent., in Armenia to 63, 7 per cent.).

It was then that the peasants began to resist the measures imposed upon them by force, and administrative reprisals followed. The functionaries, unable in certain cases to overcome resistance by their own means, had recourse to military aid.

The first encounter of this kind was the signal for uprisings in many localities, the most serious being those in Gök Chai, Nukha, Zakatali, Karabach, and Nakhchevan. The most sanguinary occurred at Gök Chai, during the course of which an OGPU leader of the name of Martinov and 40 of his men together with 400 Russian soldiers were killed, the local units joining hands with the peasants.

A characteristic of these conflicts was the new solidarity between the Musulmans and the Armenians, who previously had been accustomed, in the mixed districts, to side with the Bolsheviks. During the recent events they acted together with Azeri peasants against the Bolsheviks. It will be remembered that since 1904, thanks to the Russian policy of *divide et impera*, the Musulmans and the Armenians in the Caucasus were disunited and often engaged in conflict. Now in face of the common danger overriding all other considerations, this fratricidal struggle is giving way to a perfect harmony, and it is that which constitutes possibly one of the most positive effects of the Soviet régime.

In any case, the general situation is far from clear. Many families from Azerbaijan have sought refuge across the frontier in Persia, and the remaining insurgents are in hiding in the mountains.

The Soviet authorities in the meantime are making reprisals against the population. According to reports from varied sources, mass arrests, deportations, and executions have taken place. Refugees in Persia tell the same tale.

In order to satisfy public opinion, the Soviet Government has relieved of their functions certain highly placed local officials, notably the secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist party, Guikalo, and has recalled them to Moscow. The Central Party hopes evidently in this way to shift the responsibility on the shoulders of others.

According to official statistics, the number of *kolkhozy* has dropped since these events by 10 per cent. in Azerbaijan (21, 3 per cent., in Georgia; 12, 3 per cent., in Armenia).

THE MELVILLE PAPERS : LETTERS FROM MAJOR JOHN MORRISON RELATIVE TO BENGAL AND PERSIA

IN October, 1929, and January, 1930 (Vols. XVI. and XVII.), Sir Arnold Wilson printed in the JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY some unpublished despatches of Captain John Malcolm, who was the British Envoy at Teheran from December, 1795, to May, 1801, and of Malcolm's successors, Sir Harford Jones and Sir Gore Ouseley (July, 1805, to May, 1810). They form part of the Melville Papers. The following letters are from the same collection, and Sir Arnold Wilson (who has acquired the volume) has asked me if I will supply an introduction. They are divisible into two sections. The first is concerned with proposals made by a certain Major John Morrison, who came to London in 1773 as the "plenipotentiary" of the Emperor Shah Alam, to strike a bargain with the British Government, whereby, in exchange for the tribute which Warren Hastings was withholding from the Emperor, the revenue payment of Chait Singh, the famous Raja of Benares, was to be transferred to the Imperial Treasury, plus an annual payment in England of £50,000. Half of this sum was to be handed over every year to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) as a *nasir* (*nazar*), or present, and the other half was to be spent in the purchase of stores and "such things as His Imperial Majesty might stand in need of." The Emperor was also to be supplied with officers to train his troops and with arms and ammunition. In return, Shah Alam, who had long since lost all authority over Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was to make over these provinces entirely to the British Government.

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I have not come across any references to Major John Morrison in contemporary literature, but I am far from suggesting that none can be found. The correspondence here published reveals him as a most pertinacious individual who pestered Dundas and other Ministers for a long series of years, and although he failed to persuade them to accept

him at his own valuation, it is more than likely that he succeeded in imposing upon others. Such details as I have obtained have been pieced together from scattered allusions in records and journals.

Morrison commenced his career as a King's officer. Major Hodson informs me that he was gazetted as ensign in the 2nd Battalion of the 34th Foot on March 9, 1757, and was promoted to lieutenant in the same regiment on July 22, 1758. On October 18, 1761, he obtained a captaincy in the 113th Foot, and went on half pay of that regiment when it was disbanded in 1763. From the docket of the first letter in the collection we learn that he served as "Commissary to the Southern Army in America," and in the course of the correspondence (letter of October 4, 1791, to Lord Grenville) he states that "there is now owing to me by Government upon the balance of my Accounts, as Commissary to the Southern Army in America, about Sixteen Thousand Pounds." I have not discovered why or how he found his way to India, but on September 1, 1768, he was transferred as a major to the Bengal Army.

He did not remain very long in the military service of the East India Company. On December 6, 1771, we find him at Calcutta, soliciting the approval of the Select Committee at Fort William to certain proposals which he desires to lay before "the King" (Shah Alam). These proposals are similar to those which he outlines in his correspondence with Dundas and Grenville—namely, to raise for the service of the King a body of troops which may in time of need act as auxiliary to the Company's forces. The proposals are rejected, and on December 17, 1771, he resigned the Company's service. We next hear of him in the journal of Captain Allan Macpherson, staff officer to Colonel Alexander Champion, who was marching in March, 1772, to Benares to support the Nawab Wazir of Oudh against the Marathas. Morrison was evidently endeavouring to act as an intermediary between the Marathas and Shah Alam, for Macpherson records on April 29, 1772: "Major Morrison is stopped in the Marrato camp from some imprudence and suspected of being a Spy." There is another entry on May 14, 1772: "The King has now quitted the Morratoes. . . . A letter from the King's camp says that the King has found it will be disagreeable to the Council (at Fort William) his entertaining Major Morrison in his service and, on that account, for some days past had shown him a Coolness."

Possibly this was the reason why Morrison conceived the brilliant idea of proceeding to Europe as the "ambassador of the Mogul." In the "letter of credence" from Shah Alam, which is dated October, 1772, and was translated by Sir William Jones (enclosure to Letter 2), we are presented with what is evidently Morrison's version of the business. Having resigned the Company's service, he arrives at the court of the Emperor with "recommendatory letters" from John Cartier, the

President at Fort William, Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab Wazir, and Sir Robert Barker, the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, and, "observing the insolent behaviour of the Marhattas," he offers his services "without asking any immediate salary." He next writes to the Council at Calcutta requesting a supply of arms "for the purchase of which the Emperor gave him a bill upon the Company for four lacs of rupees, a small part of which is due to him from the revenue of Bengal of which the Company were his Diwan or Collectors." Nearly four months later he receives notice from a friend at Calcutta that the Governor and Council were neither answering his letters nor accepting the bill. The Emperor therefore "appoints Major Morrison, in express terms, his Ambassador plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain, whom he also raises . . . to the rank of Commander-in-chief of all his forces in Indostan."

On November 12, 1772, Captain Gabriel Harper, the Resident at the Court of the Nawab Wazir, writes from Fyzabad to the Council at Fort William to report that Major Morrison has arrived at Allahabad and that he intends to proceed to England with his mission on some foreign vessel from Chinsura or Chandernagore. On December 6 Morrison writes to the President at Fort William from Chinsura, stating that His Majesty Shah Alam has appointed him his "Ambassador to the Court of Great Britain" and inquiring whether he will be received in Calcutta as such on his way to that Court and allowed to proceed on the first ship bound for England. To this Warren Hastings (who had succeeded Cartier as President and Governor in April, 1772) replies in the negative, and the correspondence is forwarded to the Court of Directors: "we judged it highly impolitic and unsafe to answer the drafts of the King till we were satisfied of his amicable intentions and those of his new allies" (the Marathas). Morrison returns Hastings' letter on December 13, "on the ground that it was not properly addressed"; he was evidently standing upon his dignity and claiming the respect due to his rank of "General" in the service of the Emperor: and the Select Committee record a minute upon the subject on January 7, 1773.

Although Morrison reached London in the autumn of 1773, the first letter in this series is dated December 25, 1783. He tells Pitt in the second letter that he has "now been returned from India ten years" and that in 1774 he had published a pamphlet setting forth the advantages of an "alliance" with Shah Alam, which was "highly approved of by Lord Chatham." The correspondence drags on until April 11, 1785, when he informs Dundas that he is sailing in a few days for Smyrna, "from whence I intend to proceed by Bagdad, Ispahan, and Candahar to Delhi, in order to deliver up my credentials." Dundas replies on the following day to inform him that there is no reason why

he should not take his passage as he proposes, and that he should deal direct with the Government at Calcutta. Morrison, however, continues sending in letters until he secures an interview with Dundas in June, 1785. On July 18 he forwards a long letter in which he alludes to Hastings as the chief obstacle in his way.

We next hear of him in a letter of January 5, 1787, from Edward Galley, the Resident at Bushire. Galley informs the Governor of Bombay and Council that the arrival of two European gentlemen at the Court of Jaffier Khan at Shiraz had been reported to him; and that the two persons, Major John Morrison and Captain George Biggs, had reached Bushire on December 24 under the escort of a certain Jaffer Beg. The Major is described as "an elderly man and was formerly in the Hon'ble Company's service at Bengal, in the Military Service"; his companion as a young man who is travelling with him. They are stated to have left England in August, 1785, and to have come to Shiraz by the route indicated in the letters to Dundas—namely, by way of Constantinople, Bagdad, and Ispahan. "It appears that Major Morrison is in the service of Shah Allam and that he has his order to settle a treaty of commerce with the King of Persia, and that he is in expectation of the arrival of Ghofur Beg from Delhy, who is joined with him in this business." Galley adds:

"Major Morrison proposed waiting here a few days when should Shofur (*sic*) Beg not arrive he would have proceeded by boat to Muscat and Scindy (Sind) and from thence up the river Indus or through the Guzerat country, as he should find more practicable to Delhy. But having been informed here of the situation of affairs at Delhy, I hear he now means to return to England again immediately by the same route he came."

It is not surprising that Morrison should have abandoned his intention of proceeding to Delhi, where the position of the puppet Emperor had become desperate. The unfortunate Shah Alam had not only ceased to be of importance, but was, in fact, blinded in 1788 by the Rohilla freebooter, Ghulam Kadir.

On January 27, 1787, the Bombay Council request Galley to "keep an eye over the motion of Major Morrison and Captain Biggs"; and on May 9 Galley reports that on January 22 they proceeded to Bussorah (Basra) on the *Elizabeth* Snow, and forwards a copy of the letter written by Morrison to Jaffier Khan before his departure. In that letter, which is dated November 6, 1787 (No. 16), Morrison gives an account of his journey and of his reception by Jaffier Khan, which was not of an encouraging character. The proposals which he made to Jaffier Khan are similar to those which he had put forward on behalf of Shah Alam, that British officers would be permitted to enter his service and that the

East India Company would supply him with arms, ammunition and clothing "at a price to be agreed upon."

By February 14, 1788, Morrison is back in London and writing again to Dundas, asking to be "invested with power to enter into a treaty with Jaffier Khan." Dundas is bombarded with statistics, and extracts from the travels of Hanway and Chardin; and the correspondence continues until February 19, 1792, when Morrison threatens Grenville that if the Government will not accept his plan, he will "lay it before a foreign Court who, I am convinced, will immediately carry it into execution."

This is the concluding letter of the present collection; but there are two other letters mentioned in Mr. Francis Edwards' catalogue of the Melville Papers (No. 15), which shows that as late as November, 1809, he was still at work. The Persian plan has now been dropped, and he is attempting to persuade Spencer Perceval (who has just formed his administration) and Robert Dundas (brother of Henry Dundas, who had been created Viscount Melville in 1802) of the advantage of "getting the Kingdom of Bengal Behar and Orissa in Fee to the Crown." It is, he writes, "incompatible for the East India Company to be Princes and Merchants at the same time." The doctrine was no doubt sound; but the fiction of Mogul sovereignty had been exploded by Lake's campaigns of 1804 and 1805. Although Shah Alam was still titular Emperor, he was a pensioner of the Company, and exercised no sort of authority. The letter to Perceval is written from Hatchett's Hotel on November 15; the letter to Robert Dundas from Worcester on November 29, 1809. If Morrison was eighteen when he was gazetted to his first commission in 1757, he must now have been seventy years of age. But I have not been able to trace any announcement of his death.

EVAN COTTON.

No. 1. *From Major John Morrison to the Right Honourable the Earl of Dunmore, &c.*

77, WELLS STREET,
25th December, 1783.

MY LORD,

In consequence of a conversation with your Lordship this morning relating to an Alliance with the Emperor of Indostan, I take the liberty to request that your Lordship will do me the honor to lay before my Lord Gower a copy of my letter of Credence from the Court of Delhi, and also a copy of a letter to the Right Honble Mr. Willm. Pitt, which I have not as yet had an opportunity of presenting to him.

From my own feelings, and from the knowledge I have of the prevalent opinions in the East, I can venture to affirm that it would be equally Magnanimous and politic for his Majesty to assist the cause of an injured Monarch and to show himself the friend of justice in

espousing the interests of the representative of a house who have swayed the Sceptre of Hindostan for upwards of 400 years past. If any objection should arise from the demand of the £325,000 a year as by treaty of 1765 with the East India Company; [it] may be easily got over as in the present debilitated state of the revenues of Bengal, I would cheerfully propose to his Majesty's Ministers to give up entirely the said sum of £325,000 per annum in consideration that his Majesty would be pleased to guarantee the Lands of Cheyt Sing to be held of the Emperor of Indostan in the same manner as he held them of the Company and would also be pleased to agree to pay to the said Emperor's agent here the sum of fifty thousand per Annum, one half of which would be annually bestowed as a Nasir (or present) to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In this case, my Lord, his Majesty would pay here £50,000 per Annum, Cheyt Sing would pay 261,250 pounds per Annum,* total 331,250 pounds per annum that is 6250 pounds more than the Company agreed to pay to the Emperor by the Treaty of 1765. In offering the above proposals, my Lord, I flatter myself that I have the happiness of reconciling the duty of a British subject with the interests of the Court which has honored me with its instructions, by which I am empowered to accept of any sum not less than 325,000 pounds per annum.

After paying to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the sum of 25,000 pounds there would remain an equal sum to be employed in purchasing such things as his Imperial Majesty might stand in need of. If this plan were adopted I have the strongest confidence, that the trade of this Country to the East Indies, supported and encouraged by the favor and protection of the Court of Delhi would be increased upwards of 800,000 pounds per Annum, and I would enter into an Engagement with the East India Company to pay them fifty per Cent in time of peace, and one hundred per Cent in time of War, above prime cost, for every thing exported for the use of his Majesty the Emperor of Hindostan.

No. 2. From Same to the Right Honourable William Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, &c.

77, WELLS STREET,
22nd December, 1783.

SIR!

I beg leave to lay before you as important a matter as ever was laid before a Minister.

I have now been return'd from India ten years, with full powers from his Imperial Majesty Shah Alem, the present Emperor of Indostan, to form an alliance with his Majesty, and to invest in the Crown of Great Britain, the Fee Simple of the Kingdom of Bengal, and the

* MS. has here 201,250, obviously an error for 261,250.

Provinces of Behar and Odissa, on certain conditions which you will see in my Letter of Credence, translated by Sir William Jones, now one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; a copy of which I have the honor to enclose. I have also taken the Liberty to send you, Sir, a pamphlet published by me in 1774, setting forth the advantages of the said Alliance; and which were highly approved of, by the late Lord Chatham, when I had the honor of being introduced to his Lordship by Mr. Combes at Burton-Pynsent.

His Majesty becoming the Independent Sovereign of that Country would at once put an end to every complaint against the East India Company, as they would then Trade agreeably to their Charters granted by their Sovereign and the Firman from the Indian Princes; the Government of the East under the direction of his Majesty's Vice Roy, would have a stability and dignity in the eyes of the Native Princes unknown before, as they always looked upon the Sovereign of Great Britain as something more than human, whose merchants were Princes, and before whose Servants, the trembling nations of the East approached with awe.

As your time, Sir will be greatly taken up, I beg leave to point out such parts of the pamphlet as will give you at once an insight of the whole, they are in pages 49, 55, and 68.

The Crown taking possession of that Country, would be the utmost advantage to this Nation, as well as to the East India Company: Government taking all their Forts, Barracks, Military Stores, etc., at an appraisement made by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, and for which they may be paid by instalments in Bengal, that is to say; the Vice Roy to advance yearly to the Company's Governor money sufficient to make good their Investments in the East, by which means the debt due by the Crown to the Company, as well as the amount of the Forts, Barracks, etc., would be paid off in the space of six or seven years at most, after which, if Government would continue to advance to the Company whatever sums they might want (to make good their Investments) at two shillings the Rupee, to be repaid by the Company into his Majesty's Treasury when those investments are sold and paid for here. Great Britain would gain from the East upwards of one Million a Year without draining Bengal of her Cash, and the Company would be greatly benefited by it.

This plan, Sir, would enable the Company to trade with the greatest advantage, and rise their Dividends higher than ever was known before, as they would then have no other object but trade, and their Expences would be restricted to the Salaries of their Servants.

No. 2a. *Enclosure in No. 2. "Letter of Credence" translated by Sir William Jones.*

Praises without measure, and encomiums confirming holiness are justly due to the Sovereign, *Creator of all created beings, Ruler of all Empires*, who, by his Command eternally powerful, brought the assembled armies of all possible beings in a variety of forms and shapes, and in appearances of different hues (*for he has power over all things*) from the hidden cavern of privation to the raised Seat of existence; and caused the wide face of the earth with the splendor of many-coloured flours [*sic*] to rival or surpass the picture-gallery of *China*, and the lofty gardens of paradise: with his excellent Wisdom and perfect power, He exalted the human species with a Diadem, plentiful in joy (*since we have ennobled the sons of Adam*) and ordering the diploma of his Sovereignty to be Signed with his sublime name, and his forcible epistle (*we have indulged them above most of our creatures*) to be stamped with the characters of his favour, he ordained the regular government of the world, and of those who inhabit it.

Verses.

O Thou, who art raised above our conception, above our thoughts and imaginations, above all that has been spoken, all that we have heard and read! After these praises, we produce the encomium of the lord, who gives delight to all beings, and glory to all creatures, precious pearl of the Sea of eternity, chief of Prophets, MOHAMMED, light of the lamp of sagacious men, object of all praises, who kindles the tapers in the banquet of certainty, sure guide in the path of the *lord of all Worlds, who diffuses the light of true religion and orthodoxy, and he is the director of all people.*

To the august Mind, tempered with benevolence, of Him, who is established with equity and justice, who dwells with dignity and power, elevated in virtue, exalted in honour, who kindles the lamp of Majesty, who raises the banners of Royalty, pearl of the Sea of fame, gem of the ring of Sovereignty, confidant and vicegerent of the Eternal, princely pearl of wisdom, a crocodile in the ocean of valour, a lion in the forest of glory, who strengthens the basis of concord and unity, who confirms the edifice of friendship and prudence, lord of the climate of fortitude, Sovereign of the region of amity, our Brother beloved as our soul, *protected by GOD, supported by the host of the HOLY JESUS, the spirit of GOD* (on whom the Peace)!

Be it clearly and evidently known, that at this time, Major John Morrison, having detached himself from the service of the English Company, and intending to return by land to the seat of Empire (*Europe*) arrived in the prosperous camp, and offered to our enlightened view the request of *Mohammeddoulah* (Anxious for the realm) John Cartier Behader and the *Vizir of the Empire, Ornament of the kingdom, director of important affairs, Shuja eddoula (Champion of the State), and Emir eddoula General Barker Behader*, to the Intent that we might admit Major John Morrison, who had thoughts of going by land to Europe, into the order of the attendants on our sublime Court: when the just mentioned officer arrived in the army with a victorious aspect and observed the obstinacy, violence, and refractoriness of our servants,

namely the *Rohillas* and *Marhatta's*, He being willing to enter into the august service, without seeking gain or salary, till an answer should be received, sent a letter from himself to *Ommal eddoula*, Mr. Hastings, *Behader*, *Firm in battle*, and to the Counsellors of Calcutta, for four four thousand firelocks, five hundred carbines, one thousand pistols, and twenty pieces of Cannon, and other implements of war; and We granted a Bill for four lacks of rupees, in order to buy these arms, to the before mentioned Major Morrison; but, near four months after, a letter came from Mr. Killiken, who had an intimacy with the Major, informing him, that *Ommale eddoula Behader*, and the Counsellors of Calcutta, would not give an answer to the letter, nor acceptance to the bill.

Now it is clearly and perfectly known to our brother beloved as our soul, that, in former times, great sums of Crores were received at *Shah-gehanabad* into the treasury of the Emperor of *Indostan* from the kingdom of *Bengal*, *Behar*, and *Odissa*, and that, lately, through the inconstancy of Fortune, the Management of that country was settled on the Company, for twenty-six lacs of rupees, to be paid yearly at the Presence, abounding in joy; it was also agreed with the Counsellors of Calcutta that, whenever this yearly revenue should be in arrears, the arrears should be remitted to the enlightened presence; but to this moment they have not answered our demands, and have broken their promise and agreement, so that, if what was settled to come yearly from Bengal has not been sent, what will become of the arrears.

For this reason, we are under the necessity of advancing John Morrison Esquire, to the title of our General; and to the chief command of all our troops, which are at present or which hereafter shall be levied, and giving him full powers of negotiating (literally, a free choice in asking and answering) have sent him as Ambassador to our Brother beloved as our soul.

If our brother will lend us twenty thousand firelocks for the Sepahi's and ten thousand Carbines, and ten thousand pair of pistols for the cavalry, and a train of artillery, with all other implements and necessaries of war, and *English* officers, in order to fix the Sepahi's and Cavalry upon a permanent footing (upon condition that, if the degree of providence should intercept those officers if they should be slain in battle, or if they should return to Europe, other officers may be sent in their place), and if He will consent to give, in four parts, the sum of thirty-one lacs of rupees to the August Ministers, (or if He should decline giving that sum then any other sum, above twenty-six lacs of rupees, to be divided into four parts which *Nasser eddoula*, General John Morrison *Behader*, Strenuous in battle, who is Ambassador from the presence shall propose) We on our Side will give to our Brother a Written Grant of the Kingdoms of Behar, Bengal and Odissa, with an effectual title: and if any one shall raise a tumult and disturbance in the kingdoms of Behar Bengal and Odissa, we will send half our forces to their relief and support, and, if there should be a necessity, *this suppliant in the Court of the Lord* (meaning Himself) will take all his forces, and raise his lofty banners to their assistance.

We likewise consent, that the Company in the whole Empire of Indostan, shall build their factories for trade, wherever they please, and we will be the protector and guardian of the Company's commercial interests; and when those instruments and men shall arrive in Calcutta, from the same day, We will settle and allow all the expenses for boats

and Cannon, and the rest, with forty rupees a day for a Major, twenty rupees a day for each Captain, ten rupees a day for each Lieutenant, and six rupees a day for an Ensign.

It is desired, that our brother will consider the form and conditions of these proposals with a discerning eye, and send a complete answer to each particular, with as little delay, and as much expedition as possible; by so doing, He will cause our friendship and affection to be increased, and the basis of our love and union to be confirmed: for the future, the way of successive correspondence will be opened between us, since the disposition and management of all human affairs is defective without friendship. To conclude: may the pillars of amity and the foundation of alliance, be, by the grace of the Most High GOD, confirmed from year to year and without end.

No. 2b. *Enclosure in No. 2. [Résumé of the above "Letter of Credence."]*

A summary of the letter from Shah Alem, Emperor of Indostan, to His Majesty.

As verbal translations are always obscure as well as inelegant, it seems necessary to give an abstract of the letter, as it would appear in an European language without the ornaments of the Persian idiom. It begins, after the Asiatick manner, with the praises of the Almighty, and of Mohomet, in which the allusions usually relate to the subject of the book or epistle: the passages with a line under them* are Arabick sentences, and for the most part taken from the Alcoran. Then, after celebrating the glory and virtues of His Majesty, the letter recites That Major Morrison, having resigned the Service of the India Company, arrived at the Court of the Emperor, with recommendatory letters from Mr. Cartier, Shuja'eddoula and General Barker; that, observing the insolent behavior of the Marhatta's he offered his service to the Emperor without asking any immediate salary till he could obtain the permission of His MAJESTY; that he wrote to the Governor and Council at Calcutta requesting them to send a supply of arms to the camp, for the purchase of which the Emperor gave him a bill upon the Company for four lacs of rupees, a small part of which is due to Him from the revenue of Bengal of which the Company were His Diwan or Collectors, and for which they had stipulated to pay him yearly the sum of twenty-six lacs of rupees: But that, near four months after the Major received notice from a friend at Calcutta, that the Governor, and Council would neither answer his letters, nor accept the bill. Now, as the Diwan is an officer of the Indian Emperors, who is most unquestionably removeable for any notorious neglect of his duty, and as the Company have not paid the Emperor his settled revenue nor the arrears which are due to Him He Sollicits the friendship and alliance of His MAJESTY, proposing upon certain conditions, to give Him a written Grant which shall be valid against all Mankind, of the Kingdom of Bengal, to which the provinces of Behar and Odissa are annexed, once opulent and flourishing countries, and still capable of being restored to their former splendor.

For this purpose He appoints Major Morrison in express terms, his

* Printed in the text in italics.

Ambassador plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain whom he also raises, with the permission of His MAJESTY to the rank of Commander in chief of all his forces in Indostan. The conditions of giving the kingdom of Bengal to His Majesty, are these : 1st. that the Emperor be supplied from England with a sufficient number of arms and English Officers, whom he will pay from the time of their landing at Calcutta, in order to regulate and discipline his Sepahi's and Cavalry, and 2ndly that he receive by way of consideration for the Grant any sum, above 26 lacks of rupees, in four different payments, that his Ambassador shall stipulate. Upon these conditions, He engages to be the Guardian and protector of the Company and their commerce, permits them to establish factories in any part of the Indian Empire, promises them singular privileges and exemptions, with everything that can make them a great and flourishing company ; and undertakes to defend the Kingdom of Bengal with all his forces in case of necessity. He concludes, with requesting a speedy answer to his letter, and offering prayers to heaven that his alliance with His Majesty may be perpetual. This is the substance of the letter, which, in another sheet is translated word for word from the original Persian [vide No. 2a].

NO. 3. *From H. Pattullo to Mr. Andrew Douglas, covering an open letter to Captain Francis Douglas.*

GERMAIN EN LAYE,
16th October, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

I have often been thankful that our Friend Franc Douglas did me the pleasure to introduce me to your Acquaintance. And at my leaving London he desires that whatever I might have occupation to write him should be addressed to you. I cannot judge if he is in London, and as I can have nothing to say which needs be kept from you, I thought it best to send you an open letter and pray forgive that to save postage, I write it upon the same paper. If he is in Town no doubt you will deliver it, if he is not, I beg you will peruse, and then forward it if you think proper, and in any case, I intreat you will be so good to oblige me with your Sentiments on this Subject. And believe me with a well found esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and obedient Servant,

(Signed) H. PATTULLO.

Notwithstanding of my too long Silence, My Dear Friend, I would willingly hope that you have never entertained a thought that I would possibly forget you. For that can never happen, and my just value of your warm hearted, friendly disposition will last as long as I have any existence. Often have I reflected if means could be found to make

you happier, and altho' nothing has hitherto occurred, still we must not lose hopes. I frequently had Resolutions to write you, but was in continual hopes it might be in my power to surprise you by a visit in London. Yet the same cause which brought me thence still prevents my return. For notwithstanding my utmost endeavour and continued grounds for hopes, I have not hitherto been able to obtain assurances that I may not lose what I possess here, if I should again leave this Kingdom. However, I have still cause to expect that I shall in time get above that difficulty. I have other things to say, but they must be deferred to another letter, for the following subject will be sufficient for this.

Some time ago, all the publick papers of Europe gave notice that Major Morrison had arrived in London, in the character of ambassador from Shaw Allum as Mogul, with Offers of a Cession of his Right to all the Indostan, in favours [sic] of Britain. What may be real in the matter, I can by no means judge, but it made a greater noise all over Europe, and among all Foreigners, than any occurrence that happened during my observation. Particularly in Paris where people of speculation, and of understanding in Politicks, from all countries, generally meet, I had frequent occasions to be among them, and to witness their jealous reasonings on the subject. For, from the first moment they considered the object so Important that they have not hitherto entertained the least doubt of Britain's accepting, and carrying it into execution. Therefore, their apprehensions are extreme, of the power and influence which Britain may thereby obtain and I have good grounds to be persuaded that the jealousies and apprehensions of different Courts whose interest it may concern, are in no degree less alarmed than those of the Speculative politicians. But they conceal their fears from a certainty that they cannot prevent the event.

Therefore having heard all that has been said on the subject, and also observed in every respect how great and Real the Alarm actually is, I resolved to put their principal reasonings in writing, in adding also many lights and reflections to which they naturally have given Rise, and which could not have occurred to any other person who has not had the same opportunities, which by my easy access everywhere could not fail to fall in my way. If therefore there is a Reality in the Embassy, whereof I can find no certain information, although all abroad believe it is absolutely real; in that case I have good ground to be of opinion that this writing can afford farther light on the subject than any that can possibly be procured any other way.

I am at same time sensible that the Noble Lord presently at the helm is so desirous to be free of trouble and to avoid any new object, or out of common Road, however advantageous. That I am convinced he will without all doubt have given the Proposal a very cool reception.

But if Major Morrison has the subject sincerely at heart, he needs in no way be discouraged. For I am convinced that this writing contains lights and arguments which would still have influence with Government, and infallibly would raise the voice of the public to second his endeavours. Yes, as I cannot come at present to London nor risque the dangers of sending the manuscript. If the Major would make a step to France, which he might do without perhaps augmenting his ordinary expenses, he will not only thereby satisfie his own curiosity in seeing this country. But will have the satisfaction to find many things in favour of his object which could not possibly have occurred [to himself] and perhaps to no other person. In a word I am certain he will be far from finding his [MS. torn] and a person in a publick character, charged with so important an object, will surely not spare all the Pains towards obtaining his point. I could have had no occasions of being known to Major Morrison, neither can I know if you happen to be of his acquaintance. But in any case you can easily find the means of meeting with him to represent what I communicate to you. Therefore, after having consulted with your worthy friend, Mr. Andrew Douglas, of whose solid judgement I have a well-grounded opinion, Pray in concurrence with his advice and assistance, be so good (as) to take the necessary steps in what I recommend, and give me notice of what occurs.

Yes, I would wish the subject were known to none but the Major, for it cannot concern any other Person, and things of that kind soon take Air and would do me harm in this country, therefore I must recommend circumspection in that point. It is right however that you have noticed, that having a good Opinion of Mr. Macpherson, and believing he would know Major Morrison I wrote him about a month ago much to the same purpose. But having had no return I cannot judge if he has received my letter or if he is out of Town, or whatever other accident may have happened. Therefore I have now determined to write you and I regret much that I did not think of it at first. I need make no apologies my dear Friend, as I know both your Zeal and your Friendship, and my Letter is already become too long. No other address is necessary but à Monsieur Pattullo à St. Germain en Laye, where I presently Reside. Pray also satisfie me about your Health, mine is more regular in this country than in London. In all situations I unalterably am, my dear Friend.

Yours most affectionately,

H. PATTULLO.

In any case you will always do me a Real Pleasure in writing often
Therefore I beg you may not spare me postage and you shall likeways
hear frequently from me.

NO. 4. *From Major John Morrison to The Right Hon'ble Henry Dundas, one of the Commissioners for the Management of the affairs of the East Indies, &c.*

No. 10, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET,
11th April, 1785.

SIR,

I have waited with great anxiety for the honour of an answer, in regard to the tendered Alliance with the Great Mogul, more especially, as you had given me hopes of hearing from you before now; the time I had limited is expired; and therefore [I] once more beg to know, whether anything is now intended, because, if my stay here can be of no further use, I propose to take a passage in a few days on board the Sultan Captain Jolliffe, bound for Smirna, from whence, I intend to proceed by Bagdad, Ispahan, and Candahar, to Delhi, in order to deliver up my Credentials, according to my promise.

What may be the consequence, when this Monarch finds his friendship rejected by his Majesty's Ministers, may easily be foreseen; and no man of Reason can hereafter be surprised, if that Prince becomes soon a dangerous instrument in the hands of the French, the Dutch, and Tippo Sultan.

No. 5. *From Dundas to Morrison.
Answer [to No. 4].*

LEICESTER SQUARE,
12th April [1785].

SIR,

Altho' I could not sooner return you an answer, the Subject of your Letter has not been any moment unattended to by me. You will not expect me to detail either what has been done here or in India upon the business, but I am under no Reserve in saying that whatever Resolutions or steps for carrying them into execution may be taken they will be done in India through the medium of Government there, and not by negotiations carried on here. Under the Circumstances I can state no reason why you may not take the passage you propose on board the Sultan. I have the honour to be, &c.

No. 6. *From Morrison to the Right Honble. Henry Dundas.*

No. 10, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET,
15th April, 1785.

SIR,

I beg leave to offer you my sincere acknowledgements for your politeness, as well as for the exertions you have made in favour of my Plan for an Alliance between his Majesty, and the Great Mogul: and

am sorry I cannot agree with the resolutions formed by his Majesty's Ministers, as I can foresee nothing but War and Calamity as the consequence of conducting any negotiations with the Prince, through the medium of the Company's Government in Bengal; the Company's leading servants may undoubtedly make great and rapid fortunes, by carrying devastation into the heart of Hindostan under the name of the Allies of the Great Mogul; but this Country will I am afraid receive no permanent benefit from any of their operations. Many of the Princes, now enjoying an usurped independence on Shah Allum, would return to their Allegiance if they once saw him in force, and were certain of Amnesty, and security; which it would be his interest to grant: but it cannot be so with Civil and Military birds of Passage, who will have no other interest in the Country but to get rich as soon as possible; Besides, after the faithlessness with which the Company broke the last Treaty with the Mogul as well as with almost every Prince with whom they had formed connections, it is not to be presumed that he, or they, can place much confidence in any Alliance negotiated by their Servants. Whatever I have had the honour of proposing would have been silent, safe, unexpensive, and lastingly beneficial. Whilst the measures that may be pursued through the proposed Channel, may soon alarm the jealousy of the Europeans, as well as Asiaticks, and rekindle the flames of War which indeed can hardly yet be said to be properly extinguished.

Notwithstanding my endeavours have been unsuccessful, should I reach Delhi, I will still exert my efforts, in favour of my Country and now have only to beg to know whether his Majesty may honour me with a friendly letter to the Great Mogul, which I know he will consider as a flattering mark of Attention, and may possibly lead to something solidly advantageous.

I have the honour to be with the greatest Gratitude and Respect, etc.

No. 7. From Same to Same.

NO. 13, ABINGDON STREET,
WESTMINSTER,

16th June, 1785.

SIR,

I have heard it suggested that the great reason for declining the Alliance with the Great Mogul, which I have had the honour of proposing, is grounded upon an apprehension, that he might attack some of the Princes in Alliance with the East India Company. But I beg leave to assure you Sir, such an idea never was in contemplation. On the Contrary it was intended to co-operate with the Company in every respect, so as best to promote the British interest, and secure tranquillity over the whole Empire. The only object of the Mogul's Arms

would be, to oblige a number of Adventurers who have parcelled out his Dominions among themselves, and keep him as a mere state engine to answer their own views, to pay him that obedience and share of the revenues to which he has a right. This would in all probability be accomplished without striking a blow, while a sufficient revenue might thereby be collected to enable him to live in some degree suited to his high rank and maintain a proper army, these very Usurpers would in fact be greatly benefited; for at present their mutual jealousies and Animosities, whilst they destroy that fine Country, drain them at the same time of all their wealth, in maintaining large bodies of troops for Offence and Defence, which would then be unnecessary if the Mogul was in a capacity of affording general protection, and over awing those who might be inclined to disturb the publick peace. Permit me to hope for the honour of waiting upon you as soon as possible as the time now draws near when the Sultan is expected to sail for Smyrna.

*No. 8. From Same to the Right Honble. William Pitt, first
Lord of the Treasury, &c.*

No. 13, ABINGDON STREET,
WESTMINSTER,

17 June, 1785.

SIR,

When I had the honour of waiting upon you at your last Levee, you then told me that Administration had not then come to a final determination on the subject of the Alliance with the Great Mogul. As the great Parliamentary business is now gone thro' the house of Commons, I hope you may now have leisure to turn your thoughts towards that great object. The Treaty may be easily framed in such a manner as to promote in the most effectual manner the British interest in Hindostan, and to check everything which might in the remotest degree injure it.

If you should not be inclined to hazard the great line at first, let me make the Attempt upon an inferior scale, and give me your Countenance or not afterwards, according as I succeed, and contingencies may point out the propriety. The Sultan, will sail soon, and in her, if my proposals are rejected, I intend going to Smyrna, and from thence over land to Delhi, to deliver up my Credentials which I most solemnly promised to do, together with the Dachla, or Order, which the Great Mogul, gave me on the India Company for Four Lacks of Rupees; I therefore most respectfully beg to have the honour of waiting upon you, as soon as possible.

(To be continued.)

